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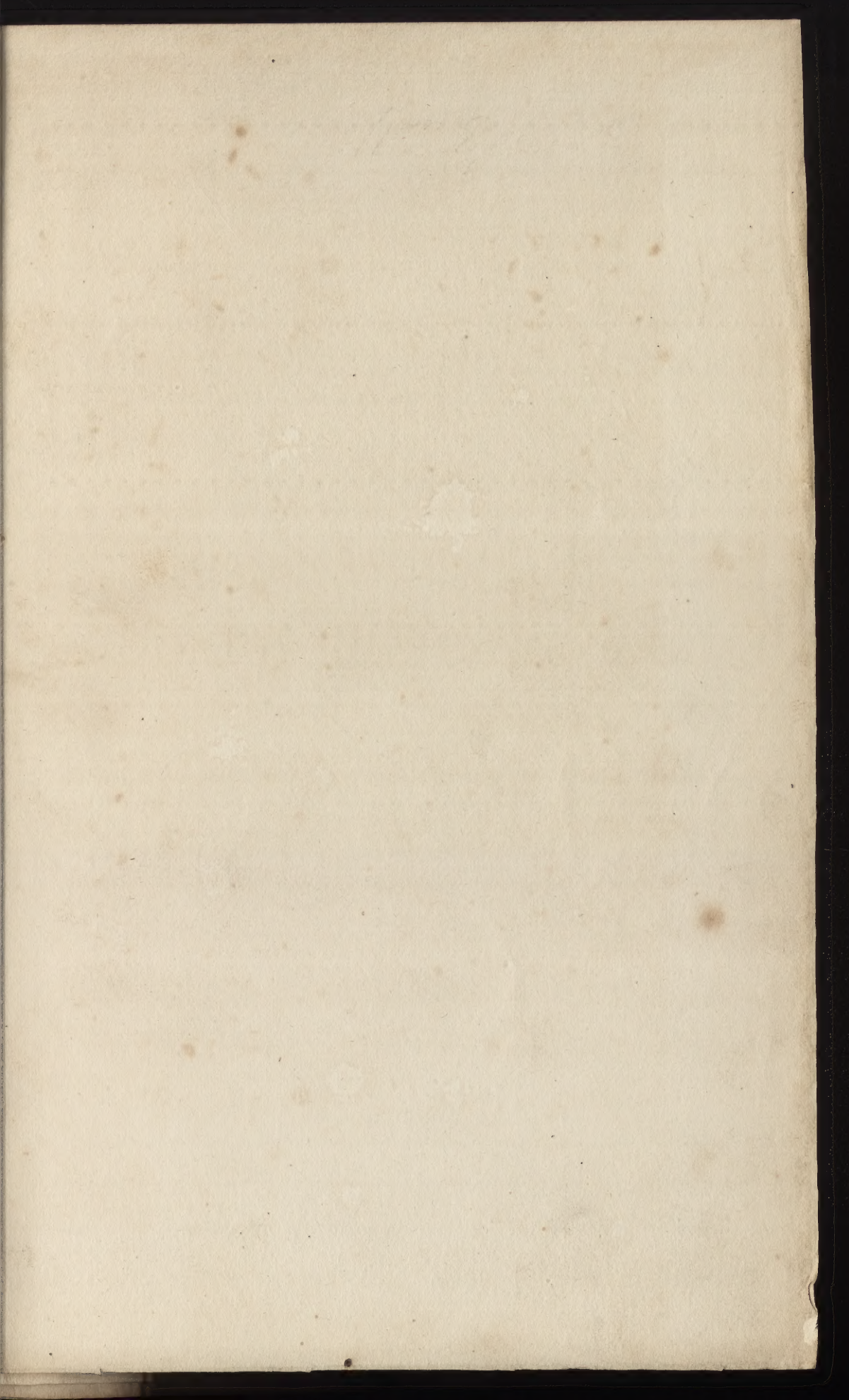
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STENOGRAPHIC

DECEMBER

THE

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL

DECAMERON.

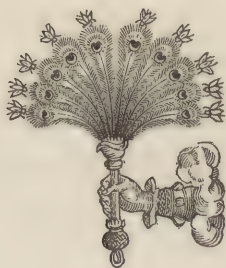
' Now pray I to hem alle that herkene this tretyse or rede, that yf ther be
ony thing that liketh hem, that therof they thanke Him of whom procedeth al
wit and goodnes. And yf ther be ony thing that displese hem, I praye hem
also that they arrette it to the defaute of myn unkonnyng and not to my will,
that wold fayn have seyde better if I hadde knowing.'

CHAUCER.

THE
BIBLIOGRAPHICAL
DECAMERON;
OR,
Ten Days Pleasant Discourse
UPON
ILLUMINATED MANUSCRIPTS,
AND
SUBJECTS CONNECTED WITH
EARLY ENGRAVING, TYPOGRAPHY,
AND BIBLIOGRAPHY.

BY THE
REV. T. F. DIBDIN.

VOL. I.



LONDON:

PRINTED FOR THE AUTHOR, BY W. BULMER AND CO.

Shakspeare Press:

AND SOLD BY G. AND W. NICOL, PAYNE AND FOSS, EVANS, JOHN AND
ARTHUR ARCH, TRIPHOOK, AND J. MAJOR.

1817.

TO HIS GRACE
WILLIAM SPENCER CAVENDISH,
DUKE OF DEVONSHIRE,

&c. &c. &c.

THIS WORK
IS RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED

BY HIS OBEDIENT AND
FAITHFUL HUMBLE SERVANT,

THE AUTHOR.



PREFACE.*



HAT the Reader may know in as few words as possible the nature of the *Work* here submitted to him, he is informed that the **FIRST DAY** of this **BIBLIOGRAPHICAL DECAMERON** comprises an account of the Progress of Art as seen in some of the more celebrated Manuscripts abroad, and more particularly in those of our own country. This portion of the work is illustrated by a great number of embellishments (chiefly upon copper) which are new to the public, and which are presumed to be executed in a manner equally creditable to the skill and fidelity of the several artists employed. The author must ingenuously confess,

* The above cut is from the *Poliphilo*, Edit. Ald. 1499.

that however replete with information of a novel and interesting nature these pages of his Decameron may appear, he has, in reality, done little more than presented a sketch—capable however of the most costly and elaborate finishing. The public taste in this department of the BIBLIOMANIA is yet partial, and not sufficiently cultivated; but a more intimate acquaintance with its characteristics will only convince the zealous student of its various and inexhaustible attractions.

The SECOND and THIRD DAYS may be considered a necessary sequel to the First. The love of beautifully-printed Books, and more especially of such as are adorned with the productions of the early Engravers, seems to be a natural consequence of the admiration bestowed upon the efforts of the Illuminator; and if the author have, in any material degree, realised his own ideas upon this fruitful subject, there will be found, both in the text, and decorations of these two succeeding days, a source of amusement not quickly capable of satiety.

The FOURTH, FIFTH, SIXTH, and SEVENTH DAYS are devoted to what the author has presumed to hope may be considered a popular History of the Rise and Progress of Printing upon the Continent; including observations upon Decorative

Printing, and brief notices of a few of the Eminent living Printers of our own Country. *He is aware that such a Subject is worthy of a more ample and satisfactory disquisition; but he has attempted to compensate the omission of much dry detail and lengthened description, by appropriate decoration and amusing anecdote. The fac-similes of the Devices of the more celebrated Foreign Printers—and particularly of those of France and Germany—are at once numerous, faithful, and brilliant;** while the biographical notices of the Printers, to whom they relate, will be found, it is hoped, as interesting as the Subjects were capable of rendering them. Nor should it be forgotten that some of the most illustrious Scholars of Europe did not disdain to superintend the operations of THE PRESS. They were literary Cincinnati at the tympan and frisket.

The EIGHTH DAY embraces a portion of information rather calculated, it must be admitted, to

* It is due to departed genius to state, that a very great portion of the wood-engravings in this work are the production of the late EBENEZER BYFIELD; who was cut off, in his 26th year, not leaving his superior behind. He just lived to complete the last specimen which was put into his hands. His sister MARY, and his brother JOHN, have executed the greater part of the remainder; but the beautiful specimens at pages 170-2, 177-178 of this first volume, by Mr. WILLIAM HUGHES, will not fail also to receive the approbation of the skilful.

gratify the professed Bibliomaniac than the general Reader. Yet the subject of Book-Binding, to which it relates, is probably, as a question of Art, not wholly divested of interest. The specimens of ancient book-covertures, which adorn the pages of this day, may possibly create or correct an indulgence of a similar taste in the present times. To the Book-Antiquary, no apology is due for occasional minuteness and technicality of description; while the biographical sketches connected with the illustrious Characters to whom the volumes, from which such 'specimens' have been taken, belonged, may serve even to inflame the ardour, and quicken the competition, of some of our most distinguished living Collectors.

The NINTH DAY, relating to Sales of Books by Public Auction, is a continuation of a Subject which seemed to be productive of some gratification in the second edition of the BIBLIOMANIA. It only professes, therefore, to carry on the Record of the disposal of Literary Property in the vendition of Books by public auction. Such a series of Sales of Libraries, within the metropolis of Great Britain, shews, in a very forcible manner, the eagerness and gallantry of our countrymen to avail themselves of treasures which they were not likely to possess through any other channel.

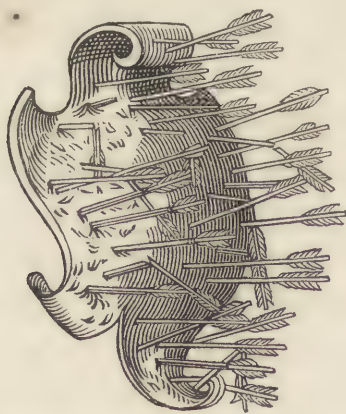
PREFACE.

v

The TENTH DAY is exclusively devoted to Literary Bibliography: in other words, to an account of the more celebrated bibliographical Writers of other countries as well as of our own. But it will be also found to contain some brief and not uninteresting memoirs of Book Collectors among ourselves: thus supplying some deficiencies in the Work just mentioned, and carrying on the Personal History of Bibliomania from the period at which it there concludes. These pages are also embellished with some beautifully-engraved portraits of several of the Collectors noticed; of which the greater number are, for the first time, here given to the public. The INDEXES are presumed to be full and complete.

Such is the brief outline of the BIBLIOGRAPHICAL DECAMERON which the author submits to the attention of the Public: and he trusts that brevity has not been studied to the exclusion of perspicuity. He only begs leave to add, that the great body of information is thrown into the Notes; which, from their number, extent, and the minute and various information which they contain, might, if the present fashionable method of Book-Making had been resorted to, have served to extend this publication to seven or eight comely octavo tomes. Upon the success with which this most essential department

of his Work has been executed, it becomes not the author to say a syllable: but he may be permitted to state that no pains have been spared, and no toil has been shunned, which could contribute to the gratification of the curious. In such a vast and varied mass of information, it is very probable that many errors have been committed; but the Author trusts that his attachment to the Winchester Measure will even here operate by way of excuse and apology. For one feature which the Work possesses, he may boldly challenge the criticism, and bespeak the approbation, of the skilful: the typographical execution of it has been rarely equalled, and perhaps never surpassed.



CORRECTIONS AND ADDITIONS

TO VOL. I.

PAGE	LINE	FOR	READ
xxiv	5 n.	Insert ' not ' between ' are ' and ' only.'	
cliii	The following page is incorrectly numbered clxiv for cliv.		
18	32 n.	in	inter
	37 n.	dicebit	habebit
93	last n.	SIXTH	EIGHTH
268	5 n.	absurdus	absurdas
173	10 n.	SEVENTH	TENTH
319	16 n.	mention	mentions
339	32 n.	The Royal Library of Paris now possesses Count Macarthy's copy of the first Psalter.	
360	note	A subsequent experiment was made — perfectly successful : and I presume a piece of string, or some such casual intervening obstacle, occurred in the printing of the original.	

INTRODUCTION.

VOL. I.

a

1870-1871



Introduction.



IVE summer-suns have shed their kindly influence upon the vine which mantles **LYSANDER**'s cabinet-window, since the first visit of his bibliomaniacal friends. During this period the conversion of **LISARDO** to bibliography has been rapid and complete. The studies of **PHILEMON** have taken a somewhat different turn; connected, however, with the same object, and equally productive of benefit to the student: while the well-stored library of **LYSANDER** has served as a rallying point to satisfy the doubts, or to promote the researches, of either who chose to consult it.

Such, gentle Reader, is a very hasty sketch of the intellectual pursuits of those, who, in the **BIBLIOGRAPHICAL ROMANCE**, have been fortunate enough to meet with thy approval. There are yet other characters to notice: for let me hope that the fair names of **BELINDA** and **ALMANSA** are not forgotten—and that the hospitality of **LORENZO**,

their brother, is still fresh in remembrance? Turn therefore, to the *seven hundredth and forty-fifth page* of the said Romance, and read as follows:—‘upon LORENZO’s frankly ‘confessing, though in a playful mood, that such brothers-in-law [as LYSANDER and LISARDO] would make him as ‘happy as the day was long—the Sisters both turned their ‘faces towards the garden, and appeared as awkward as it ‘was possible for well-bred ladies to appear’—and, a little onward,—that ‘some *other* symptom, wholly different from ‘any thing connected with the Bibliomania, had taken possession of their gentle minds.’

The symptom here alluded to will dart as quick as lightning upon the understandings of the intelligent: a symptom, in the description of which the muse of Lucretius has carried him into the most wild and not unlovely regions of poetry, and which has softened and sublimed the heart of man from the hour of his first ‘great trespass’ to the present. As there is no necessity to borrow the noble strains of Milton,*—so I will studiously shun the common place imagery of minor bards—in the description of this symptom: but will gravely, simply, and soberly observe that it was *Love*: love, leading to, and consolidated by, *Marriage*: a union of principles and of interests, so complete, and so commendable, that I can only wish, in my heart, that all matches may be like unto those of LYSANDER with BELINDA, and LISARDO with ALMANSA.

There seems however something mysterious, and a little spiteful, in such a summary account of two marriages, which were probably the result of long-continued and assiduous courtship. Let me hasten, therefore, to clear up all doubts, and not quarrel with my reader on the very threshold of

* *Paradise Lost*, Book iv.

this new Decameron. The facts are few and soon told. The more reserved character of Lysander had induced him to contemplate the bridal day with a becoming portion of patience; the impetuosity of Lisardo stimulated him to press the siege of courtship with unremitting alacrity, so as, almost with difficulty, to allow the Lady to make her own terms of capitulation: yet, in the end, the due formalities were observed by all parties. Seven months only sufficed for Lisardo; the last two weeks of which were, however, unnecessarily protracted, by a determination, on his part, to have a copy of the *First English Prayer Book*, PRINTED UPON VELLUM,* lying upon the cushion of the altar before which

* *the first English Prayer-Book* PRINTED UPON VELLUM.] The first impression of the Liturgy, 'after the use of the Church of England,' was published in the year 1549, in folio, by Grafton and Whitchurch, under royal authority. There are copies bearing the dates of May, June, December, and other months in the same year; and there are occasional variations in such copies, which cannot at present be accounted for. The names of the above printers are inserted separately, it being presumed that each shared the expense and profit of the work. The reader may not object to consult the third volume of our *Typographical Antiquities*, p. 463-6, 493, for a particular description of this impression.

It is not very difficult to justify the whim of Lisardo in fancying that there should be a copy of this book struck off UPON VELLUM. As Grafton printed more than one copy of his BIBLE of 1540 upon the same material, (*Id.* vol. iii. p. 441-2.), he might possibly have executed at least *one* copy of this PRAYER BOOK in like manner: let us say for the presentation, or Royal Copy. I am, however, quite unable to set this matter at rest: rather believing that Lisardo will one day find the darling object of his search.

While upon the subject of ancient forms of our Liturgy, let me coax the reader's patience to endure a trifling enlargement of this Note. Is he aware of the antiquity of the 'ORDER of MATRIMONY,' as at present used? Will he believe, that upwards of three centuries ago, the husband thus addressed his wife, on taking her, as now, by the right hand?—I, N. *underfyng*e the N. for my wedded wyfe, for beter, for worse, for richer, for porer, yn sekness, and in helthe, tyl deth us departe (not 'do part,' as we have erroneously rendered it—the ancient meaning of 'departe,' even in WICLIFFE's time, being 'separate') as holy church hath ordeyned, and therto I plygh the my trowthe.' The wife replies in the same form with an additional clause: 'to be buxom to the tyl deth us

he was to be united. To attain this glorious object he spared neither pains nor expense. He parted from his Beloved, by moonlight, upon the terrace of her brother's garden (at the very moment when the bell of the outer-gate announced the arrival of a cargo of books from his binder), and mounting his 'coal black steed,' promised to return within three days, with the treasure beneath his arm. No Knight of the Round Table ever promised more faithfully—no heroine of romance ever sympathized more sincerely in the object of her lover's wishes. If he could not purchase,* Lisardo might borrow, this *vellum curiosity*. He travelled therefore, early and late, far and near; searching, amidst heaps of rubbish, and beneath clouds of dust, the libraries of Cathedrals, and the shops of Booksellers: but no such treasure was to be found. More than seven days had elapsed when his hopes were elated by a suggestion that the volume might be discovered upon the shelves of the *Althorp* or *Wilton Collections*; * when, forgetting his promise of only three days

'departe.' So it appears in the first edition of the 'MISSAL FOR THE USE OF THE FAMOUS AND CELEBRATED CHURCH OF HEREFORD, 1502, fol. In what is called the SALISBURY MASSAL, the Lady promised a more general obedience: 'to be bonere and buxom in bedde and at the borde.' *Edit. Wayland*, 1554, 4to: See the *Typog. Antiq.* vol. iii. p. 6, 523-4, and also Mr. Todd's enlarged definition of the word 'Buxom' in his edition of Dr. Johnson's Dictionary. The editors of the later impressions of the Salisbury Missal (if any there were) might have taken a hint from the more courteous strain of the Marriage Service in the first Protestant Prayer Book of 1549.

* *the Althorp or Wilton Collections.*] Althorp, in Northamptonshire, is the ancestral residence of the noble family of the SPENCERS; and the Collection here alluded to, containing about 36,000 volumes, is probably unrivalled for the beauty, rarity, and intrinsic worth of its contents. Here repose all the Polyglots upon Large Paper—but the reader must at present patiently await the treat reserved for him by a particular enumeration of such treasures. The Library at Wilton, in Wiltshire, was formed by the famous EARL OF PEMBROKE, in the reign of Queen Anne. Here are the Azzoguidi Ovid, and the St. Alban's Book of 1486: see *Bibl. Spencer.* vol. ii. p. 191-5: vol. iv. p. 373.

absence, and the frightful distance of those libraries apart from each other, he resolved to put the truth of such surmise to the test. He came, saw, and was hopeless: nor did the rich book-treasures of *Longleet* or *Stourhead** supply the object so dear to his heart. The moon was deeply in her wane when Lisardo returned—dispirited and dejected: and he was married without having the service read from a copy of the *First English Prayer Book*—printed UPON VELLUM.

The union of Lysander with Belinda was not preceded by any measure of so extraordinary a nature. Thirteen months glided happily away beneath the soft influence of betrothed love; and the first day of the fourteenth month saw them united in the usual manner—the service being performed from an edition of the ‘Common Prayer’ which had reposed upon the velvet cushion only since the time of Baskett. Lisardo and his consort attended the ceremony: the former pertinaciously making his responses from the black-letter text of *Oswen*,† and the latter having

* *the rich book-treasures of Longleet or Stourhead.*] The magnificent and tasteful residences of the MARQUIS OF BATH, and of SIR RICHARD COLT HOARE, BART.

† *the black letter text of Oswen.*] *Oswen* was a provincial printer, and carried on his business at Worcester, Ipswich, and Shrewsbury. He merely printed the text of the Common Prayer, as extant in Grafton and Whitchurch—rather omitting and abridging, than substituting alterations. A copy of *Oswen*’s reprint, now before me, and executed at Worcester, in May, 1549, 4to. affixes the price of the work (as printed at the end of it), at ‘ii shillings and two-pence y piece, unbound. And the same bound in paste or in boardes, not above the price of thre shillynges and eyght pence the piece.’ This copy, from Earl Spencer’s Collection at Althorp, is fair and sound; wanting the title-page. The printing is of dismal execution. It may be added that Grafton’s impression (at least the copy of it in the possession of Messrs. J. and A. Arch, booksellers) was sold at the same price as *Oswen*’s, when unbound; but ‘bounde in paste or in boardes couered with calues leather, not above the price of iiii shillings the piece.’

I can scarcely account for Lisardo’s partiality for *Oswen*’s edition of our

her eyes sedulously fixed upon the silken pages of Baskerville.*

To describe how the first short years of wedlock flew away, with characters so suited in every respect to confer happiness upon each other, were a waste of words and of time; but I will only briefly observe that if all the 'doves and darts' which crowd the pages from the 'Minerva Press' were concentrated to give force to the quantum of connubial felicity enjoyed by these worthy pairs, they would fall greatly short of that object. Philemon and Lorenzo were neither indifferent spectators, nor indifferent partakers, of this felicity. The former had buried his 'Beloved' beneath the yew tree, which his great grandfather, when a child, remembered to have seen planted, with due pomp and parade, by the vicar and churchwardens of the parish; and he resolved upon making the memory of past conjugal happiness cheer him for the remainder of his days. Lorenzo without laying down rigid rules to be engrossed upon parch-

Liturgy, except it be on the score of its rarity: for, upon consulting Herbert, vol. iii. p. 1460, it appears that 'this book was thought so great a rarity, that it was sold to Lord Oxford for ten pounds, at Thomas Rawlinson's sale, in 1727.' It is there erroneously called a 'folio.'

* *the silken pages of Baskerville.*] The Prayer Books of Baskerville are probably more frequently seen within the pews of a church than any other: at least they were so, till within these dozen years past. They are of two forms, or sizes: royal octavo, and crown octavo. Of the former, there were two different impressions; one in long lines, and the other in double columns; and each of these again is varied by the omission, or introduction, of a fancy-border round the entire page. The crown octavo impression, which is the rarer of the two, has no such distinction of border. It is executed in a small character, in double columns, upon thin paper, but of a close and durable texture. I do not remember to have seen more than one copy of the royal octavo in an *uncut state*; and of the crown octavo, not a single copy: so popular were these impressions upon their first appearance. There is a soft and 'silky' tint about these volumes which makes them grateful to the eye: but in point of FINE PRINTING, they have each been excelled by a royal and crown octavo Prayer Book from the Press which produces the present Work.

ment, or engraved upon granite, had quietly but steadily resolved upon the experiment of Bachelorship for life: and thus the reader will readily conceive, that, with a thoroughly good disposition on each side, no great obstacle should present itself towards the mutual happiness of all parties.

The passion for foreign travel, which has so lately and generally prevailed, had induced the Widower and the Bachelor to explore a few of the libraries on the Continent, in order to extend or confirm their bibliographical knowledge. Accordingly Philemon and Lorenzo hired a roomy carriage, purposely contrived for the accommodation of about threescore stout volumes, and accomplished the object of their wishes chiefly in the capital of France.

In the course of some nine weeks, a letter from the travellers announced their probable return within a fortnight from the date of the dispatch. That period, however, was prolonged by a sudden and violent inclination, on the part of Lorenzo, to visit the cities of Mayence and Cologne: sister-nurses of the art of typography in its infancy. Of this visit I shall at present say little or nothing: only that the bibliographical enthusiasm of our travellers left scarcely a shelf unexamined, or a nook unexplored, for the discovery of an hitherto unknown typographical production; nor were they wholly without hopes of finding a more legitimate resemblance of the physiognomy of FUST than that which adorns the collection of Reuter.*

At length, after the lapse of an extra month, the tra-

* *adorns the collection of Reuter.*] There is, prefixed to the Second Part of Fischer's *Typographischen Seltenheiten*, 1801, 8vo. a copper-plate, in the outline, representing the bust of Fust (from the original, which is carved in wood), both in the full-face and the profile position. I doubt much the genuineness of the original; as well as of the portrait of the same character published in the frontispiece of Mallinkrot's work, *De Ortu Art. Typog.* Colon. Agrip. 1640, 4to. and

vellers returned, and found their friends not a little overjoyed to receive them. The neighbouring circle of acquaintance was invited to hear of the wonders that had been seen and of the curiosities that had been collected; and for three successive days the chimnies of Lysander, or of Lisardo, never failed to cast forth picturesque volumes of smoke. Their hospitality was indeed without bounds.

The scene of congratulation was however to be transferred to the splendid mansion of Lorenzo. It was essential that Lysander and Lisardo should examine the treasures that had been acquired, and the memoranda that had been taken, during the Continental tour. The weather, although the month of October was pretty far gone into, still continued inviting: and the removal of the scene of action to the distance of some forty furlongs (for the visitors, with the exception of Lisardo,* lived in grey-tinted *fermes-ornées* at about four miles from Lorenzo's residence) could be productive of no inconvenience. It was fitting also that the ladies should enjoy a calm after the late uproar, and that mental recreation should succeed to bodily activity. Accordingly, the period, both of the commencement and of the termination of this adjourned visit, was quickly and formally fixed. 'We will tarry with you some TEN DAYS,' replied Lisardo, in a playful mood. The offer was seized upon with avidity by the generous Lorenzo. 'Let us have, then, a BIBLIOGRAPHICAL DECAMERON'—he exclaimed—'It is long since we discussed those subjects which formerly gave us so much delight. You, Lysander, were formerly

from this latter introduced into the frontispiece of Maittaire's great work upon the annals of printing. Fischer's representation of Fust gives it the air of an ancient Greek or Roman bust.

* See the *Bibliomania*, p. 280-1.

our chief oracle; and I have a perfect recollection, at this moment, of the pleasure and improvement with which we listened to your discourse. We may each, now, take a part in the discussion:—and so let us hasten to the enjoyment of our BIBLIOGRAPHICAL DECAMERON.’

The suggestion delighted Lisardo. He appealed (with becoming deference) to Almansa, whose assent almost preceded the appeal. Lysander cordially approved; observing, that as the brunt of the discourse would not fall upon himself, he should be the more careful in what he advanced, now that his pupils had become critics in turn. Philemon was resolved to take no ordinary share in the discussion;—‘*Three* out of the TEN DAYS shall at least fall to my lot!’ said he: ‘And the same number of days shall witness my oracular powers,’—resumed Lisardo—‘For the rest, let Lysander and our Host act their parts as they please.’

The invitation was quickly accepted: and within twenty-four hours of its being given, the cavalcades of the respective parties were in motion, to reach, pretty nearly at the same time, the residence of Lorenzo. The sun rose cheerily on the morning of their departure. His beams were reflected by a hundred ploughshares which were preparing the earth for another year’s harvest, and the tranquillity of the air was only broken by the melancholy note of the robin. The leaves of the forest had put on their marygold tints, and the distant hills were already purpled in the deepening haze of autumn. The hearts of the visitors were light and unoppressed; and a short hour brought them, within a few minutes of each other, at the outer gate of Lorenzo. You would have smiled at the formality of their approach; and especially at the Caravan, which closed the cavalcade,* being

* *the Caravan, which closed the cavalcade.*] The Caravan is a sort of narrow

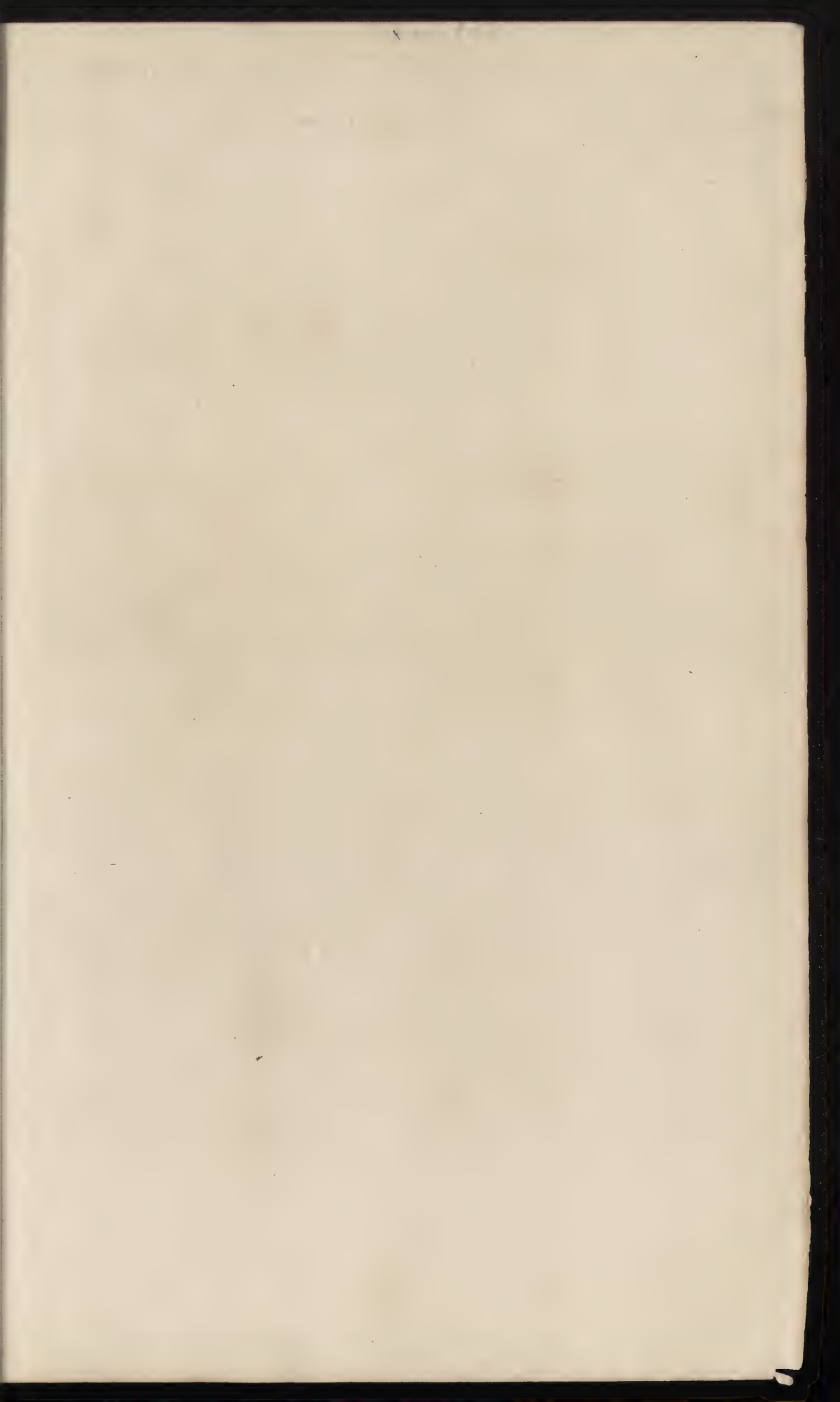
filled to the utmost with books and portfolios. This latter might be considered a sort of baggage waggon, to furnish materials for the discourse; Lysander and Lisardo having resolved to compete with the continental travellers in variety and interest of discussion.

Loudly rang the bell, and quickly flew open the gates which were to receive and enclose the visitors. Some twenty feet were in motion to open carriage doors, and unload the luggage. The old Steward or Seneschal (let us allow every man his due dignity) caused the bugle to sound long and loud, so as to awaken the echoes of every beechen avenue; and the entire establishment of Lorenzo was in motion, giving evidence of the cordiality with which the visitors were received. My readers have probably not forgotten the drawing-room within which these visitors were wont to be entertained; * and therefore I shall here add nothing to former descriptions of Lorenzo's mansion—save that many a bust and many a rare tome had recently enriched his residence. A printing-press, on a small scale, was among the late acquisitions to his book-comforts; but *the Library*, as usual, formed the principal object of attraction. Here Lisardo quickly perceived new book-treasures clad in a Parisian surtout; † and the fruits of the late tour were sufficiently evident in various other directions. But every

oblong carriage, without cover, and is also sometimes used in this country for breaking in horses: not, however, but that quiet and gentle horses may be attached to the Caravan; such at least were those which transported the *Duplicate Volumes* of his Grace the Duke of Devonshire, in this very kind of conveyance, to the house of Mr. Evans, in Pall-Mall, for the purpose of public sale by auction.

* See the *Bibliomania*, p. 281.

† *clad in a Parisian surtout.*] That is, bound by Parisian binders. In the subsequent pages (or the ΕΓΟΝΤΗ ΔΑΥ) the reader will find a criticism, in due order, upon the merits and demerits of the art of binding in France.





Freeman sc

FAC-SIMILES of CAPITAL INITIALS from a MANUSCRIPT of the DECAMERON of BOCCACCIO.
in the possession of T.W.Coke Esq^re of Holkham Hall.

thing in appropriate order; as matter of high moment, and multifarious research, is about to be gradually disclosed.

The day of the arrival had been previously considered as a *dies non*; except that they had agreed to examine the fac-simile drawings which Lorenzo had procured an artist to execute from the splendid MS. of the TRUE DECAMERON in the library of Mr. Coke at Holkham.*

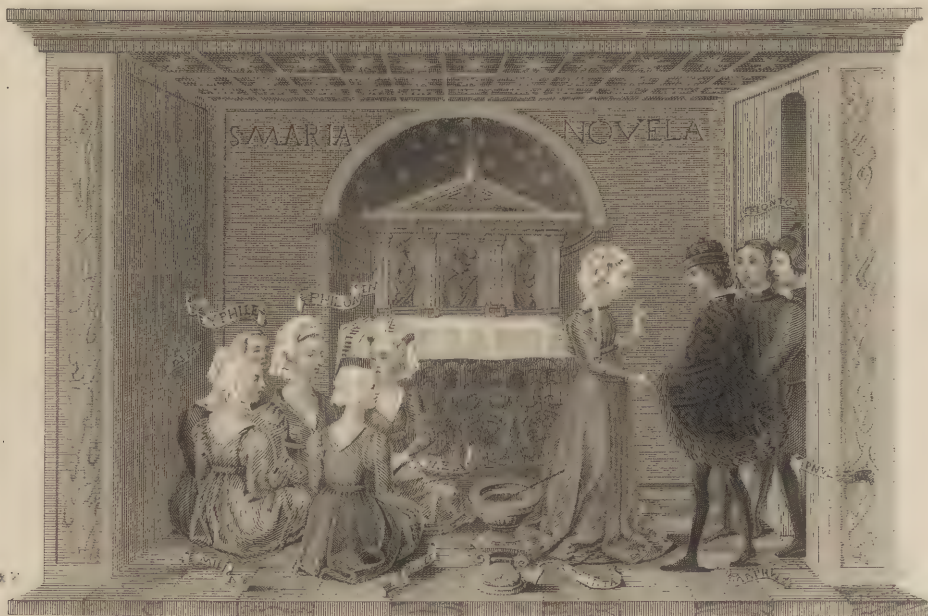
After a good deal of animated, and even warm discussion, (especially on the part of Lisardo, whose eagerness sometimes forced him beyond the limits of severe good breeding,) it was at length finally settled that the *first three days* should

* *Decameron in the Library of Mr. COKE, at Holkham.*] This manuscript is not so remarkable for the purity of its text as for the beauty of its illuminations. It appears to have been executed towards the middle of the xvth century. Each 'Day' has a supposed portrait of the character, who presided over it, prefixed within the initial letter of the text; and there is an apparent truth or *individuality* about these portraits which makes one believe that they are not entirely fictitious. The flowers, devices, mottos, &c. which are also introduced, partake of the general gaiety of the decorations. In short, for an apposite and interesting specimen of illumination, I know of nothing which can presume to 'lift its head' above this charming production of early art. And if the above characters, who presumptuously propose to themselves a RIVAL DECAMERON, should ever think of preserving a choice copy of the fruits of their own discourse, they cannot do better than suffer their own physiognomies to be introduced in a similar manner.

By the kind liberality of Mr. Coke, I was permitted to have the 'fac-simile drawings' above alluded to. They are executed by Mr. Hodgetts with great fidelity, and exhibit almost the brilliant hues of the originals. The OPPOSITE PLATE will convince the reader, (although it have only that degree of colouring which good engraving and good printing can give it,) that the style of art is in every respect deserving of the eulogy of the connoisseur. It represents the *first six* portraits only; the limits of the plate forbidding the introduction of the remaining *four*. It would, however, be a most cruel stroke inflicted upon the tasteful reader, were I to debar him of that pleasure which he is so sure to receive from a view of the 'tail-piece,' or bottom compartment of the grand illumination of the first page of the text. In the absence of those colours which diffuse so joyous a lustre over the original, (especially the semi-circular canopy studded with golden stars) it is perhaps difficult, if not impossible, to convey an adequate idea of the extreme beauty of the whole: but it should be noticed that, in the OPPOSITE PLATE, the first figure is clothed in a *lilac* dress; the second in *blue*;

be occupied by the Discourse of PHILEMON; which should comprehend some account chiefly of *Illuminated Manuscripts*, of *Printed Books of Devotion*, and of *Works ornamented with Engravings* from the period of Block-Book printing to the middle or latter end of the Sixteenth Century—for it seems that the party had determined upon a pretty wide range of research, and upon bringing, within a moderate compass,

the third in *green*; the fourth in *green*; the fifth in *crimson*; and the sixth in *green*. And of the SUBJOINED ENGRAVING, the principal man is habited in a *dark blue* cloke, fringed with *sable*—the one, to the right, in *green*; the one in the back ground, in *red*: of the women, the one standing is in *lilac*: the others are in *green*, *lilac*, *blue*, and *red*. The cieling is *ultramarine blue*, with *gold stars*. The sides appear to be either *cedar*, or *oak*, or *chestnut*. An attention to fidelity, the essential merit of such a performance, may have cramped the power of the burin of Mr. CHARLES HEATH; but what could be, has been, accomplished. The same eminent artist has my *fifty guineas* for his exertions; and the approbation of the skilful will go a great way to redeem that sum.



almost every topic which might be likely to interest the lovers of early art and early printing.

The three following Days were consigned to the bibliographical powers of Lysander; who chose to follow up the subject, selected by Philemon, with *Some Account of the Origin and early Progress of Printing on the Continent*, bringing the subject down to the same period with which Philemon concluded, and illustrating it with the *Devices, &c. of Printers*. "But *your* three Days (resumed Lysander, turning to Lisardo,) must not be forgotten. What have you to say for yourself?" "Very much, truly," rejoined Lisardo: "I will endeavour that my three days shall afford a rival entertainment to yours: and I purpose choosing some account of *Real and Imaginary Portraits of Printers*; of *Decorative Printing*; of *Book-binding, ancient and modern*; and of *Book Sales by Auction* which have succeeded those described on a former occasion by yourself. A general 'bravo' attested the propriety of Lisardo's resolution; but Lorenzo entreated Lysander to devote the remaining day to *Literary Bibliography*—'for you know,' says he, 'how I love the history of eminent characters, who have cherished a fondness for collecting Books? At first, Lysander hesitated; but the entreaties of the ladies were too tender and too powerful to be resisted: and so, methodising their plan in writing, and afterwards committing it to Lorenzo's press, the arrangement stood as follows:

PHILEMON—to preside over the *First, Second, and Third Days*.

LYSANDER—over the *Fourth, Fifth, and Sixth Days*.

LISARDO—over the *Seventh, Eighth, and Ninth Days*.

LYSANDER—over the *Tenth Day*.

The first three days discussion will be considered as taking place in the DRAWING ROOM ; where Lorenzo had consigned a few choice volumes (protected by glass doors that decorated a satin-wood book-case) which were exclusively appropriated to the illustration of the subjects about to be discussed. Philemon was inflexible as to carrying on the discourse within that spot ; which, indeed, by general consent, was considered to be particularly calculated for the purpose. Immediately therefore upon the conclusion of breakfast, on the following morning, Philemon thus opened the Decameron campaign.



FIRST DAY.

VOL. 1.

b

ARGUMENT.

Account of some of the more ancient Manuscripts written in capital letters. Brief view of the progress of the Arts of Design and Composition, in illuminated MSS. from the Xth to the XVIth Century, inclusively.



First Day.



O attempt to give even an accurate outline of the progress of the *Arts of Drawing and Composition*, as those arts appear in the *Manuscripts of the Earlier and Middle Ages*, were a task infinitely beyond my power of execution. But while on the one hand I may lament my inability to do justice to so interesting a subject, on the other, I will frankly confess that almost *any* attempt, however limited or feeble, will be considered in a gracious point of view by the circle which I have the honour of addressing. In our own country, whatever may have been the efforts of foreigners, such a subject has never come directly before the public. The amusing pages of Strutt doubtless contain numerous specimens of the state of the arts in the period just mentioned, but those specimens (of the degree of merit of which I will at present say nothing) are selected rather with a view of illustrating particular subjects or

disquisitions appertaining to ancient customs and manners, than with an exclusive reference to the rise and progress of the arts of drawing and composition. Nor will I at present stop to enquire how far the same ingenious author was qualified for the task here alluded to. It is quite sufficient for us to allow that, consistently with the plan which was laid down, the performances of STRUTT entitle his memory to great respect;* and, borrowing the idea of Dr. Johnson, I

* *the performances of STRUTT entitle his memory to respect.*] In estimating these performances, we should not so much compare them with what might have been expected, as with what had been previously performed in our own country. In short, till the ardent and enterprising genius of Strutt displayed itself, we had scarcely anything which deserved the name of graphic illustrations of the state of art in the earlier ages. It is not however my intention to take up the reader's time with a *raisonnée* account of Strutt's publications; as Mr. Nichols, in the fifth volume of his *Literary Anecdotes of the Eighteenth Century*, p. 665, has been abundantly amusing and particular thereupon. Yet the order of these publications may be briefly marked out. The first of them was *The Regal and Ecclesiastical Antiquities of England*, &c. 1773, 4to. reprinted in 1793, with a supplement containing 12 plates: besides 60 others, common to both editions. The earliest embellishment is a supposed portrait of Edgar, executed in the year 966 from a MS. in the Cotton Collection: Vespasian A viii. In the year 1774-5, and 6, appeared the 3 volumes of his *Manners and Customs, &c. of the Inhabitants of England*, 4to. comprising, in the whole, 157 copper-plates. This has never been reprinted, and is the dearest of all Strutt's publications. The *Chronicle of England*, in 1777-8, 4to. 2 vols. was his third performance: undoubtedly the most intrinsically valuable of any work which he had published—and perfect copies are now of rare occurrence.

In 1785-6, appeared his *Biographical Dictionary of Engravers*, in 2 quarto volumes, with 20 engravings of fac-similes. Considering that this attempt was new in our own country, Strutt has shewn uncommon industry and ingenuity in this work. He was not a sufficient scholar to make himself master of the notices which had appeared in foreign works (especially among Italian authors) upon the same subject, nor has he sufficiently illustrated the different styles of the earlier art of engraving, by means of fac-similes upon wood as well as upon copper—but the experiment, even as it appeared, was both expensive and perilous, as the author published 'upon his own account.' A late learned work by Mr. Ottley, connected with *Enquiries into the Origin and Early History of Engraving*, 1816, 4to. gives us the proper tone and character with which such pursuits should be brought before the public attention; and as the same com-

will boldly affirm that he who wishes to be informed of some of the more curious and interesting details connected with ancient *British Sports and Pastimes, Manners and Cus-*

petent writer is now busily employed upon the pages of Strutt's work under description, with a view of giving a NEW EDITION of it, with large additions, in regard both to *matter* and *art*, the curious and well-informed may easily imagine the treat which is preparing for them. It is due however to the memory of Strutt to state, that JANSEN, in his *Essai sur l'Origine de la Gravure*, 1808, 8vo. has unblushingly copied a great number of his more curious fac-similes; and thus attired himself in borrowed plumes which only shew how disgracefully they have been pillaged from their right owner. Could the *Mariette Archives*, which furnished Zani with his *Finiguerra plate*, supply nothing for the cupidity of Monsieur Jansen? But let us return to Strutt.

In the year 1796-9, came forth his *Complete View of the Dresses and Habits of the People of England*, 4to. 2 vols. illustrated by 143 plates: usually coloured. The work was also translated into the French language, and printed, in this country, shortly after its publication in English. Nichols, vol. v. p. 683. Strutt's last work, connected with the favourite study which had so early and so passionately possessed him, was *The Sports and Pastimes of the People of England*, 1801, 4to. with 40 plates: republished in 1810, 4to. The plates are usually coloured. These two latter works are published with more elegance and taste than either of their precursors. Of his *Queenhoo-Hall* (a posthumous work, intended to illustrate the manners of the xvth century) perhaps the less that is said the better. Such are the publications which owe their existence to the ardor, diligence, and perseverance of JOSEPH STRUTT. If it be asked whether they are all equally successful, the reply must be in the negative; and of the *whole* of them, collectively considered, the sagacious critic will not fail to discover that too much is oftentimes advanced from precipitancy, want of information, or an unqualified deference to the opinion of others. I make no doubt that Strutt, as he went on, and his work 'grew warm' beneath his hands, was frequently convinced of his inability to fill up the outline which even his own imagination had formed: and when the number and extent of the formentioned works are considered, it must be matter of surprise that ONE MAN, certainly *not* 'labouring under the shelter of academic bowers,' could have accomplished so much, and in so creditable a manner! The *burin* of Strutt was rather rapid than vigorous or scrupulously correct: and it may be doubted whether he has been happy in the choice of the *tint* of the generality of his engravings. It is quite demonstrative that Strutt had neither refined taste nor sound criticism in the arts of drawing, engraving, and composition; but when, as from a gentle emineuce, we view the field which he chose, and in which he toiled—when one thinks, too, that such a labourer was oftentimes working for subsistence 'for the day that was passing over him'—that the materials he had to collect were not only frequently scattered in distant places, but incongruous in themselves—that scarcely an

toms, Regal and Ecclesiastical Antiquities, 'must devote his days and his nights' to the volumes of a STRUTT.

The attempt however to execute effectually, what is here more particularly under consideration, was undertaken by a foreigner and a Frenchman—well known by the name of the ABBÉ RIVE.* Perhaps a more capricious and mad-

Englishman had 'turned a turf' in the same field before him—all the severer functions of criticism become paralysed in a generous bosom, and we are compelled to admit that JOSEPH STRUTT is not only 'a fine fellow in his way,' but is entitled to the grateful remembrance of the antiquary and man of taste. The misfortunes of his life draw forth 'the Christian's sigh, the Christian's tear!

* *well known by the name of the ABBÉ RIVE.*] While Philemon is going on with his justly-founded tirade against this scurrilous, saucy, but not unsagacious author, the reader is here quietly informed of the 'birth, parentage, and education' of the work, in particular, to which the said Philemon alludes. In Desessart's *Siècles Littéraires de la France*, 1801, 8vo. vol. v. p. 418-19, some notice is taken of the various works of JEAN JOSEPH RIVE; but his '*Chasse aux Bibliographes*' is therein unaccountably omitted. That '*Chasse*' is especially distinguished for the 'foul-mouth abuse' of the De Bures and the Abbé Mercier de St. Leger: the latter of whom, however, was never backward in sticking the rowels of his critical spurs into the sides of his assailant, whenever he could reach him—and Mr. Ochéda, (Lord Spencer's erudite librarian) who was well acquainted with Mercier de St. Leger, informs me that this latter Abbé always expressed the heartiest contempt for Jean-Joseph Rive. As to Rive's attack upon '*Gui. Guill. Guillaume de Bure*' (see the '*Chasse aux Bibliographes*,' *passim*) it has only proved the impotency as well as the scurrility of the assailant. The reputation of the '*Bibliographie Instructive*' (loudly as it calls for a new edition, or superseded as some may think it by the '*Manuel du Libraire*' of Brunet) confers lasting celebrity upon the name which gave it birth. But the reader is beginning to wonder how all this bibliographical gossiping relates to the work alluded to by Philemon? Scarcely at all. It is mere gossip and digression, if he pleases. But now—for the 'birth, parentage, and education' of the work more especially connected with Philemon's discourse.

I will be as 'pithy and pleasaunt' as the nature of my subject will admit of. In 1782 the Abbé Rive published a small duodecimo volume, of 70 pages, containing his Prospectus of an '*Essai sur l'art de vérifier l'âge des miniatures peintes dans des MSS. depuis le 14. au 17. siècle.*' This prospectus, which is uncommon, seems to paint the author 'to the life.' He tells us in it, that, 'before him, no Bibliographer had ever published such complete notices: nor is he surprised at it: for it is only by becoming *grey* in a pursuit that due justice can be done to it!' (p. 15)—concluding this paragraph by an account of the difficulties

headed writer never existed; yet that saucy Abbé undoubtedly possessed some good qualities for the execution of the task: and we might be induced to exercise more candour

and the importance attached to bibliographical researches. With respect to the work to be published, he says that he shall give 26 specimens 'selected from upwards of 12000 miniatures (or illuminations) which had passed under his notice—that, in consequence, their choice and variety will render them superior to every other similar publication—that the definitions to be attached to them would relate entirely to the elucidation of the usages, customs, and arts represented by such illuminations; and that the first artists of Paris, employed exclusively for their known fidelity and correctness, should be engaged in the work.' The work itself, in a folio form, was published by subscription. Only 80 copies were printed, each distinctly numbered by the author: 25 *louis* were asked for each copy, as the subscription price, to be advanced *before-hand*—to expedite the various artists engaged upon the work—(the reasons for requiring this advance are sufficiently shrewd, and in part, convincing) and to non-subscribers, upon publication, 40 *louis d'or*. The work was to be completed within a twelvemonth of publishing the prospectus: the first 13 plates to be delivered within 6 months, and the remainder, with the text, at the termination of the ensuing 6 months. Subscriptions were received at the author's house; where he was to be met with every day till 1 o'clock—and at the bookseller's, Esprit, at the Palais Royal.' In the course of the prospectus we are informed that the author meditated another publication, of a similar and more comprehensive nature. 'Si ma santé, qui s'épuise tous les jours, se rétablit, et si Thémis, fléchie par les Muses, se hâte de briser les chaînes d'une affaire civile, [he was, I fear, always 'in hot water'] qui forment un obstacle à mes projets littéraires, je pourrai entreprendre un autre Recueil dans le même genre, en parcourant les différentes bibliothèques de l'Europe où l'on conserve de pareils monuments. Je l'intitulerai: *Voyage Calligraphique*.' p. 13. This was to be considered a Supplement to the preceding. I believe it was never taken in hand; although, according to Desessarts, Rive published *Notices Calligraphiques et Typographiques*, in 1795, 8vo.

To conclude. Of the projected work more particularly under notice, Brunet tells us that the author never published the promised explanation, or text, relating to the illuminations: and indeed it was probably 'well for his reputation' that he did not—since, in the prospectus itself, (p. 12) he has the hardihood or ignorance to declare, that, 'from the xth to the middle of the xivth century, the illuminations are almost entirely frightful, betraying the barbarity of the period in which they are executed!' The reader, I trust, will learn a different lesson from the pages of this work. In respect to Rive's fac-similes, as they appeared to me in the copy of them in the sale of the Merly library, (no, 2172) I feel disposed to unite my voice loudly with that of

in our criticism upon the manner in which he has performed it, if so much *pretension* on his part, had not been obtruded upon us, and such biting sarcasm had not been bestowed upon previous labourers in the same vineyard. Nothing could well exceed the magnificent promises which he made—the exclusive information which he avowed to possess—and the splendid and seductive manner in which the public were told his great work was to be executed. To sharpen the appetites of the Bibliomaniacs of that day, only a limited impression (80 copies) was determined to be taken off; and each of the twenty-six embellishments (the entire number given in each copy) was professed to be drawn and coloured with the most rigid fidelity to the originals.

LISARDO. What was the result?

PHILEMON. I was just about to mention it. A complete failure. If the Abbé's production was not quite so diminutive and insignificant as a 'mouse,' it certainly had no pretensions to the form and consequence of a 'Lion:' and I can scarcely, at this moment even, repress my feelings of indignation at the bitter disappointment which I experienced when I obtained a copy of the Abbé's famous work (as he thought it) at the sale of the Merly library. Most heartily did I rejoice to get rid of it at the extravagant price for which I had purchased it. No, my good friends, the illuminations put forth by Rive, as faithful copies of their originals, are indeed lamentably defective; and perhaps such an attempt could hardly fail of being unsuccessful —

Philemon: pronouncing them to be tasteless, faithless, and therefore worthless. In order to represent the originals, as they *ought* to be represented, by colours, no doubt a very heavy sum must be demanded for each copy: and if those embellishments, which are only beautifully but faithfully *engraved*, in the FIRST DAY of this work, were as *faithfully coloured*, I am not sure that 70 guineas would cover the expenses incurred in the completion of this said 'first day!'

LORENZO. Wherefore?

PHILEMON. Because we are as yet little more than mere novices in the art of illumination, as it was practised of old; and what appears in the originals, selected by Rive, as fresh, fair, brilliant, and exquisite, assumes, in the copy, the character of a mere daub. This however might be remedied—but at an immense expense: as, where the Abbé probably gave *one* Louis, it would have been necessary to have given *ten*.

ALMANSA. I do not exactly comprehend you.

PHILEMON. Simply thus. In order to publish copies with effect, you must engage the most skilful artists; and such artists must receive their ‘quantum meruit’—or be rewarded ‘according to their deserts’—a system, which I suspect the aforesaid Abbé was not in the practice of carrying into effect. So that instead of selling his copies at 25 *louis* a-piece to *Subscribers*, and 40 *louis* each to *Non-Subscribers*, he had better have asked 80 *louis* for copies of the first description, and 100 for those of the second. I admit that these sums appear enormous: but such a work is exclusively adapted for public libraries, or for those ‘Noblemen and Gentlemen’—whose purses, in the lively language of Clement, ‘are filled with pistoles’—and surely, throughout civilized Europe, there are EIGHTY such ‘pistoles’ purse-furnished Noblemen and Gentlemen! Adieu now to the Abbé: and I pray you lend a helping hand to his successor when you find him tottering along the same path, or likely to be engulfed in the chaotic materials connected with the progress of *Calligraphy* and *Miniature-painting* during the earlier centuries of the christian æra.

BELINDA. You delight me about this early *Miniature-painting*—but what mean you by the word *Calligraphy*?

PHILEMON. That word means simply *beautiful writing*. Yet I know not why I should touch upon such a subject, as ASTLE has written a vastly pretty book upon it.*

LORENZO. Favour us only with *something* thereupon. It seems to be a sort of necessary substratum for your miniature-painting superstructure. Describe briefly, GREAT MONARCH OF THE DAY, what were the characters, or what the mode of writing, which distinguished the earlier MSS. of the period to which you refer.

PHILEMON. Such a pointed and solemn apostrophe is too formidable to be resisted. Know briefly, then, (for in brevity I must imitate the ghost of Hamlet's father) that the earlier MSS.—by which I mean those *from the fourth to the ninth century*, inclusively—are usually distinguished

* *Astle has written a vastly pretty book upon it.*] The title of the late Mr. Thomas Astle's work is as follows: 'The Origin and Progress of Writing, as well Hieroglyphic as Elementary, illustrated by Engravings taken from Marbles, Manuscripts and Charters, ancient and modern: also some Account of the Origin and Progress of Printing,' 1784, 4to. A second edition, 'with additions' and 'improvements,' appeared in 1803, 4to. Some account of the elegance and even brilliancy of this volume, will be found in the 'Seventh Day' of this work, under that of the Books executed in the press of Mr. Bensley. Yet Casley's xvi. plates of ancient hand writing, at the end of his Catalogue of the King's MSS. 1734, 4to. must not be forgotten; and Mr. Astle has, in too many instances, copied from the richly furnished volumes of the *Nouveau Traité de Diplomatique*, 1750, 6 vol. 4to.: a work, of unparalleled excellence in the study of which it treats. Peignot (in his *Essai sur l'Histoire du Parchemin et du Vêlin*, p. 74, note) calls Astle's book 'le plus ample et le plus savant sur l'histoire de la calligraphie;' and it undoubtedly is so. It treats however but incidentally upon the subject connected with the pages of this work. Mr. Horne, in his *Introduction to the Study of Bibliography*, 1814, 8vo. has devoted the first two chapters of his first part, (vol. i.) to occasional notices of topics connected both with the work of Mr. Astle and myself: but I could have wished that the fac-simile of the *Codex Ebmerianus* had been executed upon copper, instead of wood—as De Murr, in his *Memorab. Bibl. Publ. Norimb.* (latter end of vol. i. pl. 2) had previously done it. Where ornament is concerned, the effect upon copper is more true to the original. These plates of De Murr will be slightly noticed in the subsequent pages.

by being written in UNCIAL OR CAPITAL LETTERS.* Not that there may not be specimens of the *cursive hand-writing* before the ninth—although I cannot pretend to have heard

* UNCIAL OR CAPITAL LETTERS.] There has been a little skirmishing upon the exact meaning of the word 'uncial.' And first, to begin with Montfaucon—or rather perhaps with ST. JEROM—quoted as he has been by writers without end. In the preface to the Book of Job, that learned Father, after satirising the then general propensity to possess 'purple MSS. written in letters of gold or silver,' adds 'vel UNCIALIBUS, ut vulgo aiunt, LITERIS, onera magis exarata, quam codices.' Montfaucon (rightly called by Dr. Marsh, now Bishop of Llandaff, 'one of the best judges of antiquity that ever existed.'—*Notes to Michaelis*, vol. ii. p. 708) thus remarks upon the text of St. Jerom. (We will anglicise the passage.) 'Concerning the origin of the word "UNCIAL," we cannot determine with accuracy. The greater number of critics suppose that the letters, mentioned by St. Jerom, were called uncial, because they were about the size of an inch: and because twelve inches, which constitute a foot, should also contain twelve uncials. But, continues Montfaucon, if this were its legitimate meaning, of what dimensions must that volume be, which should contain only the *Iliad* of Homer written in these uncial characters?' He then subjoins another, to him more satisfactory, definition, from Bernard Moneta.' See his *Paleographia Græca*, p. xj. The ardent and honest David Casley, in his useful *Catalogue of the Manuscripts of the King's Library*, 1734, 4to. hath a shrewd and rational conjecture hereupon. At page viii. he says, 'The Letters *i, m, n*, and *u* are usually written, both in old and modern MSS. so as not to be distinguished, when they come together, but by the sense. Thus the word '*minimum*' is written with fifteen parallel strokes, all alike joined together. [T. Warton stumbled upon this error in mistaking *inimicis* for *mimicis*.] This might easily occasion the mistake in reading UNCIALIBUS for INITIALIBUS: of which see below.'

We will step 'below' for one minute; where we observe as follows. After contending for 'initialibus,' against uncialibus—'by the authority of several MSS. and by the known way of reading such ambiguous words, which is, to take that reading which agrees best with common sense'—Casley adds, 'By *initialibus literis* it's obvious to understand such letters as are wont to be put at the beginnings of books, or chapters, or paragraphs: wherein, if a whole book should be written, it would be indeed rather a burden than a book, as Jerom says. And several such old books are still remaining. But what can be made of *Litteris uncialibus*? Letters of an inch length? Who has ever read of the Ancients writing books in such monstrous characters? And how happens it that no scrap of any such book is still remaining, if ever there were such?' p. xvii. Astle coincides with Casley; and I trust the reader, as well as myself, is disposed to the same coincidence. Thus much for the *definition*—a word now about the antiquity or continuance of the same INITIAL OR CAPITAL LETTERS. They were

of them—and, not that capital letters may not exist even in the *eleventh* century—but, generally and perhaps soberly speaking, the foregoing definition may be considered tolerably correct.

introduced, in fact, from inscriptions upon monuments or other works of art, which were always in capital letters. They are the characteristics, therefore, of our very earliest MSS.; and continued 'in books for ordinary purposes' as late as the *ixth* century; after which Montfaucon never observed any such characters—'except in Books destined for the Church Service or the Choir; for which purposes they obtained perhaps later than the *xixth* century.' See his *Palæog. Græca*, p. xij; but more particularly that incomparable catalogue of MSS. known under the title of *Bibliotheca Coisliniana, olim Segueriana*; p. 84-5. The calligraphical antiquary may possibly not object to disport himself with a clever note, in that supremely clever work, the *Nouveau Traité de Diplomatique*, vol. iii. p. 59, respecting the position of Lisardo upon the antiquity of MSS. ('from the fourth to the ninth century, inclusively') in which these capital letters appear. In that note, the 'fond conceit' of Tertullian's having seen the autograph of some of *St. Paul Epistles*—and of Aulus Gellius having seen the autograph of the *second book of the Æneid*—('which was sold for twenty little golden statues') together with similar 'fond conceits'—are very rationally confuted.

Casley holds out rather stiffly for the existence of MSS. older than the *vth* century; p. viii.: but perhaps the safer way may be to conclude generally, with Montfaucon, (in which conclusion Dr. Marsh should seem to concur, vol. ii. p. 656.) 'Non desunt tamen qui exemplaria quædam, tertii vel quarti sæculi esse arbitrentur. Sed licet fateamur nihil repugnare, ut tantæ vetustatis Codices ad nos usque devenerint; nullam tamen vel certam vel admodum probabilem notam proferri posse arbitramur, qua commonstretur alios quosvis hujusmodi libros manuscriptos, Cæsareum Julianæ Augustæ ætate longe superare.' *Palæog. Græc.* p. 185. He here alludes to the famous Greek MS. of *Dioscorides*; written in the beginning of the *vith* century, and of which 'anon.' Yet, a little onward, he observes that 'the Colbert Copy of the *Pentateuch* (in the royal library of France) should seem to be somewhat earlier even than this *Dioscorides*, inasmuch as it approaches nearer to the characters of ancient inscriptions.' Montfaucon, however, immediately afterwards *qualifies* this assertion, by remarking that he can by no means 'speak positively upon the subject.' In his *ixth* chapter, p. 217, he assigns the St. Germain copy of St. Paul's Epistles a place among those 'of about the *viiith* century.' So much for *UNCIALS*, in the description of which we have occupied not fewer than *ten inches* in a very pigmy type.

A word or two now respecting the *lower-case*, or *cursive type*, or *Tachygraphy*. Mr. Horne, in his *Introduction to the Study of Bibliography*, vol. i. p. 109, is right in his main position respecting the abandonment of the capital, and the adoption of the cursive, or lower-case letter: although I am not prepared to

LISARDO. Will you favour us with the names of a few of the more distinguished MSS. which have this peculiarity of character?

PHILEMON. What a question, my Lisardo, is this to answer! And what, think you, will be the remarks of the fair part of my auditory, when they hear titles or names of men and subjects to which their previous reading furnishes them with no clue!?

ALMANSA. Pray do not let our ignorance be an excuse for your ineffectual discharge of the regal duties of your situation!

PHILEMON. Am I to consider this appeal as a sober or satirical one?

deliver an 'ex cathedra' discourse upon the *Demi-Uncial* form of letter, which, he says, began to prevail in the 1xth century: unless it be to point out, to the reader's particular attention, a specimen of this *half capital* and *half lower-case* letter which appears in a fac-simile, from a MS. of Plutarch, considered by Montfaucon to be of the 1xth century. ['noni, ut putamus, sæculi?'] See his *Pal. Græc.* p. 268, p. 271. The page, here last referred to, exhibits four other specimens of *similar* writing executed in the 1xth century; but, adds the learned Montfaucon, 'I am of opinion that this kind of character was also in use at the beginning of the xth century.' p. 269. From the beginning of the xth century the lower-case type no doubt began to prevail very generally; and, at the same time, COLOPHONS began to take their rise. 'The age of MSS. written since the 1xth century (says Dr. Marsh) may be ascertained, because they have very frequently a SUBSCRIPTION expressive of the year in which they were written.' *Notes to Michaelis*; vol. ii. p. 656. This able annotator refers us to Montfaucon's *Paleog. Græc.* p. 42-91; but the entire chapter, from p. 39 to 94, is well deserving of a colophonical investigation. Nor should the *Bibl. Coislinaiana*, p. 83-4, p. 141. be unconsulted upon this occasion. Reverting for one instant only to the general adoption of the cursive, or lower-case greek letter, let the antiquary follow up his researches into Montfaucon by an examination of the pages of Bandini's *Cat. Cod. MSS. Græc.* in the Medicæan library, 1764, fol. where the first plate, facing p. 82 of vol. i. will afford him specimens of such writing in the 1xth and following centuries. I am aware, at the same time, that the pages of Lambecius, Biscionius, and others, may regale him with similar exhibitions: yet it must be further remarked, that Bandini, vol. i. p. 107, describes a MS. of a portion of the Gospels, of the *twelfth* century, which is said to be written 'per spicuo æ pænè unciali caractere.'

BELINDA. In which way so ever you please. But I own I should be hurt if the . . .

LISARDO. Let us have no more of this 'disporting.' The male part of your audience, brave Philemon, are anxious and even ardent for *uncials*—whether illuminated or not illuminated!

PHILEMON. Perhaps we had better so consider the subject. Leaving therefore the ladies to express their satisfaction, or otherwise, at the end of the Day's discourse, shall we make our *raisonnée* catalogue of early MSS. according to the foregoing distinction—or, shall we confine ourselves strictly to chronological order?

LORENZO. Either method will suffice: and remember that your own decision is absolute. We have no appeal against it—nor do we wish for any.

PHILEMON. Well, then, let the random hint of Lisardo serve for the occasion: since, in a chronological point of view, the difference is very immaterial: for, equally during the *fourth* century are there MSS. both *with* and *without illuminations*.

As illuminated MSS. of the fourth, or certainly the fifth century, we may consider the famous *Roman Calendar* and the *Virgil* and *Terence* in the *Vatican library*—so frequently described—and of the embellishments of which fac-similes have been already before the public. Of nearly the same dates, or perhaps half a century later, must we consider the famous MS. fragment of the *Book of Genesis* in the *Cottonian Collection*, and of the *Pentateuch* in the imperial and royal libraries of *Vienna* and *Paris*. The celebrated *Dioscorides*, also in the Vienna imperial library, may be classed in the same period; that is, towards the end of the fifth, or the beginning of the sixth century. These MSS. with the exception of the

three first mentioned, are Greek; and be it known that ancient art usually appears more interesting in MSS. of Grecian literature.

From the *siath* to the twelfth century there are doubtless illuminated MSS. without end; yet the researches of the learned furnish us with but a scanty list of them. *Portions of the Old, or New Testament, or of the Writings of the more ancient Fathers*,* with sundry works of a similar character,

* *portions of the Old, or New Testament, or of the writings of the more ancient Fathers.*] What a field to perambulate—or, rather, what a region to explore! It is just possible however, that, before the reader plunges at once into all the graphic criticism connected with the more distinguished MSS. about to be mentioned by Philemon to his wondering audience, he may not object to be quietly drawn on one side to be made acquainted with a few illuminated MSS. of not quite such splendid notoriety. The pages of the worthies, above mentioned by Philemon, be my lamps and staves in this calligraphic pilgrimage! First comes the mighty Mabillon—who seems to rejoice in making mention of that ‘extraordinary volume, of huge dimensions, of elegant scription, and adorned with pictures and ornaments—which the worthy Vivianus, Abbot of St. Martin de Tours gave, in due form and ceremony, surrounded by his brother monks, to the celebrated Charles the Bald, about the year 850.’ *De Re Diplomatica*, p. 364. The verses expressly written in it denote this transaction; and the portrait of the King, at the head of the dedication, brings back to the reader’s fancy the very moment, as it were, when the donation took place. The volume is a great portion of the Old Testament, beginning with the first book of the Pentateuch, of which a facsimile is given by Mabillon. The illumination or portrait of the King was ‘caused to be engraved’ by Baluze (the head librarian of Colbert—into whose hands this precious MS. came) in his *Capitular. Reg. Francor.* vol. ii. p. 1276: but the anxious reader may see this decoration in a book of more common occurrence—the *Mus. Ital.* of Montfaucon, vol. i. p. 70. Jansen notices this MS. and says that De Murr published a reduced copy of the portrait in his *Journal*. The latter bibliographer will also have it, in the same *Journal*, vol. xiii. p. 127, that ‘the miniatures, in the more beautiful MSS. of the Sacred Writings of the ixth and xth centuries, were executed by Italian artists.’ Rather, I think, by those of Greece. See *Essai sur la Gravure*, vol. ii. p. 201. But it would be cruel to take the reader away from the page of Mabillon, referred to, without whispering gently in his ear that it appears, from the same, that this CHARLES THE BALD was a VERY DRAGON in the bibliomaniacal way—and, as I suspect, in that department of it connected with *illustrated copies*! For what shall we say of the said Charles’s ‘PRAYER BOOK, marvellously written in letters of gold,

adorn the pages of Lambecius, Mabillon, Montfaucon, Bandini, and others. In our own country we may notice the celebrated MSS. known under the names of *Cuthbert's*

upon purple vellum, and bound in ivory and studded with gems?' This is the warm language of Baluze to Mabillon—'cujus humanitati (says the latter of the former) multum debemus.' Indeed Baluze was a fine fellow for 'manuscript-hunting;' and in the great Colbert he had a master both willing and able to gratify his passion to the utmost. In his auto-biography, Baluze tell us, upon being made (without the least personal knowledge of Colbert, 'ex famâ tantum sibi notum,') librarian to the minister, that 'he set about furnishing the library with a great number of the best books, especially of MANUSCRIPTS, which were obtained at an immense expense, and with unceasing solicitude, in Europe, Asia, and Africa.' Glorious taste—and not wholly extinguished, I trust, among modern European prime ministers! Consult the *Bibl. Baluziana*, vol. i. sign. a vj, recto.

Is not the present the fittest place to notice the *Menologe* (a *Martyrology*, or *Calendar*) said to be executed and 'adorned with pictures' under the care of the Greek Emperor Basil Porphyrogenitus, in the 11th century—according to Baronius—but according to the *Acta Sanctorum*, in the 15th century. Consult the learned treatise of Leo Allatius, *De Libris Ecclesiasticis Græcorum*, reprinted in the 7th volume of Fabricius's *Bibl. Græc.* pt. i. p. 62: where the said Leo seems perfectly to revel in the description of this highly ornamented book—and where he not only demonstrates that the 'miniatures' are executed by different artists, with different degrees of merit, but absolutely gives us the names of the miniature painters!—the Cosways, Plimers, Chalons, and Hayters of the day!—such as Pantaleus, Georgius, Simeon, Michael 'the little,' Menas, Nestor, and the two (Michael and Simeon) Blachernitas! The Abbé Rive, in the notes to his prospectus, mentioned at page xxii, ante, has a particular account of this *Menologe*; which came into the possession of Pope Paul V. and was by him deposited in the Vatican library. It contains not fewer than 430 miniatures, with the name of one of the forementioned artists by the side of each miniature. It was published for the first time in Greek and Latin, in 1727, at Rome, in 2 folio volumes, under the care of Cardinal Albani—with engravings of some of these miniatures, 5 inches in height by 7 in width. This *Menologe*, containing only six months out of the twelve, (viz. September, October, November, December, January, February) was followed by the publication of a 3rd volume, from another ancient *Menologe*, discovered by Pope Celestine XI. in a monastery of St. Basil, in the Campagna di Roma, which contained the remaining six months. This latter publication was also under the patronage of Cardinal Albani. See Rive's note, p. 44-8. But it was a great omission, in the engravings of the first publication, not to supply the names of the respective artists who executed the originals.

Latin and Saxon Gospels, the Life of Aldhelm, and the Book of Gospels belonging to Athelstan.

LORENZO. Perhaps you will favour us with an opinion or

In strict justice, however, I ought to have previously noticed an illuminated MS. of a *Syriac Version of the Gospels*, of the sixth century, according to Assemanus, in his *Bibl. Med. Laurent. et Palat. Cod. MSS. Orientalium Cat: Curante Gorio*, 1742, folio. In the 'Paranesis ad Lectorem' (p. 491) the date of this MS. is given as of 586. The plates, illustrative of the illuminations, are xxvi. in number; and the figures in them are from 1 to 7 inches in height. The whole is divided by frame-work, or pillars, terminated by capitals, having somewhat more than semi-circular tops above: a mode of decoration, observable even as late as the xviiith century in the quarto Bibles of Bill and Barker. Beneath these circles are capitals to the pillars, (which form the divisions,) evidently of a much later date, and such as we apply to the architecture of the xith and xiiith centuries. Biscionius republished these plates, but not with scrupulous fidelity, in his *Cat. of the Hebrew MSS. in the Medicæan Library*, 1752, folio, vol. ii. p. 171: prefixing 28 pages of elaborate description. Michaelis, although he wishes us to be very cautious about the dates of Syriac MSS.—remarking, that they are not all of them so ancient as their dates imply—yet, concerning this particular MS., he seems to refer us to Blanchini with a conviction, rather than doubt, of its antiquity. He says however that 'a complete catalogue of the Syriac MSS. of the New Testament, of which certain information is to be obtained, would be an essential service rendered to biblical criticism.' *Introd. to the New Testament*, vol. ii. p. 21, edit. 1802. The annotation of his learned editor, upon this point, rather confirms the propriety of the original remark.

Let us pass on to the notice of a few other distinguished, and illuminated MSS. (indiscriminately, as to their contents, but all of a serious nature) from the ixth or xth, to the xiiith century. Montfaucon soon begins to arrest our attention, in the early pages of his *Pal. Græc.* with an account of two unusually splendid and interesting ones of the kind of which we are treating. The one, (Cod. Reg. num. 1809) of the ninth century, containing the Works of *St. Gregory*, formerly belonging to that lover of highly emblazoned MSS. the Greek Emperor Basil Porphyrogenitus. This manuscript is briefly mentioned by him at p. 4; but at page 110, we have an absolutely sparkling description thereof: 'It is written (says he) with wonderful elegance, on all sides effulgent with gold, and crowned with 45 illuminations or pictures!' p. 110. Mark, now, how his enthusiasm carries him on! 'Along side of this precious MS. may be placed that *Catena* (or Commentary) upon the Psalms, &c. also resplendent with gold and illuminations—unsullied by age, although executed in the xth century, and breathing all the magnificence of the Augustan age. *Ibid.* At page 11, not only a very particular description is given of the ornaments in this *Catena*, (Cod. Reg. Num. 1878,) but a most interesting fac-simile occurs of the illumination at fol. 435: where there appears a beautiful female figure of Night, [NTE] with a stellated robe,

two upon the comparative degrees of merit in the specimens of ancient art contained in the MSS. just mentioned; and more especially in those of our own country?

her torch inverted, and she is looking over her left shoulder. It is perfectly Grecian art. A figure of Esaias, with a boy having a lighted torch in his left hand, (denoting the dawn of day) are to the right of this sable but interesting female. The text is from the Canticle of Isaiah — ‘*ἐκ νυχλὸς ὀρρήξει τὸ πνεῦμά μου.*’ It is rarely that specimens of art, in illuminated MSS. of this period, present us with such a treat as this. In his *Diarium Italicum*, p. 278, Montfaucon tells us that he saw a MS. of the same subject, age, and handwriting, in the Vatican; but apparently without illuminations:

In his *Bibliotheca Coisliniana*, p. 63-5, the same learned antiquary gives us an account of an illuminated MS. of the *Gospels*, of the xth century; including a fac-simile of the representation of St. John, sitting before his writing desk. This is among the earliest extant of the innumerable ornaments called *Portraits of the Evangelists*. I shall have occasion to make farther mention of these evangelical representations: but must at present hasten to take particular notice of an illuminated MS. of a portion of the *Works of St. Chrysostom*, described at great length, and illustrated with great splendour, from page 133 to 137 of the work last referred to. It was executed for the use of the Emperor Nicephorus, Bottoniata, at the end of the xith century; and contains four beautiful and elaborate portraits of that monarch: among which, the second, of himself and his Queen, is to be particularly commended for splendour of dress, and tenderness of physiognomical expression. I know of nothing of this period, of the same character, which deserves to be put alongside of it: but it is possible, and even probable, that the curious may prefer the 14th plate, which represents the same Emperor between the Father (Chrysostom) and the Archangel Michael. The backgrounds uniformly appear to be of solid gold; and the colours, throughout, according to Montfaucon's minute and admirable description, are of the liveliest characters. Indeed these copper-plate fac-similes are quite superior to anything of their kind of which I happen, at this moment, to have the least recollection. But thus *ought* such illustrations *ever* to be executed! De Murr, in his elaborate description of the *Ebnerian Codex*, (an illuminated MS. of the N. Testament of the xith century, formerly in the Ebner family—but now in the public library at Nuremberg—see *Mem. Bibl. Publ. Norimb.* vol. ii. p. 100-131) refers to the ornaments of one of the illuminations of this Coislinian, or Seguerian MS. by way of illustrating the one under description: see p. 118.

We will conclude these ms. illumination-researches by disporting ourselves awhile in the instructive pages of Bandini's *Catalogue of the Greek MSS in the Medicæan Library*: 1764, 3 vols. folio. The illustrations about to be adduced are all of the xith century. And first let us examine with minute attention, and especial gratification, the beautiful fac-simile from the xvi Orations of *Gregory*

PHILEMON. Willingly; but I am not desirous that these opinions should be considered in any other manner than as 'flying words.' Permit me however, in the outset of my

of *Nazianzen*, forming number v. of the fourth plate, opposite page 320. of vol. i.—just transferring, for a few seconds, our admiration of a border-ornament from a MS. of the same Father, of the xth century; forming no. ii. in the same plate. But the fac-simile first mentioned—representing the nativity of our Lord, with the ablution of the infant Christ, below, and the choir of attendant angels above, &c.—has more than usual merit, considering the diminutiveness of the figures introduced. The description of the MS. occurs at page 293 of the same volume. At page 147, illustrated by a copper-plate fac-simile at p. 163, we notice a very extraordinary MS. of the Gospels, of the xth century, containing, not only four large representations of the Evangelists, but having moreover 'almost innumerable other small embellishments, illustrative of the text of scripture, and incorporated in the text itself—so that scarcely a page occurs without two or more such specimens of illumination.' The fac-similes introduced at the bottom of page 163, are rather curious than correctly beautiful. The fac-simile of the writing, in very small lower-case, or a cursive hand, given at page 164, shews prodigious neatness and even elegance. The last specimen to be given from Bandini (placed however the first in order by that writer) is from a precious MS. of the xth century, of a *Catena* or *Commentary upon the Four Greater Prophets*; which MS. the said Bandini calls 'ineditus, integer, elegantissimus, et prorsus egregius, et omnibus bonis et laudibus cumulatissimus'—and which Lucas Holsten pronounces to be 'planè admirandus ob antiquitatem et elegantiam,' p. 19-22. But our business just now is with *Art*. Well then, in Plate II, (from the same MS.) inserted after p. 82, we observe a whole length figure of *Jeremiah*, about 8 inches and a half high; a roll in his left hand, beneath his robe; his right elevated towards the Almighty, in the clouds. The drapery of this figure is graceful, and the expression of the countenance good; but the arms are too short, and there is what artists call a poverty of composition throughout the whole. The two square borders which surround it, with an inscription in Greek capitals, between these borders, are in a pure taste; and this illustration of the original may be ranked among the more creditable copper-plate ornaments which embellish the pages of foreign bibliography. Bandini concludes his account of this precious MS. by almost going down upon his knees to 'beg and pray' that 'some learned and laboriously patient man' would undertake the publication of it—ingrafting his own immortality upon that of the work itself: p. 22. The colours and the gold of this MS. are exquisite.

To this limited (and I fear unsatisfactory) list of the earlier, second-rate, illuminated MSS. let me just notice the fac-similes of embellishments, upon a minor scale, which adorn a duodecimo Psalter, of 265 leaves, partly written in golden letters—described in Kollarius's reprint of Lambecius: lib. iii. col. 95, &c. I

regal or judicial capacity, to say a word or two respecting the art displayed in the earlier MSS. stated to be in the *foreign* libraries before mentioned.

And first of the ROMAN CALENDAR: as you see the figures of the respective months in the pages of Lambecius and Grævius.* The style of art is quite classical; whether

suspect from the style of the armour, upon the figure of St. Gereon, that the original embellishments are not earlier than the xth century.

What treasures, therefore, curious and enthusiastic reader, yet remain to be explored—among foreign libraries—and connected only with GRECIAN LITERATURE!! For know that, all the Works, described in this almost interminable note, are deposited in foreign collections, and are composed in the Greek tongue. And further know, that ART (as Philemon has above properly observed) appears in a more perfect form in MSS. executed in this language. Whether therefore for extrinsic or intrinsic purposes—whether as an object of taste or of erudition—let us hope that, abroad, the brave spirit of PROFESSOR MAIO will quickly warm the cold, and strengthen the feeble, in researches after ancient manuscript lore: while, at home, the sagacity and perseverance of our BURNEYS, GAISFORDS, and BLOMFIELDS, will not fail, ere a score of years shall have run their course, to have elicited what is most curious, precious, and praise-worthy in the vellum treasures of Oxford, Cambridge, and London! As to MSS. in the Latin and French languages, connected with the HISTORY OF OUR OWN COUNTRY, from the xth to the xivth century, there has been nothing to put in competition—whether for criticism or intelligence—with what my very excellent friend the *ὁ πᾶν* . . . Y . . . E hath acquired in his researches amongst these precious stores!

* the ROMAN CALENDAR—in the pages of Lambecius and Grævius.] The reader is now about to be made acquainted with the more celebrated MSS. abroad and at home, which contain both curious and excellent specimens of ancient art, in the labours of THE ILLUMINATOR. I am aware however that he will stop me on the very threshold of the inquiry, by proposing a quære or two respecting that extraordinary volume (the prototype of our Granger, shall we add?) of eminent Roman portraits, which POMPONIUS ATTICUS (on the authority of Corn. Nepos) is said to have possessed—and beneath which a quatrain or so of verses was inscribed, indicative of the achievements, in arts or arms, of the respective characters introduced. But VARRO was a yet more desperate collector of portraits!—‘for’ says Pliny (lib. xxxv. ch. ii.) ‘he had not fewer than seven hundred notices, usually illustrated by portraits, of the more eminent characters of his time.’ Indeed Fabricius (*Bibl. Lat. Cura Ernesti*, vol. i. p. 125) gives us the title of a work expressly written upon portrait-painting by Varro: namely, ‘*Hebdomadum, sive de Imaginibus Libri.*’ Brotier, in his

we consider the anatomy of the figures, or the drapery with which they are clothed. These figures are about eight inches in height; and their occupations, emblematical of the respective months, are not a little striking and curious. The arts of design and composition appear to considerable

edition of Pliny, (vol. vi. p. 368) thinks these portraits were done *with a pen*; but the hypothesis-loving Pauw absolutely sees in them the invention of copper-plate engraving! O rare Professor Pauw! Jansen, in his *Essai sur la Gravure*, vol. i. p. 189, &c. is rather amusing upon this subject. The Abbé Rive has a shrewd suspicion that Varro's book was in existence at the end of the 1vth century; or, if not the book itself, a copy of it. 'Don't cite (says he) the authority of Aulus Gellius, in opposition to me, who says the library was pillaged and destroyed in the year 710 of Rome: which would make it half a century before the Christian era: for Symmachus, who lived towards the end of the 1vth century after Christ, speaks of this *very book* in one of his letters printed by Carrio (*Emend. et Observat. Libri. sec. Paris, 1583, 4to.*) in a manner which shews he had turned over its leaves, and was fully acquainted with the contents of it.' *Prospectus*, &c. p. 33. Happy Symmachus!

But for the above mentioned ROMAN CALENDAR. Let us hear, first of all, what Schwarz says upon this, and other similar specimens, of ancient art in illuminated manuscripts. 'Dici vero non potest, quantum hæ picturæ ad antiquitates veterumque ritus illustrandos conferre possunt.' . . . 'Inter alios autem antiquos codices variis imaginibus exornatos, maxima certe admiratione dignum esse videtur CALENDARIUM ILLUD ROMANUM, egregium vetustatis monimentum, atque pulcherrimum Bibliothecæ Vindobonensis cimelium,' &c. *De Ornament. Libror. Vet.* 1756, 4to. p. 38. This is excellent and orthodox of its kind. The enterprising spirit of Lambecius discovered and published these extraordinary specimens of expiring Roman art in his *Comment. de Bibl. Imp. Vindob. lib. iv.* p. 277; in a series of eight plates. Of course Kollarus, in his new edition of Lambecius, republished them; but my copy of Kollarus lacketh such desiderated ornaments—and yet it was obtained from Monsieur A. A. Renouard, a bookseller and bibliographer of no mean renown! However Grævius ('vir immortalis famæ,' says Schwarz—it does one good to mention the name of that illustrious antiquary!) had previously republished them, with 6 pages of annotation from Lambecius, in his *Thes. Antiq. Romanar.* vol. viii. p. 95, &c. They form a most interesting series of ancient art; being eight out of the twelve calendar months, represented by allegorical figures, with appropriate accompaniments; about 8 inches in height, fully draped. Their date is supposed to be of the year 354 of Christ; and they are also supposed to have been expressly executed for a certain Valentinus, during the government of Constantine, the son of Constantine the Great. And thus much for the far-famed Roman Calendar in the imperial library at Vienna.

advantage in them; and on contemplating them, we do not yet begin to feel ourselves much removed from the era of Grecian elegance. Secondly, of the degree of merit as to art in the earlier illuminated MSS. of VIRGIL and TERENCE.* The

* *the earlier illuminated MSS. of Virgil and Terence.*] These MSS. have been described nearly 'a thousand and one times;' but let us add another unit to the number, unconscionable as it may seem. Suppose we begin with Mabillon; who places the Virgil as the first in the list of 'Roman writing of the second age:' and who gives a fac-simile of the beginning of the text of the second Eclogue. At that time Mabillon was indebted to the kindness of Cardinal Casanata ('cujus benignitatem et eruditionem prædicat chorus litteratorum'—adds the enthusiastic antiquary!) for a knowledge of the MS.; but afterwards he was gratified by a sight of it himself, in company with his friend Emanuel a Schelstrate, head librarian of the Vatican, when he went upon his Italian tour: as we gather from page 62, vol. i. of his *Museum Italicum*. At page 63, he says of the illuminations, that 'they elegantly and skilfully express' what they were intended to represent. Certainly this is their least praise. Yet how could that wonderfully accomplished antiquary, Montfaucon, in his *Diarium Italicum*, speaking of these very illuminations, pronounce them to be 'non peritæ manus?!' What a purgatory must his spirit be doomed to endure from such a crude and heretical opinion! But for the MS. itself. It is supposed by Mabillon, Winkelman, and Peter Burnan, to be of the time of Constantine the Great. Schelstrate has pushed it to the period of Septimus Severus: but the authors of the *Nouveau Traité de Diplomatique*, vol. iii. p. 57, rather incline to place it towards the beginning of the vth century, contrary, as it appears to me, to the authorities before cited.

The Abbé Rive gives us some curious intelligence connected with it. He says that 'Cardinal Camillus Massimi, who died in 1677, in his 58th year, caused these paintings to be copied, and employed Bartoli both to copy and engrave them.' Mabillon had intimated the same thing; but Massimi's laudable passion for antiquities is interestingly described by Rive. In the year 1677, 4to. these engravings appeared, without the text, in 55 copper plates. There are copies of this edition upon vellum—which Fabricius (says Rive) and few bibliognostes are aware of—'Je tais ici (adds he) l'exemplaire d'un pareil tirage que je connois, afin que les furets bibliographiques aient la peine de le chercher là où il est indiqué.' How like the man is this sentence! These engravings, also without the text, were republished in 1725; but more correctly, and with an increased number of plates, from another ancient ms. of Virgil in the Vatican library, (num. 3867) as well as with the text itself, accompanied by notes, corrections, and various readings—under the editorial care of BOTTARI: whose preface is well worth perusal, and whose edition of this precious fragment of antiquity is the only one worth obtaining: as AMBROGI made a sorry use of these engravings

embellishments in the Vatican VIRGIL are in a much better taste than those of the Roman Calendar. There is more of design and composition in these decorations—which are

in his pompous edition of the text of the Lorenzo-Medicæan Virgil, in capital letters—unilluminated—but illustrated with the cuts of this Vatican MS. in 1763, folio, 3 volumes. We learn both from Bottari, and the authors of the *Nouveau Traité de Diplomatique*, vol. iii. p. 57, note (1), that Emanuel a Schelstrate had the highest opinion of these illuminations: 'Quinimo (says that learned librarian of the Vatican) pictor harum imaginum videtur secutus fuisse ideam nobilioris et antiquioris pictoris, nihilque in iis exhibetur quod primam Romani Imperii majestatem non redolet.' It is rather surprising that Mabillon had not seen Bartoli's first publication of the figures. Of Bartoli's accuracy or inaccuracy I am incompetent to say a word: but I may hesitate before I subscribe to the severe sentence of Winkelmann, that 'il s'étoit attaché à faire paroître toutes les productions médiocres comme venant des bons tems de l'art.' *Hist. de l'Art chez les Anciens*, vol. ii. p. 492, edit. 1790. Observe, that the note subjoined to this passage, and signed C. F. will be found in Jansen's *Essai sur la Gravure*, vol. ii. p. 194: from the end of which we learn that a bookseller, of the name of Monaldini, published short descriptions of these illuminations, at Rome, in 1782. The figures rarely exceed 2 inches in height.

Next in order comes the VATICAN TERENCE. This is thought to be of nearly the same antiquity with the Virgil; according to Mabillon and Montfaucon. *De Re Diplom.* p. 352: *Diarium Ital.* p. 278. There is some pleasant anecdote attached to its early history. Bernard Bembo was once in possession of it, as we learn from Cocquelines' edition of 1767, folio, 2 vol.—and had made the following inscription upon the 2d leaf of it:

EST MEI BERNARDI BEMBI
QVI POST EIVS OBITVM MANEAT
IN SVOS
ANTIQVISS. ANTIQVITATIS RELIQVIAE.

The accomplished Politian also wrote as follows upon the immediately succeeding leaf:

O FOELIX NIMIVM PRIOR AETAS.
EGO ANGELVS POLITIANVS HOMO VETVSTATIS MINIME INCV-
RIOSVS
NVLLVM AEQVE ME VIDISSE AD HANC DIEM CODICEM
ANTIQVVM FATEOR.

It afterwards came into the possession of Fulvius Ursinus; and Erythræus, in his *Pinacotheca*, p. 10, edit. 1692, hath favoured us with an amusing tale hereupon. 'Ursinus had collected many ancient MSS. in his library at a great expense; and a ridiculous circumstance enough occurred one day, when, being visited by the Cardinal Toletto, he shewed him the *Comedies of Terence*, [the MS. under consideration] which he affirmed to have been written a thousand years ago—

full one-third size less than those just mentioned. I remember being much pleased, in particular, with those relating to the history of the 'unhappy Dido.'...

ALMANSA. She was, methinks, a vastly injured woman—

LISARDO. But the embellishments...

PHILEMON. Those which describe her dying scene really possess considerable pathos. Indeed, upon the whole, in a graphic point of view, I prefer the illuminations of this Virgil to those of any MS. with which I am acquainted. I must take it for granted that they are faithfully represented

but that they were now in a very mutilated state — 'yet, added he, barbarous as this MS. may seem, it is *beyond all price* ! ' Heavens, (rejoined the Cardinal) what do I hear? Truly, I would rather have one text of Terence, however recently printed, provided it were *correct*, than ten such mutilated specimens of ancient lore, even should they have been written by the hand of a Sibyl! Every one present laughed excessively when they heard the Cardinal so much depreciate what his Host had estimated so extravagantly.' Ursinus bequeathed this extremely precious manuscript to the Vatican library, with some sonnets of Petrarch in the hand-writing of that poet. Let therefore Fulvius Ursinus receive our best thanks, and let him be numbered among the bravest Bibliomaniacs of his day!

The illuminations of this MS. of Terence (of which, somewhat unaccountably, the authors of the *Nouveau Traité de Diplomatique*, omit to take notice—although they place the writing as high as the end of the 14th century) were first given to the public in an Italian version of Terence published by Mainardi at Urbino in 1736; and afterwards in 2 folio volumes, by Carolus Cocquelines in 1767—also with an Italian version. In his preface, p. III. the latter editor remarks: 'Quare romanas fere omnes Bibliothecas inveni, et terentianos MSS. Codices, si qui erant, diligentissime perlustravi: ex quam plurimis autem duos potissimum selegi Vaticanæ Bibliothecæ omnium, quotquot supersunt, antiquissimos, ac nitidissimos, a Mabillonio, Montfauconio, omnibusque eruditis viris maximopere commendatos.' Cocquelines then gives a specimen of the original text from the *Hecyra*, Act. 1. Sc. 1. in capitals of a close character. The MS. is numbered 3226, and contains 113 leaves. At p. VI. the editor gives a fac-simile of another ancient MS. of Terence, in the cursive hand: perhaps the one mentioned by Peireskian, which Montfaucon thought to be of the 14th century. Possibly not much more than a century later, is that very interesting MS. of Terence, in the Auctarium of the *Bodleian library*, written in a handsome lower-case, or small roman character, and replete with illuminations introduced in the margins, in an outline of bistre colour. Take the following, lover of illustrative

in the foreign engravings of them: yet I own I much long for an inspection of the originals! I wish indeed I could offer you *any* opinion upon the illuminations of a portion of the famous HOMER, in the Ambrosian library at Milan,* and

art, of which I made a tracing from the Prologue of the *Andria*. The drapery has very considerable merit, and the attitude is far from being inelegant.



In respect to the more ancient MS., first under consideration, it must be remarked that the figures are only about 3 inches in height, and are probably more shaded than the originals warrant. Cocquelines' book however is but a tasteless performance.

* *famous Homer in the Ambrosian library at Milan.*] The name of MAIO will, in future ages, be coupled with those of fortunate discoverers of precious MSS.

upon which Professor Maio is now exercising his critical acumen. In his prospectus, relating to it, we are promised to be treated with a variety of fac-similes of its numerous

of antiquity. The *Epistles of SYMMACHUS*, the fragments of the forensic orations of *FRONTO*, an oration of *ISÆUS*, with the promised portions of the *HOMER*, above alluded to, are quite sufficient feathers in the Professor's literary cap to make him hold up his head gallantly for the remainder of his life. If the same Professor have not discovered, in such edited portions of the ancient Classics, all the successful daring of Bentley, and all the recondite accuracy of Blomfield, he has nevertheless evinced so much unconquerable perseverance and classical taste as entitle him to our very best wishes and warmest thanks—and if the day, in which this perishable mention is made of him, chance to be the anniversary of his *natal* one, let me congratulate the said Professor, in the name of my countrymen, and heartily wish him ‘*multos et felices!*’ But all this is mere gossip and flourish! The reader is impatient for an account of the Homeric MS. Let him attend to what follows—collected from the Professor's own notice, and published also I believe in the *Acta Lipsiensia*.

There appear to be *LVIII* complete illuminations; some of which are attached to each of the *xxiv* Books of the *Iliad*, with the exception of the *iiii*, *xviii*, *xix*, and *xx* books. The Homeric verses unluckily are only 800 in number. ‘In the paintings (says the Professor) are a wonderful exuberance and variety of imagination. For as Homer was endued with an immense power of mind, to embrace as it were the whole of nature in his poetry, so our Artist has exhibited scarcely less universality in his performances. Oh, that his skill had been equal to his fertility of fancy! Yet the subjects, although not free from faults common perhaps to many monuments of antiquity, are nevertheless by no means despicable. They do not possess the stiffness of later ages, and they abound in representations of graceful form, acute expression of countenance, flowing drapery—with indications even of the passions of the human mind. The symmetry of the limbs, the light and shade, mountains and plains, are not unhappily expressed . . . but the chief excellence and merit of such ornaments are, that they convey a perfect picture of the manners and customs of the times in which they were executed.’ The Professor is then nearly carried away by ‘a gust of inspiration’ on a more particular description of them. *De Editione Fragmentorum Antiquissimorum Iliadis Homeri cum Picturis Nuncius Prodromus.*

What shall we say then? That the Homer is of the same age with the Virgil and Terence? Let those who impugn such a conjecture, dispassionately state the grounds upon which their opposition is formed. For my own part, a *GREEK-CAPITAL-LETTER CLASSIC*—and especially of *HOMER*—(only portions even of such a poet!) is a circumstance of ‘such high relish,’ that one can hardly suffer one's enthusiasm to cool for the sake of taking out a pair of critical scales to weigh how much of it belongs to the *iv*th, or *v*th, or *vi*th century! The illumi-

decorations—illustrative especially of the several deaths described in the battles of the bard. The Professor talks of the accuracy of its anatomical representations; so that we may prepare ourselves for a rich repast when his publication makes its appearance.

Thus much for early ornamented classical manuscripts, written in capital letters. Pursuing the order of our researches, suffer me now to make particularly honourable mention of the famous *Pentateuch* in the imperial library of Vienna,* adorned with 48 illuminations—which, from the

nations, I confess, promise a wide field for conjecture to range in: but the text, it is most probable, may savour of the school of Aristarchus, and of the Augustan age of criticism; and thus not bring us very much nearer to the period of the Mæonian Bard himself. However, as they say to the south of Calais-pier, ' nous verrons !'

Among the later specimens of illuminated classics, is the *ANACREON* published by Spaletti at Rome in 1781 folio, from a MS. of the xth century. This impression exhibits fac-similes of the original, from the pencil of Ricciolini; accompanied by 8 leaves of paginary fac-simile. There are also two Greek texts, with a Latin version; but each of the texts is in a cursive hand. I have some suspicion of the fidelity of Ricciolini's pencil; as the fac-similes have too much of a modern air. The library of the Royal Institution is enriched by a copy of this work, coloured after the originals; which was presented to it by Sir Frederick Baker, Bart. The head and tail-piece embellishments are perfectly classical and beautiful.

* *famous portion of the Pentateuch in the imperial library at Vienna.*] Let us hasten to the prolific pages of Lambecius at once—or, still better, to the new edition of his *Comment. de Bibl. Cæs. Vindobon.* by Kollarus, 1776, lib. iii. col. 3, with its attendant notes. Yet Nesselius, who published a 'Recensio Specialis' of all the Greek and Oriental MSS. in the same library, in 1690, folio, upon the basis of his great precursor, Lambecius, will not be without his use. First, as to Lambecius, who absolutely pours forth 'burning words' upon the subject. He calls the volume in question 'a very ancient, purple-vellum MS. of a square form, written in capital letters, of silver and gold; in the fourth century.' It consists of only 26 leaves; of which 24 are embellished, *on each side*, with paintings illustrative of the *Book of Genesis*. The two other leaves contain a portion of the Gospel of St. Luke, with portraits or representations of the four Evangelists. The whole of these 48 embellishments, together with the four Evangelists, and a specimen of the text, are engraved upon copper, as fac-similes, in the work of Lambecius; republished by Nesselius, and again by Kollarus.

specimens given by Lambecius, and from him copied by Nesselius and Kollarius, we may fairly observe are not only extremely interesting from their antiquity, but portions of them are absolutely well designed and full of expression.

The same plates probably served for Lambecius and Nesselius; but those of Kollarius are new, and equally feeble and faithless. Montfaucon has caused the fac-simile only of the *type* to be re-engraved, in his *Palæographia Græca*, p. 194; and Astle has made the English reader familiar with a portion of this latter fac-simile, in the 111th plate to his *Origin and Progress of Writing*: but the artist has deviated from the original in Astle's representation of it, which is a great deal too heavily executed.

Nesselius tells us that 'the writing of this most ancient MS. is extremely difficult to be read; not only because it is divested of accents, and distinction of words, but because the letters are partly obscured, partly eaten away, and, on account of the thinness or transparency of the vellum, scarcely any longer distinguishable. The colours of the miniatures (adds he) are divested of oil; being only water tempered with gum.' vol. i. p. 49. The illuminations are in truth great curiosities; commencing with a representation of the eating of the forbidden fruit, followed by the expulsion of our first parents from paradise. The Deluge forms the third subject; but there is no room for the notice of each subject. The figures measure from 3 inches and a quarter downwards; and evidently betray the decline of art. In spite of the sneer of Reimannus, (in his *Bibl. Acroamatica*, p. 62,) respecting the 'want of selection,' displayed by Lambecius, in giving us 'the whole farrago of subjects,' we are much indebted to that zealous and enterprising bibliographer for the ample and rich treat which such a series of plates furnishes: because, from some *one*, more than *another*, the critical antiquary may draw an inference which may serve to determine the period when the work was executed. Montfaucon, indeed, appears strongly to doubt its being of the age of Constantine the Great. adding, that 'he scarcely thinks it coeval with the Colbert MS. (of the vith century); and that it is hardly possible to know the age of MSS. executed before the vith century, when all are written in nearly the same form of letter.' *Pal. Græc.* p. 193. Kollarius however feels no embarrassment, from the wary scepticism of Montfaucon, not only assigning to it the period conjectured by Lambecius, but, in his *lib. iii. col. 510-515*, he is even disposed to think that St. Jerom had his eye upon THIS VERY MS. when he inflicted that cruel stroke of satire 'upon ancient vellum MSS. written in capital letters of gold and silver!' He also gravely states the probabilities which induce him to draw that conclusion:—but this is rather too violent a trespass upon chronology and common sense. Let us however grant Kollarius all that he requires, when he says that 'it is quite evident that this very ancient MS. in its perfect state, contained the whole of the Old and New Testament—as clearly appears from two leaves of the *New Testament*, of precisely

Akin, in point of age, if not of somewhat more remote antiquity, is the celebrated Greek MS. of DIOSCORIDES,* deposited in the same imperial library. I apprehend the

similar execution, which have floated like planks in a shipwreck, to our own times, and are preserved in the same imperial library! Thus discourseth Kollarius; and, truly, a sight of this precious and sacred relic would, to the anxious eye of him who here followeth Kollarius, afford a gratification and 'joyaunce' almost 'passing description.' The day, peradventure, is not very remote, when that felicity may be granted to the 'follower of Kollarius.'

* *the celebrated Greek MS. of Dioscorides.*] This is indeed a 'celebrated MS.' and Lambecius deserves the everlasting gratitude of posterity for his copious, minute, and splendid description of this most precious volume. We need not stop at Schwarz, Rive, Winkelmann, and Jansen, but explore at once the fountain head of intelligence in Lambecius; and plunge into all that luxuriance of detail, which nine large copper-plate fac-similes, of a folio size, accompanied by 80 pages of text,* cannot fail to afford every lover of classical and curious lore. All the plates of Lambecius are repeated by Nesselius and Kollarius; but Montfaucon has contented himself with only the viiith and ixth, probably as classical as any. In the first place we have here a CERTAIN DATE: a genuine, coeval, unquestionable subscription: telling us that this inestimable treasure was executed by the order of the EMPRESS JULIANA ANICIA, in the year of Christ 505. A portrait of the Empress is among the embellishments. Dr. Marsh quotes the inference of Montfaucon, (in the passage in part just extracted) from this date, with propriety and effect. *Notes to Michaelis*, vol. ii. p. 656. The MS. consists of 491 leaves, occasionally much injured; but the binding (according to Nesselius, pt. iii. p. 3) is in a most wretched state of fracture and decay! Does it continue so? or is the skill of Charles Lewis unknown at Vienna? (The Chapter-Library at York will read a profitable lesson to the curators of the imperial library at Vienna upon this head!) But our business is with the Dioscorides. It is hardly necessary to say that the text, throughout, is written in uncial or capital letters. The embellishments are bold and striking; containing heads, figures, birds, and elaborately-wrought back-grounds. The figures are

* The critical Montfaucon is somewhat caustic upon the gossiping Lambecius. Previously to giving his own description of this extraordinary volume, he observes—'Hujus peramplam pro more suo notitiam dedit Petrus Lambecius in Bibliotheca Cæsarea libro ii. c. ii. p. 519, unde omnia, quæ exemplaris istius vel antiquitatem, vel præstantiam, vel fortunas varias enuntiant, excerpere libet; omissis aliis, quæ ad rem minus pertinent: nam Scriptor ille, sane diligens et eruditus, digressionibus mirè gaudet.' *Pal. Græc.* p. 195.

It may be here noticed that Busbequeius procured this MS. during his embassy at Constantinople (1562) for 100 ducats; and in one of his letters he declares that 'he will not let his Imperial Master (Maximilian II.) have any rest, till he authorise him to purchase it!' Glorious diplomatist!

embellishments of this precious volume to be nearly as *strictly classical* as those in any preceding MS.: yet I form my judgment entirely from Nesselius, Kollarius, and Mont-

generally 4 or 5 inches in height; but the limits of this work forbid a particular description of them. Yet let us add that the *Empress Juliana* is seen sitting between two female figures, representing *Magnanimity* and *Prudence*, in the *viii*th plate of Nesselius and Kollarius—which forms the first plate of Montfaucon, in his *Pal. Græc.* p. 203: and further, that, in all the *three* representations of her there is an obvious *variation*! What a virtue is accuracy! The accompaniments to this group of three females (two squares intersecting each other at right angles, the whole within a circle, with a back-ground of groups of small Cupids, exercising themselves in various occupations) are very singular. Nesselius speaks highly of the brilliant condition of the original. The *ix*th plate, (or *iii*d of Montfaucon) of a circular wreath enclosing a Greek inscription, is perfectly Grecian art. Portraits of the ancient physicians, with that of the author himself, are seen in the preceding plates. But detail would be endless. Montfaucon, by devoting 17 pages of his *Palæog. Græc.* (p. 195-211) to this inestimable volume shews how highly he appreciated it. May it witness, uninjured, *ANOTHER thirteen hundred years*—and let no tasteful antiquary, or classical critic, visit the library where it is enshrined without imprinting thereupon—but this language savoureth of a ‘riotous pulse.’ . . . The ample pages of Harles’s edition of Fabricius’s *Bibl. Græca*, will inform us, in a more especial manner, what ‘precious gear’ is yet locked up within the damp-corroded covers (so says Nesselius) of this inestimable volume:—‘inter præstantissimos Codices jure accensendus!’ quoth Montfaucon!

We are now about to regale ourselves with an account of *another* MS. of *Dioscorides*, of scarcely less antiquity and beauty. It is the admirable Montfaucon who furnishes the treat on this occasion. In his *Diarium Italicum*, 1702, 4to. p. 309, he thus describes the MS. in question, in the library of St. John of Carbonaria, an Augustine monastery, at Naples.* ‘Codex Dioscorides eleganter descriptus, membranaceus, characteribus uncialibus quadris, sine accentibus, adpositis plantarum florumque figuris, minio depictis a perita manu. Hujus auctoris nullum puto pari vetustate et elegantia exemplar exstare: [had he heard

* This library, observes Montfaucon, (in his *Palæog. Græca*, p. 212—and it is pleasant to give genealogies of libraries!) was formerly Parrhasius’s, a learned man, and the son in law of (a still more learned man) Demetrius Chalcondylas. Many of the MSS. contain notes in the hand writing of Parrhasius. Parrhasius bequeathed the library to Antonius Seripandus; and hence it came into the possession of the Augustine monks. Montfaucon understood that, formerly, the collection of volumes had been much more extensive; but the enterprising spirit of some Dutch bibliomaniac had thinned their ranks by means of a little ‘*aurum potabile*,’ which had been prescribed for the monks as a cure for particular complaints!

faucou. The countenances, however, in some of the facsimiles of the *same* subject, vary so much, that we have probably yet to learn the exact lineaments of the originals.

It remains now to make particular mention of *the more ancient illuminated MSS. in our own country*: and first of the BOOK OF GENESIS in the COTTON LIBRARY: reduced almost to a cinder by the destructive ravages of fire. As these fragments have been submitted to public notice,* it

of the Vienna MS. when he made this assertion?] nam Regium quod antiquitatis causa suspicatur, huic multum concedit ætate et pulcritudine.' [It seems he had heard of it, for I presume the 'royal copy,' here alluded to, to be the one in the imperial library at Vienna. But hear him further!] Initio mutilum hisce verbis incipit, ΑΜΒΡΟΣΙΑ ΟΙΔΕ ΒΟΤΡΥΣ. ΟΙΔΕ ΒΟΤΡΥΣ: estque V, ut puto, seculi.'

Let us next examine his *Palæographia Græca*, (p. 212) published six years after his *Diarium Italicum*. He there qualifies a little its comparative elegance with the Vienna copy, but seems yet inclined to give it the precedence on the score of age. His words are these—'qui Cæsareo jam memorato parum concedit; antiquitate vero ipsi aut parem esse, aut potius anteire crederem: character enim partim quadrus, partim rotundus, ad formam inscriptionum veterum propius accedere videtur.' A little below, he observes that it is of nearly the same size and thickness as the Vienna copy. But the ILLUMINATIONS—remarks the eager enquirer—where are THESE? Listen, enthusiastic lover of ancient graphic lore—'vox faucibus hæret.' 'It is defective at the beginning; (continues Montfaucon) but I suspect that these deficient leaves contained PORTRAITS and PICTURES, like those in the Vienna copy, and that some villain, (for so let us translate 'feriatus homo,' indeed I could add, with peculiar propriety, some C* or D*!) whose fancy had been tickled by their elegance, has torn them out! The plants and trees, which yet remain, are painted with equal elegance and truth.' So speaks Montfaucon (his eyes, I warrant, gushing forth tears when he wrote the sentence) in his *Palæographia Græca*. In his *Bibliotheca Bibliothecarum*, vol. i. p. 231, he nearly repeats what had been observed in his *Diary*. There are probably more ancient and uncorrupted MSS. of Dioscorides extant than of any other old author. The reader may, if he pleases, disport himself with *Le Clerc's Bibl. Choisie*, vol. xvii. p. 356, &c. touching this Dioscoridean theme.

* *these fragments have been submitted to public notice.*] The 'public notice,' here alluded to, are the two plates engraved by the Society of Antiquaries, in their *Vetusta Monumenta*, 1747; which plates exhibit XXI. fragments of the precious MS. under consideration—for exceedingly precious it is, in spite of its present pulverised, and nearly carbonised state. We must give it all the consequence

will be here only sufficient to observe that the illuminations consist of compositions, within square frames, of one or several figures—in general not exceeding two inches in

we can; for it was once in gallant size and condition, and perhaps sparkling with every lustre which the colours of the old miniature-painters could bestow upon it. Origen is the reputed original possessor of this 'Codex pretiosissimus et antiquissimus.' But we will not stickle for its birth in the IIIrd, allowing it to be rather of the Vth, or VIIth, century. It has graced no ignoble hands. Two Greek Bishops (according to a note of Dr. James, the first Bodleian librarian) brought it from Philippi, and presented it to Henry VIII. It descended to Queen Elizabeth, who gave it to Sir John Fortescue, her Greek preceptor; and from Sir John, it came into the library of Sir Robert Cotton. Rivulets run into the ocean; and perhaps it was hardly possible for *any* volume, floating about at the period under discussion, to avoid being engulfed in the book-ocean of the said Sir Robert Cotton! However, Peiresk obtained the loan of it from Sir Robert, to facilitate a projected edition of the Greek Bible, by his friend Fronto Ducaeus: but the writer of the life of Peiresk (p. 103, edit. 1655, 4to.) is wrong in adding that this MS. was bought by James I. for 1000 crowns. Even my friend Mr. D'Israeli will not contend for this feather in the cap of his favourite literary Monarch. Smith, indeed, in his '*Bibliotheca Cottonianæ Historia et Synopsis*, p. XLIV, properly notices and corrects this statement.

Thus far then for the history of the MS. up to the period when Smith published his *Catalogus Librorum Manuscriptorum Bibl. Cottonianæ, Oxoniæ*, 1696, folio. Well was it for Smith, and still better for the immediate descendants of Sir Robert, that their heads 'were laid low' before the year of our Lord 1731—for in that same year (see the *Bibliomania*, p. 351) a fire destroyed a great part of the invaluable Cottonian collection; and among the treasures contained in it—PERISHED, we may almost say, the VERY MS. UNDER DESCRIPTION! So much so, that only eighteen, out of one hundred and sixty five leaves, now remain—and of these (says Casley) 'both the leaves, and consequently the writing in a just proportion, are contracted into less compass; so that now they are *small capitals*.' *Cat. of MSS. in the King's Library*, 1734, 4to. p. viii, ix. Casley wrote only three years after the catastrophe; but whoever wishes to be convinced of the metamorphosis of the *large* to *small* capitals, in consequence of the fire, has only to compare Astle's fac-simile of the text in pl. III. p. 70 ('which was made while the writing was in its original state, and before the parchment was contracted by the fire') with the fac-similes of the same published by the Society of Antiquaries before alluded to, and the difference is woefully striking! I presume the *illuminations* to have undergone a similar metamorphosis, although we have no representations of *them* previous to the period last mentioned; namely, 1747. Another circumstance, sufficiently unaccountable, is worth noticing. Mr. Planta, in his Catalogue of the Cottonian MSS. 1802, folio, p. 365, says that 'there

height—and that these frames, sometimes 4 inches square, are divided occasionally into two compartments. The heads are perhaps rather too large, but the attitudes and draperies have considerable merit; and they are justly preferred, by the knowing in these matters, to the illuminations of the Vienna Pentateuch of which we have been speaking. In the second place, as to the CUTHBERT, ALDHELM, and ATHELSTAN volumes, I am free to confess that the two former are greatly preferable to the third. The ornaments of the *Cuthbert-book** are, as it were, so singularly tessellated

must have been more fragments saved than the xviii. which now remain; for none of those engraved in the above mentioned plates [by the Society of Antiquaries] are here to be met with. These however are all that were found in the year 1796. Such is the history of the MS.

The description of the treasure itself will be necessarily short. Originally, it contained very nearly the whole of the book of Genesis. Smith (p. 70) says it began at the 13th verse of the 1st chapter, and ended at the last verse but one of the 50th chapter. Some leaves however were missing in the intermediate part, and the binder had transposed others. At the end of the last page was the autograph of 'Thomas Wakefeldus.' Grabe collated the text for his edition of the Septuagint in 1707, and preferred the illuminations to those in the Vienna MS.—judging from the cuts of Nesselius. Everything in the formation and arrangement of the letters bespeaks the high antiquity of the MS. which is probably of the vii century. In his description of the *illuminations*, in the body of the Catalogue, p. 70, Smith calls them '*pulcherrimæ figuræ*:' but in his prefatory matter, p. xlv, he thus qualifies his commendation of them. '*Picturæ, quæ sacras historias singulis paginis repræsentant, coloribus satis probe, quod vix à miniatura expectandum videretur, retentis, licet ingenium et solertiam Artificis non valdè commendant, utpote rudi penicillo expressæ, multa tamen curiosa in se continent, quæ non solum animum et oculos grata delectatione perfundunt, [this is quite 'con amore!'] sed quæ etiam rem antiquariam optime illustrabunt.*' Having examined these figures '*propriis oculis*,' let me honestly add that, for drawing and grouping, they are much preferable to those in the Vienna MS. The heads however are frequently too large; but the draperies have often the air even of Grecian elegance. The manner in which these illuminations are arranged, is correctly specified by Philemon.

* *ornaments of the Cuthbert book.*] This very extraordinary volume seems to have been the favourite of our English antiquaries; and among those who have treated upon its antiquity and worth may be mentioned Selden (*Prefat. ad Hist. Angl. Script.* 1652, folio, p. xxv) Marshal (*Observat. in Vers. Sax. Evang.*

or dovetailed, in a sort of mosaic work, within arabesque compartments—that I hardly know how to call any thing of the kind its equal ! The human figures are however but of

p. 491) and Smith; the latter of whom (in his *Bibl. Cott. Hist. et Synopsis*, p. xxxiii) breaks out into a sort of enthusiastic fit, by telling us that ‘ while he turns and returns the vellum leaves of this wonderful volume he can hardly persuade himself that, in giving an account of it, he can avoid a repetition of previous statements; yet, in some respects, he hopes to be able to present a more complete description of it to the reader.’ His account is indeed sufficiently particular; and Mr. Planta has contented himself with very little more than a reference to it, and to Wanley’s Catalogue, p. 250. *Cat. of the Cottonian MSS.* 1802, fol. p. 238.

The contents of the volume are simply the Latin text of the Gospels, with an interlineary Saxon version, and the preface of Jerom, &c. The writer of the Latin text is supposed to have been Ealdfred, and of the interlineary version, ALDRED. It is called ST. CUTHBERT’S BOOK, because it is said to have been executed for that Saint, when he was Bishop of the Church of Lindisfarne. Ethelwald, one of the monks of the same Monastery, ‘smit with the perfection of the calligraphy, procured an artist of the name of Bilfrith to execute the illuminations and ornaments, [‘tessellatæ delineationes, et picturæ Evangelistarum,’ as Smith calls them] and caused the volume to be bound with gold and precious stones.’ An inscription at the end of the book, considered as coeval, records the names of ‘Eadfrith, Oethelwald, Bilfrith, and Aldred, as completing and ornamenting this volume of the Gospels to God and Cuthbert.’ Its age will therefore necessarily be towards the middle of the viii century: and as it stands so perfectly insulated—so completely different from every other book of an admitted later date, executed in our own country—that Antiquary will probably have a tough knot to untie who shall strive to overthrow its chronology. Smith continues with a long miraculous story out of *Simeon of Durham* (*lib. ii. c. xi.*) respecting this precious MS. taking a voyage with the monks of Lindisfarne Monastery, when they put to sea to avoid the ravages of the Barbarians; of the vessel’s being nearly capsized, of the volume’s tumbling overboard into the sea, and of its miraculous escape from injury. Simeon says the volume was afterwards placed in the Cathedral of Durham where the body of St. Cuthbert was deposited; and ‘in his time betrayed no mark whatever of sea-water or other injury.’ He then gives a flaming account of its interior and exterior ornaments; the latter of which, as might have been expected, have not survived the plunder of the reformation: and a plain, substantial, russet leather cover, is now the effectual substitute for ‘gold and precious stones.’ Yet the *more* precious gems, the specimens of ancient art *within*, are still without injury; the volume continuing to preserve its death-defying property, by having equally escaped the ravages of *fire* and *water*. It seems to have come into the possession

second-rate merit. In respect to the *Work of St. Aldhelm upon Virginity*, the small group of figures prefixed to it, in brown-outline, is of such extraordinary merit, as to excite

of Sir Robert Cotton from the collection of a Robert Bowyer, in the time of James I. ; but who (probably a century and a half before) *first* removed it from its ancient and hallowed resting place? . . ay, how the howlings of the spirits of 'Eadfrith, Oethelwald, Bilfrith, Aldred, and St. Cuthbert,' distract and terrify that robber's persecuted ghost!

Now then for the volume itself. It measures about 13 inches and a half in height, by nearly ten in width. The Latin text is in a sort of demi-uncial hand, the interlineary version being comparatively very small. On the reverse of the first leaf is a grand frontispiece, executed in the mosaic or tessellated manner, mentioned by Smith, and above by Philemon. It is perfectly fresh and uninjured; and of a richness and sparkling effect which amply justify Smith in observing—in *membranis poliendis, literarum ductibus efformandis, et scripturæ pulchritudine, vel politissimis sæculis haud impares Anglo-Saxones censi possint!* p. xxxiv. The prologue to the canons and calendar, the prefaces of St. Jerom and Eusebius, &c. occupy from folio 2 to the recto of folio 8. On folio 9 commences the Calendar, within architectural compartments, which Smith says are 'accuratissime et elegantissime elaboratæ.' This concludes on folio 16. The recto of folio 17 is blank, but on the reverse are the arguments or chapters of St. Matthew's Gospel. Each Gospel is preceded by a whole length representation of the Evangelist; and, opposite to such figure, is one of those grand square Mosaic ornaments, of nearly the entire size of the leaf, incorporated as it were with the incipient text. In St. Matthew's Gospel, however, there are *three* of these ornaments; and that on the 3rd leaf of the Gospel, or the 28th of the volume, is as beautiful as it is extraordinary. The colours are not only vivid and perfect as to their masses, whether great or small, but they are *raised* upon the surface of the vellum, in a manner so as to resemble very curious needle or mosaic work. Astle (Pl. xiv. p. 96) has given a fac-simile of the commencement of *St. Luke's Gospel*; which, although necessarily much inferior to the original, sufficiently shews how 'cunningly' and cleverly the ornaments are combined, and in what gay attire they are clothed. There is unquestionably no small portion of *gum* or *size* mixed up with the colours, which may account for its present state of preservation. As to the figures of the Evangelists (which have been copied by Strutt, in the first volume of his *Manners and Customs*,) they are much inferior to the ornaments. Smith not inaptly describes them as '*rudes, si cum hodiernis conferantur, utpote nitore, elegantia, et symmetriâ vacuæ.*' The volume consists in the whole of 258 leaves. The vellum is stout, but the surface of every page is smooth. I learn with pleasure (from Mr. Ellis, who presides over the MS. department of the British Museum) that it is in contemplation to publish faithful and particular copies of all the ornaments in this invaluable book at the expense

doubts respecting the remote period assigned for its execution.* The *Athelstan-book of the Gospels*, upon which the Saxon monarchs are reported to have taken their coronation oath, is dismally barbarous in the ornamental part:† and I

of the Antiquarian Society. The sooner this is commenced, the better :—for the public begin to be weary of representations of broken pots and pans, spear-heads, barrows and buttresses! Mr. Samuel Lysons, who is really a man of taste as well as of extensive antiquarian knowledge, might DIRECT with particular felicity upon this occasion. In Mr. Ellis a coadjutor would be found fully capable of rendering justice to this PROUDEST BIBLIOMANIACAL MONUMENT of the earlier period of our history. ‘Fortunati ambo!’

‘The Saint above accepts their votive lay

And grants them all the Fame for which they pray.’

The *Poems of Nicolas Grimault*; 1691, 8vo. p. 3.

* a doubt respecting the remote period of its execution.] Mr. Todd, in his *Catalogue of the Archiepiscopal Manuscripts in the Library of Lambeth Palace; with an Account of the Archiepiscopal Registers and other Records there preserved*, (privately printed, 1812, folio), fol. 68, b. (no. 200,) assigns this MS., upon general credence, to the Eighth century. I incline to consider it rather of the xth or xith century; for the specimen of art, above alluded to by Philemon, is clearly of that character of which we have several instances in the periods last-mentioned. A fac-simile of the group, or ‘specimen of art’ here discoursed of—(which represents St. Aldhelm seated in a chair, with a group of virgins standing by the side of him, as if approving of his work *De Virginitate*) adorns the first leaf of the Catalogue just mentioned; but it is rather a treacherous representation of the original: not containing half the grace and truth with which those ‘Virgins’ are adorned by the pencils of the BILFRITH (vide p. 1 ante), MAN-CLAVITA TARSITUS, or PAULUS of his day! For these latter, not generally known, painters and calligraphists, consult Montfaucon’s *Palæog. Græc.* p. 59-60, and his *Bibl. Coislin.* p. 84. A faithful representation of the embellishment, here discoursed of, is yet a desideratum.

† dismally barbarous in the ornamental part.] The volume above alluded to is a MS. of the Four Gospels, &c. &c. supposed, according to Wanley, to have been compiled for the use of the Kings of England, from the time of Athelstan; and upon which volume, a memorandum, of the period of Richard II., informs us that the said Kings of England took their coronation-oaths! Pleasing fiction!—but fiction nevertheless. (We shall presently mention another supposed coronation oath book!) Wanley’s conjecture about its antiquity has been questioned; but I see nothing to invalidate the inference that this barbarous but most curious and interesting volume may have been executed at least nine hundred years ago. There are the relics of gold ornament, relieved by red, upon a purple ground. Each Gospel is preceded by a large capital initial in gold, and by a figure of

fear the female part of my audience would not scruple to express their surprise, or even loathing, at the sight of those dirty apple-green and smoke-dried old figures intended to represent the Evangelists! Thus far then towards the close of the tenth century. Of various other works, known to the more curious only,* I profess not to trouble you with any

its appropriate Evangelist; but the latter, of such wretched drawing and coarse finishing, that I am not surprised Philemon should imagine the Ladies to be disposed to turn their faces from such unseemly art. The background of these figures is a blueish green. The recto of the first leaf, or general title, has the capitals LIB, in a very large form, executed in gold, upon a purple ground; and the earlier part of the first chapter of St. Matthew's Gospel, intitled '*Liber Generationis Ihu*,' is written in small capitals of gold upon a dark green ground. But the fire of 1731 has made such havoc by the crumpling and singeing of the leaves, and decomposition of the colours, that one can hardly state with accuracy the exact features of the volume. In the whole, there are 217 leaves; including a frontispiece of evidently much later period—perhaps of the end of the xivth century. It is described under Tiberius, A 11: in Mr. Planta's *Catalogue of the Cotton MSS.*, p. 31.

* *various other works known to the more curious only.*] What a superstructure may be raised upon this quiet inuendo of Philemon! Shall I take therefore 'the curious' with me into a corner, and endeavour to gratify them by a detail of a few of the various works here alluded to? No sooner proposed than carried into effect! Give me your ears and eyes, ye pertinacious porers over mildewed vellums and worm-eaten oaken covers of the 'olden time.' Hang on high the lamp of taste and of truth, and let its light shed a soft radiance upon treasures, which, till now, had been nearly buried in silence and obscurity—like the unagitated surface of water in Staffa's remotest cave! The reader immediately perceives that I am about to throw into the form of a note, what could not, very consistently or conveniently, be made the subject of a distinct narrative in the text; and that what here ensues must be considered a sort of counterpart of the scarcely less voluminous note at pages xxxi-iv. A future opportunity may present itself, when complete justice shall be done—not only to the ms. treasures hereafter described, but to such as cannot possibly come within the present pale of description. However, to the task before us.

We have been just discoursing of Athelstan's 'coronation-oath book.' Such volumes, it has been observed, are not of the very rarest occurrence. In the valuable ms. library of the Marquis of Buckingham, at Stowe, which had been almost entirely collected by the late Mr. Astle, are some treasures, of the nature of those under description, which well merit enumeration. First, we have there, probably one of the oldest PSALTERS extant in England. It is in Latin, with a

details. Yet I should be loth to omit the notice of a singularly rare and almost unknown volume—of the period of which we are speaking—and which has been deposited, for the last century, in the library of his Grace the Duke of Devonshire. No casket of jewels was justly ever half so much prized as is the precious volume of which I speak. Its

Saxon interlineary version ; and is thought to be of the ixth century : although Spelman (*Concil.* vol. i. p. 218) makes it a century older—‘ shortly after the second Nicene council.’ There is a tradition founded upon Powell’s *Repertory of Records*, 1631, 4to. p. 123, that this was the Book upon which the Kings and Queens of England took their *coronation-oath* previous to the Reformation. It belonged once to Martin of Palgrave, who lent it to Madox—and the latter told the former that he believed in the original application of it to the use here stated. We will not *press* either the belief or the mooted of this momentous point. It is sufficient to observe further, that it was formerly entered in the Exchequer, as ‘ a little booke with a crucifix :’ and such is the estimation in which it is justly held by its Noble Owner, that when the Duchess of Oldenburgh visited Stowe, with her Imperial Brother, Alexander, (on their return from Oxford, she was shewn this sombre little volume, as a relic of inestimable value ; and she afterwards placed it in the hands of her Brother in a manner the most emphatic possible—telling him to consider it as the book which had been formerly pressed by the hands of Alfred ! The Emperor was not insensible of its supposed worth. The amiable and learned Dr. O’Conor, (librarian to the Marquis) who is at present occupied in a *raisonné* catalogue of the Stowe MSS., gave me the preceding anecdote : and observed that Hearne, Wanley, and Astle agree as to the extreme antiquity of the volume. To these, add what appears in *Leland’s Itin.* vol. ii. p. 57-8, respecting a very old MS. once belonging to Shirburne Abbey, with its remarkable covers.’ Of the *Binding* of it—not a syllable in the present place : [see EIGHTH DAY] only that the brass crucifix yet remains upon the exterior cover, betraying evident marks of its having lost an outer, and probably precious coat, from something like *oscular* attrition. Note however further : that the Psalter is succeeded by excerpts from the Latin vulgate Gospels relating to the Passion of our Saviour ; and that the first 23, and the last 8 leaves, are additions probably of the end of the xvth century.

In the same collection, at Stowe, is a folio volume of the Latin Gospels, of the xth or xiith century : executed in a small lower-case roman letter, with a handsome full margin ; and bound in a manner of which the description must be also reserved for the EIGHTH DAY. But let us not glide through the period of which we are discoursing, without noticing a small Psalter, partly Latin and partly Saxon, of the xth century, in the British Museum, among the Cotton

state of preservation is extraordinary ; and in respect to the style of art, and the condition of its ornaments, I am not sure that there are *two* books in his Majesty's united realms which could successfully compete with it for superiority. There is another consideration which gives a most decided and marked value to this precious monument of other times. Its age may be said to be unequivocally established ; for we learn in it that it was executed at the command of **ETHELWOLD** Bishop of Winchester, and written by a scribe of the name of **GODEMANN**.

MSS. [Titus D. xxvii.] The reader will be gratified by the following interesting specimen of early art, representing *the Trinity*, upon the reverse of the 75th leaf :



LYSANDER. You excite my curiosity powerfully.

PHILEMON. Not more powerfully than a sight of the original would justify.* Take, however, in lieu of such original, a few detached specimens: premising, that the spirit of the compositions, as well as the truth of the outlines, have been injured by a thick glazed body colour, approach-

A representation of the *Crucifixion* occurs on the reverse of the 65th leaf. Mr. Planta correctly designates the volume as a small 8vo. containing 93 leaves. On the reverse of fol. 14, is the following date: dcccclxxviii. Both the writing and the ornaments, or miniatures, are in a brownish tint, and the latter are always in outline. This book once belonged to *Hyde Monastery*, which monastery seems to have been rather distinguished for illuminators: for in the *Kalendar* '6. Non. Julii,' we read '*Obitus WALFRICI—PICTORIS.*' Those who like to plunge deeper into the history of the art, of the period of which we are treating, will not fail to betake themselves to the pages of Hickes's *Thesaurus Ling. Vet. Sept.* (a work of incomparable erudition and beyond all praise) wherein (as in vol. i. p. viii, p. 144) they may contemplate less successful attempts in the fine arts. Hickes is enthusiastic respecting the *Codex Argenteus*, which Benzelius gave to Wanley, and which was afterwards in the possession of Nathaniel Palmer, Esq.—and he favours us with a double-sceptered figure, or whole-length of St. Luke, belonging to a MS. of the Dean and Chapter of Litchfield, said to have been formerly 'the book of St. CEAD.' The Evangelist has surely never before, or since, experienced so barbarous a transformation of himself! At p. 144, we observe a large figure of Christ and a small one of St. Dunstan, supposed to be of the xth century. (*MSS. Bodl. N E. D. II. 19.*) The attitude and drapery are excellent; and the figure of St. Dunstan, in the back-ground, prostrating himself upon a stone or rock, has considerable merit. Strutt re-engraved both in his *Manners and Customs*, vol. i. p. 105, pl. xviii.

But we must return to Stowe; following our chronological order. In the MS. library before mentioned is a very ancient and curious MS. in a small folio, or large 8vo. size; usually designated as the *Hyde Abbey Book*: and affording another proof of the skill of the artists employed in that monastery. There is a superficial notice of it by Strutt (*Manners and Customs*, vol. i. p. 106, pl. xxviii.) together with a fac-simile of the frontispiece—the latter much inferior to the original for truth and expression. This frontispiece represents, above, our Saviour, with the Virgin and St. Peter on each side. Below, are portraits of Cnut and his Queen *Elfgiva*, in rather elegant whole length attitudes, with an angel over each, as if descending from above. A good deal of difficulty has been mastered in accomplishing these attitudes, and with almost complete

* See note at page lix.

ing to the consistency of oil. You have here one of the ornaments usually placed in the centre, or at the corners

success. On the reverse of this frontispiece is the following very interesting group; representing the souls of Martyrs and Saints about to enter the gates of paradise.



Opposite, on the recto of the following leaf, is a representation of St. Peter, with attendant angels, opening the gates of paradise. Below this latter, is a contention between devils and angels for the souls of the departed. The original outline is in a bistre-tint, with some of the parts purposely retouched for the sake of shade and effect. In the preceding specimen the reader will not fail to observe that peculiar style of art which characterises the productions of the xth, xth, and frequently xith centuries: namely, tall and somewhat disproportionate figures; flowing or rather fluttering draperies; elongated hands and feet; and a general delicacy of expression throughout both the faces and figures. And whoever chooses to compare the art of the St. Aldhelm, *de Virginitate* (see p. lii, ante) with the

of the rectangular frame work—inclusing the commencement of some prayer or text of scripture.



foregoing specimen, may be inclined, with myself, to consider them as nearly contemporaneous—that is, of the early part of the xith century.

The MS. in question, which is not a little precious, took the name of *Hyde*, from its belonging to the monastery of that name; which monastery, before its removal, was called *New Minster*. The greater part of it seems to have been written before the middle of the xith century. The principal contents of it relate to a history of the foundation, and progress of the affairs, of the same monastery from Edward the Elder to Ethelred—together with the names of its chief benefactors—which names were ordered to be recited every day during Mass. It also contains the will of Alfred (published by Manning, at Oxford, 1788, 4to.) and the names of Saints interred in England; of which latter a similar list will be found in *Hickes's Thesaurus*, &c. vol. ii. *Dissert. Epist.* p. 115. The remainder of its contents are but of secondary importance. Let us here ask whether these be not treasures worthy of examination and of general publicity? And whether there be not yet a thousand similar treasures, at present neglected and unknown, which merit the keen researches of the antiquary, and the fostering patronage of the republic of literature? Yet what must be our indignation when we hear of some *printed books*, which caprice and obstinacy alone cause to be cherished, estimated at a price beyond all reason and common sense?! Well therefore may the author *De la Bibliomanie*, 1761, 8vo. make the following observation: ‘ Il en est de même de quelques manuscrits que le seul caprice fait conserver. Je sais qu’il y en a de

Again; let me shew you a couple of specimens of the Saxon capitals attached to the pillars so thickly bestowed

précieux, dont plusieurs, uniques dans leur genre, sont gardés avec soin dans nos fameuses bibliothèques, et servent à l'ornement de celles de nos souverains. Mais combien d'autres que la presse n'a pas daigné tirer de leur obscurité, et dont la rareté ne peut être attribuée qu'au mépris qu'on en a conçue! Tel est, dit M. de Voltaire dans son *Temple du Gout*,

L'amas curieux et bizarre
De vieux manuscrits vermoulus :
Et la suite inutile et rare
D'écrivains qu'on n'a jamais lus.' p. 66.

* *a sight of the original would justify.*] I consider this 'original,' which is perfectly in a blaze with the illuminations of the latter part of the xth century, to be among our chief national treasures of specimens of ancient art, and by much the most precious book in the collection of his Grace the Duke of Devonshire. It is a folio Missal, in old red morocco binding, with the initials I. S. at the back. The fly leaf, in the hand writing of the celebrated Lord Burlington, informs us that the scribe who executed the volume, was named GODEMANN. Indeed we gather, from the reverse of the 4th leaf, and the bottom of the recto of the 5th, that THE GREAT ÆTHELWOLD commanded the volume to be written, and that 'the humble Godemann' performed the office of the scribe. The lines, designating this circumstance, are as follows in capitals of gold:

*Presentem Biblum iussit perscribere Presul
Wintoniæ Dns quæ fecerat esse Patronum
MAGNUS ÆTHELWOLDUS
.
Atque Patri magno iussit quæ scribere librum hunc
Omnes cernentes biblum hunc semper rogitent hoc
Post meta carnis valeam celis inherere
Obnixæ hoc rogitat scriptor SUPPLEX GODEMANN.*

Some of my readers may possibly not be aware of the magnificence of this St. Ethelwold. Let the recent and valuable version of the renowned *William of Malmesbury's History of England*, 1815, 4to. p. 172, come therefore to our aid in this emergency. 'How powerful indeed the sanctity and virtue of Dunstan's disciples were, is sufficiently evidenced by ÆTHELWOLD, made Abbot of Abingdon from a monk of Glastonbury, and afterwards Bishop of Winchester, who built so many and such great monasteries, as to make it appear hardly credible how the Bishop of one see should be able to effect what the King of England himself could scarcely undertake'. . . 'How great are the monasteries of *Ely*, *Peterborough*, and *Thorney*, which he raised from the foundations and completed by his industry: which, though repeatedly reduced by the wickedness of plunderers, are yet [A. D. 1120] sufficient for their inhabitants.' The volume

among the embellishments which constitute the different species of frame-work for titles, &c. I admit however that still richer specimens might have been selected.



under description is indeed a splendid testimony of the taste of such a character! . . . and I make no doubt that, originally, this very book, in a clothing of oak, adorned with carvings in ivory and beset with gems and precious stones, was carefully deposited in some stone-excavated recess, along with the very crosier of Ethelwold himself! There have been 'wilder dreams' than this. But the curious begin to be impatient for a description of it—which must be necessarily brief and imperfect. I suspect two or three leaves to be wanting at the commencement, as the recto of the first leaf represents the whole lengths of St. Cuthbert, St. Benedict, and St. Gregory, beneath the title 'Confessorum'—the word 'Society' or 'Company' being probably on the reverse of the preceding leaf—as, on the reverse of this first leaf, we have a group of females beneath the word 'Chorus,' and another group of females beneath that of 'Virginum,' on the recto of the opposite leaf. Probably two or three groups of 'Martyrs' preceded the 'Confessors.' Four pages of representations of the Apostles (3 in each page) follow the 'Choir of Virgins.'

On the recto of the 6th leaf, beneath 2 lines, not *perfectly* intelligible, occurs the first contraction, similar to the above, (but much grander) of the word 'Omnipotens.' On the reverse of this leaf the gold letters cease: hitherto the writing being in gold, in a large bold character. A full page, throughout the volume, contains 19 lines. The roman capital letters, whether as titles, or initials, are uniformly in gold. The compartments or borders at the commencement of each collect, or distinct portion of the Missal, are frequently of great boldness and beauty: being sometimes varied by pillars—of some of

You will now probably wish for a specimen of part of the text itself. Take however only that which represents one of the initial words. The following is a contraction for 'OMNI-POTENS:' the original being in gold.

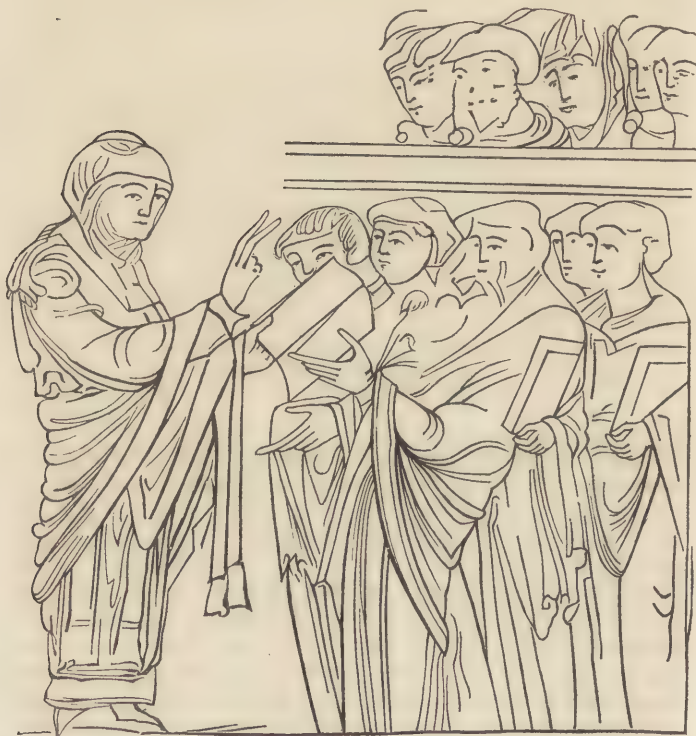


the capitals of which, as well as of one of the ornaments mid-way upon the frame-work, the reader above, has, fac-similes: the originals being coloured, but occasionally much faded. Among the *Scriptural subjects* represented in this extraordinary volume, the following are more particularly deserving of commendation:

The Annunciation: the angel excellently designed. The Nativity. Adoration of the Magi. Baptism of our Saviour, St. John. Presentation in the Temple. Christ's triumphant entry into Jerusalem. Angel sitting at the entrance of the sepulchre, after the resurrection of Christ. This is perhaps the finest figure in the book: and the compartments, both here and in the opposite page, may be said to be in a blaze of splendour. Incredulity of St. Thomas: in beautiful preservation. Ascension: fine and splendid. Representation of the Trinity, within the letter O. Below, in large capital letters of gold, *Trinitas Vnus et Verus, &c.* Descent of the Holy Ghost: the opposite page strikingly splendid. Martyrdom of St.

LORENZO. But of the compositions, or designs —

PHILEMON. Unluckily, as I before told you, these compositions are coloured over with a thick body of paint: approaching to the consistency of oil-colour. However, the last page of the volume furnishes us with a specimen of this outline: yet not free from injury. It is as follows: but the figure to the left is coloured—while the group to the right is in an outline of a faint pink colour. Admit that there is both spirit and truth in the composition.



Peter and St. Paul. Figure of St. Swithun, standing. Portrait of St. Aetheldrytha, patroness of Ely: very tasteful. Figure of St. Benedict, sitting.

Let me not here forget to notice a very extraordinary volume, with illuminations, of the period of which we are treating, and which had before escaped my recollection. It is the *Saxon Version or Paraphrase of the Book of Genesis, &c.* supposed to be by CAEDMON.* The illuminations are in

Death of the Virgin: which is the last historical subject. Next follows the ornament, of which a fac-simile is just given: beneath we read

'Bened. immacl. plurimarum Virginum.'

The 118th and last leaf contains the Service '*in Dedicatione Ecclesie.*' The age of the MS. may be thus ascertained: Ethelwold became Bishop of Winchester in 963, and died in 984: but as he re-founded the monastery of Ely, of which Etheldritha was the patroness, about 970—and as her figure occurs here—it is a fair inference that it was written between that year and the death of Ethelwold. The text letter, which is in roman lower-case, measures nearly one quarter of an inch in height. The vellum is thick but soft; and the gold is of particular purity and consistency. This glorious book is a very harvest-field for the antiquary to disport himself in!

* *Saxon version of the Book of Genesis, &c. supposed to be by Caedmon.*] This very curious MS. in small folio, is deposited among those of Junius [No. II.] in the Bodleian library: it having been given to Junius by Archbishop Usher. Junius himself published the text of it (unaccompanied by the embellishments) at Amsterdam in 1655, 4to. About a century afterwards, a subscription was made among the choice lovers of ancient art, and a few impressions of *engravings of the ornaments* were struck off, only for the subscribers. The Royal Institution library contains Astle's copy of these engravings; and another copy is in the library of Earl Spencer at Althorp, bound up with the printed text of Junius. My friend Mr. Ellis, of the British Museum, is the fortunate possessor of the *copper-plates*; and he has recently made happy the hearts of a few brother antiquaries, by presenting them with copies of impressions. A word now respecting the age and intrinsic character of the MS. Wanley, in his *Cat. of Saxon MSS.*, in Hickes's *Thesaurus*, vol. iii. p. 77, thought it executed towards the end of the xth century; and Hickes determined that it was not, as had been supposed (by Junius and others) written by the *Caedmon* mentioned by *Bede*, but by another *Caedmon*, who wrote in the Dano-Saxon dialect about the xth century. The plates are xv in number; and the text consists of a sort of poetical paraphrase of Genesis and Daniel. The graphic critic will observe, in the ensuing fac-simile, that particular style of art (noticed at page lvii ante) which is so characteristic of the period under discussion. The above is executed in wood, from the plate taken from *Gen. iv. 4. 10*, supplied by Mr. Ellis's copy. It probably possesses more merit, on the score of expression, than any other specimen in the volume.

outline; and we observe in them that slender, yet not inelegant, character of drawing—which rather distinguishes the productions of the xth and xith centuries. Take a specimen representing the *Offering of Cain*.



I now hasten to make good my promise of noticing a few of the more ancient Greek MSS. executed in capital letters, and *divested of illuminations*.

LORENZO. If you please: but the sooner you return to *art*, the better.

PHILEMON. Be it so then. Of these more ancient Greek MSS. divested of illuminations, we may consider the following among the more venerable and intrinsically valuable. In our own country, I thank God, we can make as much boast of precious materials, connected with SACRED WRIT, as can any other country upon the face of the globe! Far be it from me to disparage and undervalue the similar treasures of other nations. Let the Italians set a due value upon their, I had almost said invaluable, *Vatican MS.*: let the French duly estimate their *Claramontane MS.*—and, perhaps of higher antiquity yet, let the Swedes extol, as it becomes them, their Gothic version of the Evangelists by the celebrated Bishop *Ulphilas*—let each and all of these treasures receive their full share of commendation; for they are more precious than ‘fine gold.’ But let ENGLISHMEN remember that they possess two of the most venerable and precious Scriptural volumes upon record: I mean the Greek versions of the Scriptures known by the names of the *Beza* and *Alexandrine MSS.*

It is difficult to decide upon the chronological priority of these respective MSS.—but we may allow the *Cambridge volume* (in other words, the *Beza MS.** deposited in that

* *the Beza MS.*] So-called, from having been presented to the University of Cambridge by the famous THEODORE BEZA. Of a MS. so well known to the biblical student and critic, it remains only to observe, that Beza had obtained it from the convent of St. Irenæus at Lyons, where it had been supposed to have lain ‘from the time of that father’—and that the younger Henry Stephen had collated it there, in his way to Italy, for his father’s Greek Testament of 1550:

University by Theodore Beza) somewhat the seniority on the score of age. Yet the *Alexandrine* treasure, in the British Museum—deposited in that noble national receptacle with the MSS. of the late King—(and formerly presented to our Charles I. by Cyrill, patriarch of Alexandria) must undoubtedly be considered as pressing closely, in point of antiquity, upon the footsteps of the former.* To our national

so that the MS. β. of Robert Stephen, is the one under consideration. But Dr. Kipling, the present Dean of Peterborough, put forth, in the year 1793, two magnificent folio volumes, printed at the expense of the University of Cambridge, which contained a fac-simile of this precious MS. accompanied by learned notes. In regard to its *age* and *value*, Dr. Marsh observes (*Notes to Michaelis*, vol. ii. p. 714) that 'it appears, from comparing the Codex Bezae with Greek inscriptions of different ages, that it cannot have been written later than the vth century, and that it may have been written even two or three centuries earlier:' and at p. 720 of the same volume, he adds, 'we may fairly conclude that the Codex Bezae is at least as ancient as the vth century.' Again, a little onward, 'no MS. can be put in competition with it [on the score of antiquity] except the Codex Vaticanus.' Dr. Marsh concludes thus: 'If it be asked, to which of these the *precedence* is due, I would answer, to the CODEX BEZÆ; for the Codex Vaticanus has accents, and marks of aspiration, which were added by the person who wrote the MS. itself.' See also Birch's *Prolegomena*, p. 14.

* *pressing closely—upon the footsteps of the former.*] Of this venerable and scarcely less valuable MS., the theological world were made amply acquainted with that portion containing the NEW TESTAMENT, which was published as a fac-simile of the original, with learned prolegomena, by the late Dr. Woide in 1786, 4to. Dr. Woide assigned to it a period of 'from the middle to the end of the 1vth century.' Michaelis thought it later by two centuries; and his learned annotator, the present Bishop of Llandaff, seems disposed to acquiesce in the inference of Montfaucon, that it may be of the early part of the vth century — 'non nostrum est—tantos componere lites,'—although there seems to have been little or nothing of the '*lis*' in the discussion. A word as to its supposed history. An Arabic subscription implies that 'it was written by the pen of Thecla a martyress.' It afterwards, with this subscription, came into the hands of Cyrillus Lucaris, a native of Crete, and Patriarch of Constantinople; whose life has been written by Smith, and briefly described by Woide in the 1xth paragraph of his *Prolegomena*. Cyrillus thought it written in the 1vth century, as his own subscription implies: but Wetstein has attacked this antiquity with more asperity than discretion. The question is, *where* did Cyrillus find it? At Alexandria, or elsewhere? That he brought it *immediately from Alexandria* to Constantinople, previous to presenting it to Charles I. is unde-

credit it must also be spoken, that the learned labours of KIPLING and WOIDE have perpetuated these inestimable treasures, by causing fac-similes of the original texts, accompanied by learned annotations, to be executed and published; and you will learn with pleasure that MR. BABER, of the British Museum, is completing the remainder of the task * which was left unfinished by his learned predecessor Woide.

niable—and hence the MS. bears its name of Codex Alexandrinus: but I incline to the opinion of Dr. Marsh, that there is nothing implied in the subscription of Cyrillus himself, that he *found* the MS. there: and that the Patriarch, before he went to Alexandria, ‘spent some time on Mount Athos, the Greek repository and manufactory of manuscripts of the New Testament, is well known.’ So that it should seem this MS. was rather an inmate of some of the libraries upon Mount Athos; yet it is most probable that it was written in Egypt, ‘because the new Syriac version having been collated with Ægyptian MSS. of the Greek Testament, and the Æthiopic version being immediately taken from them, have necessarily the readings of the Alexandrine edition.’ *Notes to Michaelis*, vol. ii. p. 658.

* *Mr. Baber is completing the remainder of the task.*] In the year 1812, the Revd. H. H. Baber published, by subscription, as a portion of ‘the remainder of the task’ left unfinished by Woide, THE PSALTER—from the MS. under consideration: and of this he printed 12 copies UPON VELLUM, to match with the same number of vellum copies of the New Testament published by his predecessor. To complete the Old Testament, in a similar manner, were an undertaking too vast and expensive for the means of an unbeneficed clergyman. Accordingly, the Trustees of the British Museum, (in which establishment Mr. Baber is at the head of the printed-book department) equally to their spirit and good sense, undertook to apply to Parliament for the *protection of Government* in defraying the expenses of what remained to be executed. The application was necessarily successful; and Mr. Baber is now constantly and cordially occupied in trimming his Alexandrine vessel, in the hope of reaching a shore which may reward him for the toil of navigation. In other words, he goes on now vigorously with the herculean task in hand; under the persuasion that, whatever be the result, the onus of payment is thrown upon shoulders sufficiently broad and muscular to bear any impending weight! ‘Fervet opus’—and my friend has already completed the *Pentateuch*; of which, as of the remainder, there are only 250 copies printed, in a magnificent folio size, to match with Dr. Kipling’s fac-simile of the Codex Bezae, described in a preceding page. The work now assumes indeed a most imposing appearance. The types, cast in metal by Jackson, for Woide, are quite fresh and perfect; and instead of the contracted various readings, in the margin, being spun out by the letters

LORENZO. This is really most gratifying intelligence. But resume. You spoke of certain foreign MSS., connected with the sacred text, as of very considerable value?

PHILEMON. I did so. Yet let me not forget to mention, as *another* similar treasure in our *own* country, the *four leaves of a portion of the Gospels*, written in silver letters upon a purple ground, also in the British Museum. It is, to be sure, but a mere fragment; but probably of equal antiquity with any thing of its kind.* Nor, since we have

in full, (as Woide has given them) fac-similes of such various readings, cut in wood, are inserted precisely in the places where they occur, filling up only the same space with the original. The tail-pieces, or rude arabesque ornaments at the end of each book, are also represented by means of fac-similes in wood: so that the *identity* of the original is perfectly preserved.

The work, when complete, will consist of iv folio volumes: *three* of the text of the Old Testament, with a *fourth* containing prolegomena and notes. The subscribers for the VELLUM COPIES are:

His Majesty's Library.	Sir M. M. Sykes, Bart.
The French King's Library.	John Dent, Esq.
The Royal Library of Berlin.	—Turner, Esq. Trin. Coll. Dublin.
The Archbishop of Canterbury.	Longman, Hurst, and Co. (Pentateuch only)
The Duke of Devonshire.	The Author.
The Earl Spencer.	(One copy undisposed of.)

I have seen the vellum copies, and they are such as do Mr. Taylor, the printer of the work, the highest degree of credit. The red-ink titles, however, are rather pale; yet the production is, upon the whole, a very noble and extraordinary one: and let us wish the amiable and able editor of it all the success and all the reputation which undoubtedly will be the result of his labours!

'These are imperial works, and worthy Kings.'

* *of equal antiquity with anything of its kind.*] They are indeed mere 'fragments': beginning with a portion of the xxvith chapter of St. Matthew's Gospel, followed by a portion of the xxvith chapter, and two portions from St. John's Gospel. Consult Mr. *Planta's Catalogue*, p. 562. A fac-simile of the text of these fragments is found in the xith plate of Casley; who observes (at p. ix) that 'these four leaves may be as old or older' than the fragment of Genesis in the same collection: see p. xlvii ante. The letters are silver, upon a purple (faded) ground; and they are the largest Greek capitals which I remember to have seen. The words, in Greek, denoting *Jesus, God, Lord, Son, and Saviour*,

not yet taken leave of British land, must I omit to mention, in a manner the most pointed and satisfactory, the very precious and valuable MS. of an ancient Greek text of *St. Matthew's Gospel*, put forth by the learned Dr. Barrett of Trinity College, Dublin;* whose biblical labours do not appear to be so generally known and fully appreciated as they unquestionably merit to be.

Let me now, in the enumeration of foreign Greek MSS. without illuminations,† make only especial mention of that semi Greek and Gothic version, of which Ulphilas, a Bishop of the ivth century, is the reputed author. It consists of the New Testament, but in an imperfect state. Benzelius made us more particularly acquainted with the *Gospels*, about seventy years ago; and, within about twenty years later, Knittel discovered a portion of *St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans*—which he published with a zeal and enthusiasm

are however written in letters of gold. These are doubtless very precious fragments; and Mr. Baber inclines to give them chronological precedence to any previously-named MS.

* *the learned Dr. Barrett, of Trinity College, Dublin.*] A particular account of this MS. (being of the vith century, and comprising the Gospel of St. Matthew) may be seen in Mr. Horne's Introduction to the *Study of Bibliography*, vol. i. p. 115, &c. A fac-simile of the original, in 64 plates, with prolegomena, &c. by the learned editor, was published in 1801, 4to. by the order and at the expense of the University of Dublin. Note: the original vellum is of a faded purple colour.

† *foreign Greek MSS. without illuminations.*] Philemon possibly thinks any detail about the famous *Codex Vaticanus*, (the basis of the Roman edition of the Greek Bible of 1587: see *Introd. to the Classics*, vol. i. p. 39) of the Pentateuch in the Royal Library of France, and formerly Colbert's (Montfaucon's *Palæog. Græc.* p. 186-8) and other more particularly distinguished and well known MSS. to be superfluous. Indeed whoever reads Michaelis's *Introduction* &c with Dr. Marsh's *Notes*, will find a prodigious deal of curious and learned discussion, connected therewith, concentrated in a comparatively small space. There would be neither end nor object in prolonging a disquisition upon this branch of the subject—when we get into the viith century.

that do his memory infinite credit.* This very precious and intrinsically valuable MS. is perhaps of equal antiquity with either of the preceding:—and *purple-vellum Greek MSS.*, says Breiting, (if I remember rightly) are scarcer than *white crows*!

* *do his memory infinite credit.*] The celebrated MS. above alluded to, and upon which Benzeliuſ, and after him, Ihre and Knittel, laboured, is emphatically called *Codex Argenteus*; as the text (with the exception of the initial letters, which are in gold) is written in *letters of silver* upon a purple ground. That text is ‘really a Gothic, and not a Turkish version,’ ſays Michaelis. It was translated from the Greek, and probably from the Latin, by ULPHILAS, in the 1vth century, for the ſake of the Goths who had ſettled in Wallachia. The life of the Translator (who is ſuppoſed to have invented the Gothic alphabet) is given by Benzeliuſ, in his excellent edition of this MS. (of the Four Gospels only) published by Lye at Oxford in 1750, 4to. ‘In this edition, which is printed in Gothic letters, the errors of the preceding (1665 and 1685, 4to.) are corrected,’ Ihre published, in 1752, and 1755, two ſmall eſſays under the title of ‘*Ulphilas Illustrata*,’ which ſhew that even the labours of Benzeliuſ and Lye are not free from error. In the year 1763, F. A. Knittel diſcovered another fragment of Ulphilas from the *Codex Carolinus* in the library of Wolfenbüttele: the Gospels being depoſited in the library of the University of Uppsala. That fragment relates to a portion of *St. Paul’s Epistle to the Romans*. Knittel’s account of the diſcovery is now before me; and it is moſt admirable and intereſting: ‘Nempe igitur (ſays he) extra iocum prima fronte textus mei gothici parum bella erat. Cernebam litteras, quarum erant aliæ integræ, aliæ dimidiatæ, aliæ multis partibus vetustate exesæ. Sublucebant paſſim tenues ſcripturæ reliquæ. Exſtabant heic atque illic altius membranæ impreſſa, et quaſi ad ſempiternam memoriam fixa, notarum veſtigia atque adeo cubilia integra, pigmento flavo, fulvique auri ſimili, modo vacua, modo adſperſa, modo leviter tincta,’ &c. Præfat. p. 6. What follows? The worthy Knittel takes the MS. home: embraces it with the fondneſs of a lover: and falls upon his knees, and ‘prays to God that the reſult may be as propitious as the commencement promiſed!’ He then pores, with microſcopic ſcrutiny, over every letter of the precious text—almoſt loſes his eye-ſight—but, in the end, completes his taſk with tolerable ſucceſs, and by God’s help enjoys the wonted uſe of his eyes.’ The volume bears honourable teſtimony to his zeal, his piety, and his critical erudition: and with the ſubſequent labours of Ihre, who published two further diſſertations, as companions of Knittel’s book, the verſion of Ulphilas ſhould be ‘in the hands of every critic who would build on a ſolid foundation.’ So ſays Michaelis, vol. ii. p. 130-137. The reſult is, if Ulphilas really did execute the MS. under conſideration, (and of this there ſeems no doubt among biblical critics) it takes precedence of every one before deſcribed on the ſcore of ANTIQUITY.

BELINDA. Pray tell us 'all about them'—as the children say—for now that you talk of *colour*, and my *favourite* colour too, every particle of opposition and dissatisfaction ceases as a matter of course!

PHILEMON. Well then, at your next court-visit, let your gown rival the emblazoned aspect of these old purple vellums*—and let stars of silver, thickly 'powdered' there-

* *the emblazoned aspect of these old purple vellums.*] The general idea seems to be, that PURPLE VELLUM manuscripts were intended only for 'choice blades'—let us rather say, tasteful bibliomaniacs—in book collecting. St. Jerom, as Philemon above observes, is very biting in his sarcasm upon these 'purple leaves covered with letters of gold and silver.' 'For myself, and my friends (adds that Father) let us have lower-priced books—and distinguished not so much for beauty as for accuracy.' And in his epistle to Eustochius, he observes, 'vellums of a purple colour are manufactured, the writing being, as it were, liquified gold.' What ascetic language is this! Let it be shunned by all virtuous bibliomaniacs, both eastward and westward of Temple Bar! Ovid, some four hundred and fifty years before St. Jerom, had treated 'these old purple vellums,' in a more fascinating style. In his first elegy (*De Tristibus*) 'Ad Librum,' he thus melts down a pretty quatrain upon the impropriety, or rather unfitness, of ornamental MSS. for the 'mournful.'

Nec te purpureo velent vaccinia succo:

Non est conveniens luctibus ille color.

Nec titulus minio, nec cedro charta notetur:

Candida nec nigra cornua fronte geras.

Casley (p. xiii) has quoted these verses, with sundry observations thereupon not necessary to be here repeated. Mabillon, however, properly remarks (as has been just intimated) that these purple treasures were for the 'Princes' and 'Noblemen' of the times. 'Sed hic scribendi modus (observes he) Principibus et Magnatibus peculiaris erat, nec tamen promiscuè ab istis usurpatus.' *De Re Diplom.* p. 43. And we learn from the xiith volume (p. 549) of the *Spicilegium* of Theonas, that it is rather somewhat unseemly 'to write upon purple vellum in letters of silver and gold, unless at the particular desire of a Prince.' *Ibid.* The subject also of the MS. frequently regulated the mode of executing it. Thus, we learn from the 28th epistle of Boniface (Bishop and Martyr) to the Abbess Eadburga, that this latter is entreated 'to write the Epistles of St. Peter, the master and Apostle of Boniface, in letters of gold—for the greater reverence to be paid towards the sacred scriptures—when the Abbess preaches before her carnally-minded auditors.' 'Such (adds Mabillon) is the MS. of the Gospels given by Louis the Pious to the monastery of St. Medard; executed in letters of

upon, emulate, if they dare, the silver capital Greek letters upon the purple membranaceous fragments which have survived the desolations of time! You see, I do not speak *coldly* upon this picturesque subject!

ALMANSA. Nor do I feel precisely as if I were in the *frigid zone*! But proceed and expatiate.

PHILEMON. The field for expatiating is unluckily very limited. In fact, of the more ancient MSS. before noticed, the *Pentateuch* at *Vienna*, the fragment of the Gospels in the British Museum, with a *Psalter* or two in a few libraries

gold.' He then notices several others, of the like character—in the library of St. Germain des Près—and especially an Evangelistarium and Psalter: p. 44. A fac-simile of the writing of this Psalter (considered to be of the viith century) occurs as no. 1 of the plate at page 357. Montfaucon has nearly the same notices: *Paleog. Græc.* p. 4-5, p. 216-228. But of the MS. of the Gospels, once in the St. Medard monastery, and now in the royal library of France, a friend, who has seen this precious rarity, informs me that 'it is singularly curious; especially the borders, which have a vast variety of ornament in frets, flowers, and running patterns of foliage: with fluted and other columns, presenting variegated marble, mosaic work, &c.: and having gold letters upon a purple ground.' Montfaucon, in his *Diarium Italicum*, p. 308, has a glowing notice of a purple MS. of Homilies upon the Gospels, of the viith or viiith century. But to what lengths would this 'purple' discussion run?

Yet a word or two further. Bretinger, as Philemon has properly observed, talks about these purple MSS. 'with Greek scription' being 'rarer than white crows.' In his epistle '*De antiquissimo Turicensis Bibliothecæ Græco-Psalmodium Libro In Membrana Purpurea Titulis aureis ac Litteris argenteis exarato*,' 1748, 4to. after giving a very picturesque description of his MS.—'membrana tota purpura infecta nigricantis rosæ aut violæ rubore micans.'—goes on thus: 'Sunt autem albo corvo rariores Codices istiusmodi purpurei, inprimis Græci membranacei, et præter hunc nostrum paucissimi hactenus innotuerunt,' p. 7. Bretinger then goes on to notice those MSS. which have been already brought under the review of the reader. But what a strange mistake was made by one Hermannus Hugo, in his '*libellus de prima Scribendi origine*?' He thought, simple soul, that purple vellum MSS. only meant books bound in vellum of the same colour! See Kollar's note, lib. iii. col. 516, in his *Comment. de Bibl. Vindob.* Yet what are all these ancient purple MSS., for splendor and effect, compared with the *Magna Carta* printed by JOHN WHITTAKER, in letters of gold, upon a purple ground? See the end of the SEVENTH DAY.

abroad, are all the MSS. which just now occur to me as being distinguished by a *purple tint*—for I apprehend little more than a *tint* remains. Whether the white or the purple vellum be the more ancient, I cannot take upon me to determine; but it is right you should be informed that St. Jerom denounces as *coxcombs*, all those who, in his own time, were so violently attached to your favourite purple colour!

LISARDO. I have a great respect for the literary attainments of St. Jerom; and although, in the absence of the old Italic version of the Greek Bible, I am willing to subscribe to the excellence of his own, or what is now called the *Vulgate*, yet in matters of taste, connected with the harmony of colour, you must excuse me if I choose to enter my protest against that venerable father's decision.

PHILEMON. You appear to mistake the matter. St. Jerom imagined that this appetite for purple MSS. was rather artificial and voluptuous; requiring regulation and correction—and that, in the end, men would prefer the form or colour, to the intrinsic worth, of their vellum treasures. Let us see:—although we are just now 'at fault,' I believe.

LYSANDER. Perhaps, having described the more ancient unilluminated MSS., you will now entirely confine yourself to such as are distinguished for beauty or peculiarity of ornament—from the xth to the xvith century: leaving the consideration of the *subject* of each MS. subordinate to that of the *character of art* which it displays.

PHILEMON. Not exactly so, either. But we may, at any rate, commence our researches with a brief notice of the style of art observable in a few of our *Chronicles* or *Histories*; whether of places, persons, or things. You will find me probably both desultory and superficial; yet as the field is

rather new and extensive, you must be satisfied with a hasty and partial examination of it.

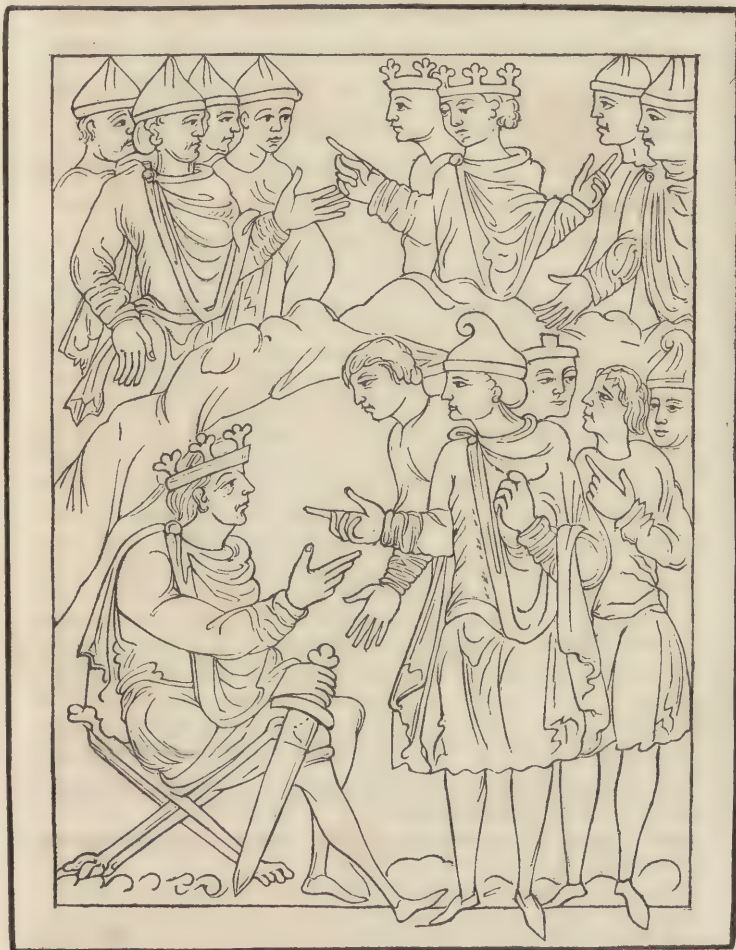
LORENZO. Proceed, dear Philemon. We will allow you the longest possible rope for the exercise of all the ingenuity and frankness which you possess.

PHILEMON. This is indeed encouraging. First, therefore, prepare to witness what appears to me to be a most favourable specimen, both of drawing and grouping, from a topographical work executed at the very commencement of the eleventh century.* The first of the ensuing specimens

* *at the very opening of the eleventh century.*] The work above alluded to is entitled, by Mr. Planta, in his *Catalogue of the Cottonian MSS.* (p. 36, no. 51) *Descriptio topographica aliquot regionum, &c. in Oriente.* It appears to be a fragment of only 10 leaves, in the Latin and Saxon languages; containing a plentiful sprinkling, in proportion to its contents, of fabulous and monstrous occurrences. The originals are in strong body colour: with the lights laid on pretty thickly in size or gum, so as to have nearly the appearance of oil. On the reverse of the 7th leaf of this fragment, occurs the following text—illustrative of the *first* of the above fac-similes. ‘In sinistra parte regio est Catinorum [Cathay?] et ibi reges sunt hospitales, sub se multos habentes tyrannos confines secus oceanum. A sinistra parte sunt reges complures.’ On the recto of the 8th leaf is the following text, subjoined to the *second* subject above given. ‘Hoc genus hominum multos vivit annos. Homines sunt benigni: et si qui ad eos venere cum mulieribus, eos remittunt. Alexander autem Macedis cum ad eos venisset, miratus est eorum humanitatem, nec voluit eis nocere, nec ultra voluit occidere.’ Envious and matchless race—that could stop the slaughtering career of a conqueror from the mere exhibition of humanity! When will such a golden event again occur? Let copies of the portraits of this ‘rare gentry’ adorn the diplomatic headquarters of Petersburg and St. Helena!

But what is the charge of which Joseph Strutt stands accused by the leniently disposed Philemon? Simply this. In his *Manners and Customs*, vol. i. p. 77, pl. xiii. he has given the second illumination, above represented, (but, I must say, with less fidelity than the reader here beholds it) as a *marriage ceremony*; and the figure, with a bowl, he conceives to be one of the parties attached to the ceremony, holding the ‘*benediction-water*’ within the same! Was our ‘Joseph’ in a poetical mood when he advanced such a solving of the hieroglyphic? Or had he at the time been himself newly ‘blest’ with a wife? It is immaterial: for certainly the text of the work referred to warrants nothing like the explanation of Joseph Strutt.

represents the hospitable treatment which certain Kings, resident in Cathay, afford to visitors and strangers.



The second exhibits the not less marked courtesy and gallantry of the male sex towards the *female*, when the latter are anxious to quit the dominions of the former. I

own there is a successful attempt at grouping in the composition. However, you shall judge for yourselves.



LISARDO. Have I not seen this latter in STRUTT?

PHILEMON. You have; and not only with a perverted interpretation, but a comparatively faithless fac-simile. Yet I will not stop to scold Strutt for every deviation from accuracy, whether with the pen or the pencil, which his voluminous pages display: remembering the Horatian precept—

. . . . ubi plura nitent . . . non ego paucis
Offendar maculis

LORENZO. In other words, the Sun is a glorious luminary although he have sometimes (as of late) a few spots upon his disk !

LISARDO. A goodly paraphrase. But proceed with your Histories, brave Philemon.

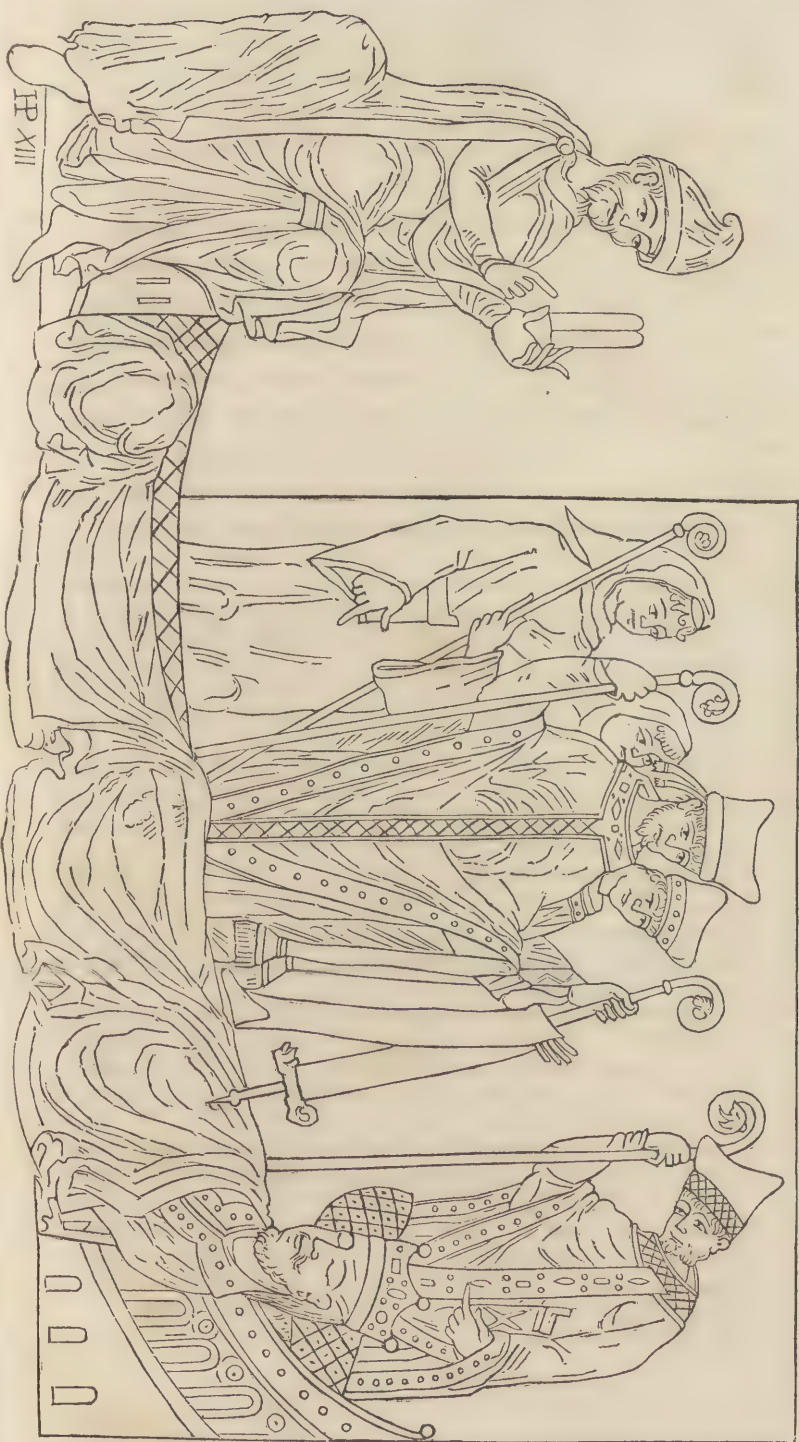
PHILEMON. Let me now surprise and delight you. In that sombre and silent repository of rare and precious tomes of former times—called the *Archives of Corpus College, Oxford*—there repositeth a MS. of FLORENCE of WORCESTER* (no mean champion in the grenadier-rank of our

* a MS. of *Florence of Worcester*.] I am indebted to my excellent and 'approved good' friend, Mr. Henry Petrie, (who hath brushed off more cobwebs from our old ms. chronicles and histories than any man in England, since the time of Wanley—therein differing from the frighful Magliabechi, who never would suffer spiders or cobwebs to be disturbed !) for the ensuing account of this very curious and precious MS. It appears to have been written about the year 1150. The visions above alluded to (which have not hitherto occurred in any other MS.) are mentioned as having taken place A.D. 1130; and the writer of the chronicle reports that he heard Grimbold, the King's physician, relate the Visions to Godfrey, Abbot of Winchelcombe, who died in 1137. An abridged account of the same thus appears in Trevisa's version of Higden's Polychronicon, according to Caxton's edition of the same, 1482, folio. 'Mold the emperyce was soone forsake of her husbond Geffroy, and wente to her fader in to normandy, there the Kyng sawe thre wondre syghtes, Fyrste he sawe in his sleepe many clerkes assayle hym with toles and axe of hym dette, Efte he sawe a Route of men of Armes that wold rese on hym with al maner wepen, the thyrde tyme he sawe a grete company of prelates manace hym with theyr croyses And at every tyme the Kyng start vp of his bed and caught his swerde and cryed help, as though he wold slee somme men, but he myght no man fynde. Also a phisician grymbald by his name sawe alle these syghts, and told hem to the kyng e rly in the morow,' &c. *Liber Septimus*, fol. cccxlviii, rev.

It must be noticed that *each* of these visions has been described by the pencil of the illuminator, and fac-similes of them have been made by my friend; but some discretion must be exercised in the adoption of the whole within the pages of the present work. Certainly *two* of the subjects, as above given, and not the most clumsily executed, are ornaments with which the reader has good reason to

earlier Historians!) written about the middle of the twelfth century, and containing Illuminations which represent the Visions that appeared unto our Henry I. during his abode in Normandy. What attaches no ordinary intrinsic value to this MS. is, that the Visions, here recorded, do not occur in any other known copy of the Historian under consideration. I shall lay fac-similes of these very curious specimens of art before you, in the order in which I think they are the more likely to be productive of gratification. In my humble apprehension, more interesting specimens could with difficulty be procured; and they are perfectly new to the public.





ALMANSA. Surely they are sufficiently odd!..

LISARDO. Rather say, sufficiently curious and instructive: and by no means divested of a considerable share of merit. Have you anything else of the same character, from the same branch of research?

PHILEMON. Not exactly. Yet let me lay quietly before you two vastly pretty specimens of art, in the character of supposed Portraits, from a MS. at the end of the twelfth century.* The figure of the female has, I think, peculiar

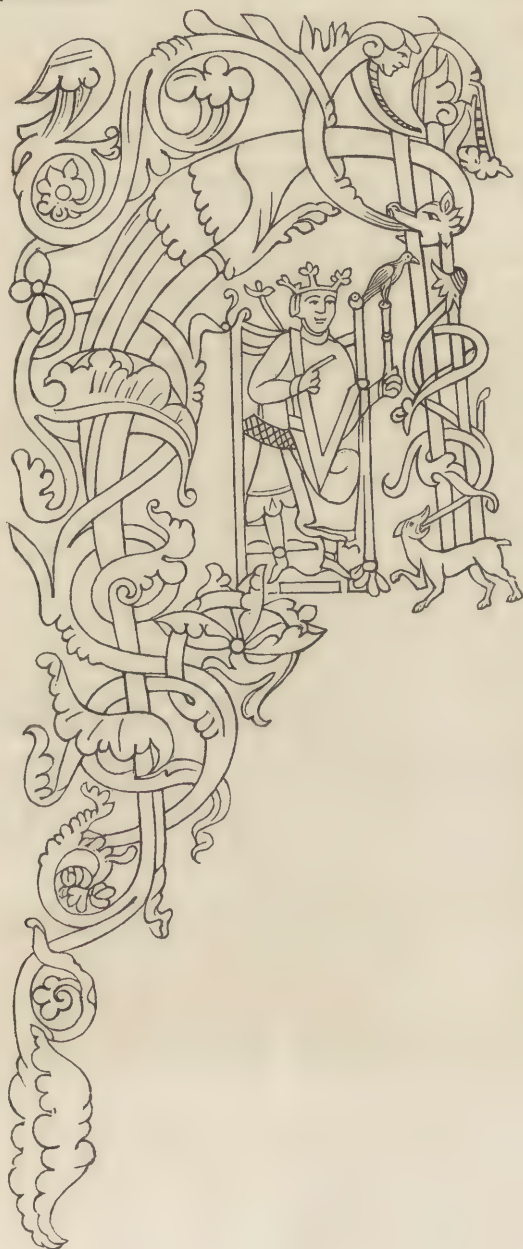
be satisfied. The smaller one describes the King's return to England to make atonement for his exactions. There is also a representation of the *Crucifixion* in the same Chronicle; by no means unskilfully executed. The MS. in question is numbered D. iv. 5; and includes both *Florence of Worcester* and a continuation of him to A.D. 1140; where it ends—imperfectly. The colouring, except that the back-ground is pretty strong, is nearly confined to the outlines: which are brown, red or green, with, sometimes, a slight *wash* near them by way of helping the folds, &c. Let the spirits of Fox and CLAYMUND more especially hover round that part of the *Corpus archives* in which this very fine and precious volume reposes!

* *somewhat later in the twelfth century.*] Let me first make the reader acquainted with the title of an illuminated MS. of extraordinary interest and curiosity, somewhat *early* in the *xiii*th century. It was the property of the late John Towneley, Esq. and is fully described by Mr. Evans in the catalogue of the first part of the Towneley library, sold by auction in 1814: under the following title: No. 904, 'THE LIFE, MARTYRDOM, AND MIRACLES OF S. EDMUND, in thirty-two singularly-curious paintings of the early part of the twelfth century, exhibiting the Architecture, Shipping, Arms, Armour, and various habits of that period.' It was purchased at the sale for 168*l*.

We now come to the MS. above alluded to by Philemon; the notices and fac-similes from which are supplied by the same authority, to whom Mr. Evans, in the preceding description, emphatically alludes. The figure of the female, at folio 14, is taken from a History or Register of the Charters of the Abbey of Abendon: see the *Cottonian Catalogue* [Claudius B. VI.] p. 192. These charters are real or pretended, with historical notices to connect them. As they end in the time of Richard I. we may assign the date of about 1200 to the MS. Let us here recreate ourselves with a small whole length of William I. seen in a MS. of Battle Abbey, among the Cotton MSS.: Domitian II. 2. The arabesque accompaniment is very elegant. They contain however a whole length of some monarch (probably Richard I.) very tastefully surrounded by what may be

delicacy of expression, and the drapery is both easy and graceful. It is intended for *Ethelswitha*, the Queen of

called arabesque ornaments. Such a composition frequently appears in the earlier capital initials.



Alfred; and the Monarch who hath a right portly and majestic air, is designed to represent our *First Richard*.



BELINDA. I own these are to my mind; and begin to think that the art is progressively improving.

PHILEMON. Perhaps you may be deceived in such an inference. However you will have abundant opportunity of judging for yourself. I shall now however quit truth for fiction—and human beings for four-footed animals.

ALMANSA. Strange introduction!

PHILEMON. Not stranger than the very subject matter itself. Prepare for monsters and oddities. I am about to open the *Lion's Den*: in other words, to notice a couple of terrific, but most singularly curious and interesting volumes, entitled OF THE NATURE OF BEASTS—

BELINDA. Hideous title!

LYSANDER. Cease interruption. We are on the tip-toe of expectation.

PHILEMON. 'Walk in Ladies and Gentlemen,' and you shall see the Lions, and a thousand four-footed oddities. Pray examine this frontispiece—to a volume, of the character under description, in the library of *St. John's College, Oxford*!* 'Tis passing strange!

The volume from which the figure of William I. (erroneously called that of Richard I. at p. lxxx) is taken, consists of tracts relating to the foundation, endowment, and internal affairs of *Battle Abbey*, to the year 1176. The earlier parts are probably of a still more ancient date, as the hand writing indicates. The latter portion ends abruptly. The MS. is briefly noticed in Mr. Planta's Catalogue.

* *in the library of St. John's College, Oxford.*] It is upwards of three years since I took a brief notice of, and made the above fac-similes from, the volume under description: which is, I think, somewhat older than the MS. of the same class in the Ashmolean Museum—presently to be described. My memoranda, however, of the St. John's Bestiarium having been irrecoverably mislaid, the ensuing description of it, furnished by the kind and ready pen of Mr. Philip Bliss, fellow of the same College, and our modern Anthony a Wood (except that he hath a more lively, or, in the language of the ensuing account, a more 'igniferous' spirit than his literary predecessor) will convince the reader that nothing has been lost by the accident. 'Our Bestiarium (quoth Mr. Bliss) contains at present one



ALMANSA. Inconceivably frightful!

BELINDA. Yet comical and interesting!

LORENZO. The story attached to it—?

PHILEMON. I know it not: and to the best of my recollection, when I examined the volume, the history of these ‘strange appearances’ was unaccountably omitted. But this brings me to a similar subject in a similar volume—of probably somewhat later date, but of infinitely superior execution.

LYSANDER. Speak!

PHILEMON. Nothing less, in short, than that most curious book, under the name of *The Bestiarium*, which is deposited

hundred and three leaves; having lost, as I conjecture, about ten—which undoubtedly contained illuminations. Among others, that of Jonas, cast from the belly of the whale, (in all probability a fine one) is departed. I wish the thief had been in the belly of his mother earth before the d——l prompted him to such a breach of all that is right or literary. The book has treatises on beasts, fish, and trees; something on nature, and the formation of human bodies; an account of the stages of man’s life, which are declared to be *six*; and lastly a pretty tale of the ‘*lapides igniferi*,’ which are ‘*in quodam monte orientis*.’ For my own part (resumes my worthy correspondent) I fancy they are pretty general all over the world, if our author’s history of them be correct. He says that they do not burn as long as the male and female are ‘*longe ab se invicem*’—but when by accident they approach each other, ‘*statim ignis accenditur, ita ut ardeant omnia quæ sunt circa illum montem*.’—Therefore, adds our moralising naturalist, ‘*vos homines dei qui istam vitam geritis separate vos longè a feminis*.’ The volume concludes with a large illumination of the subject in question, which is divided into two compartments; one representing the mountain in a quiescent state, the other, in a state of conflagration.’ The MS. (concludes Mr. Bliss) was certainly executed for some religious house. At the end, in a hand corresponding with the capitals throughout, is an inscription—‘*Liber Scæ Trinitatis*.’ . . . remainder effaced.’ Thanks to Mr. Philip Bliss!—who weareth the mantle, with an improved lining and new trimmed crimson edge, that once covered the ponderous shoulders of ANTHONY à WOOD, THE ELDER! I can speak with tolerable confidence as to the writing and style of art in the *Bestiarium* of St. John’s College, Oxford. Both the one and the other is much ruder and coarser than what we observe in the MS. immediately to be noticed.

in the *Ashmolean Museum at Oxford*.^{*} It is certainly not later than the year 1200; but both able and dexterous was that artist, who, at such a period, could not only design with skill, and finish with nicety, but lay on his massive

^{*} *Bestiarium—in the Ashmole Museum at Oxford.*] ‘Hereafter followeth’ a particular description of this singular treasure: for ‘singular’ and beautiful it is, probably beyond the antiquary’s expectation. First, let us say it beareth the number 1511: secondly, there appeareth upon the recto of the fly-leaf, the following inscription: ‘*This booke was gyven mee by my good Friende William Man Esquire this thirde day of August, 1609. Pe: Harwood.*’ Thirdly, for the contents of the volume. The first 6 leaves exhibit representations of the Creation of the World: the Deity occupying the first 3 of them, within a radiated circle, having a background of solid gold. The 3d figure of the Deity, in the creation of the moon and stars, is very brilliant. Then follows the creation of birds, fishes, beasts, and man. In the latter, Adam is sleeping upon the top of a rock; while Eve is made to rise up from behind, or over the right shoulder; and not from the side, as is usually the case. The reverse of this latter leaf is blank. Then a leaf, on the reverse of which is a tall whole-length figure, sitting, and radiated—with a book in his lap, on which is inscribed the word ALPHABET. The background is gold, pricked with stars, and a sort of lattice-work. This striking illumination fills the entire page, having the symbol of one of the Evangelists at each corner.

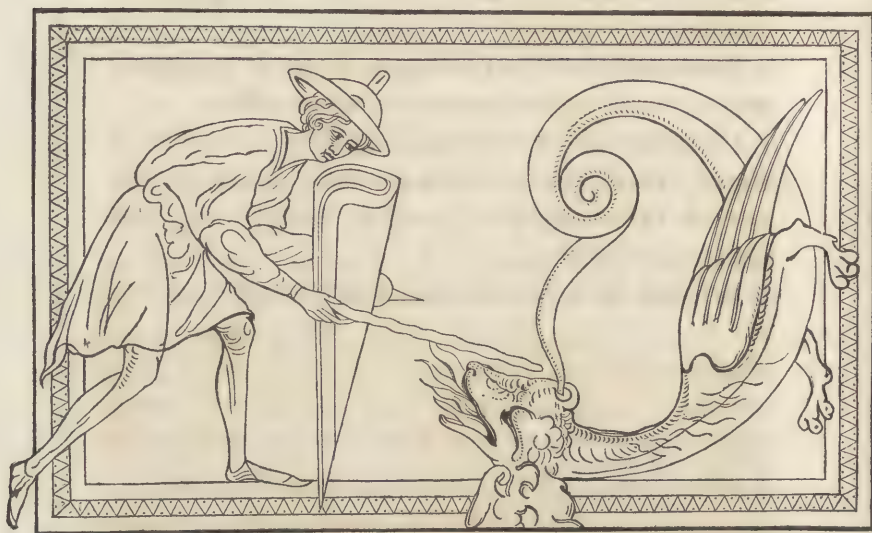
Next follows a full-page illumination, representing the beasts receiving their names from Adam. This is succeeded by a dry disquisition upon the nature and names of animals, accompanied by an illumination, divided into three compartments, precisely the same in subject, as we see above at p. lxxxiv: descriptive of the St. John’s copy: but the present illumination is on a reduced scale. On the recto of the ensuing leaf ‘*Incipit Liber de naturis Bestiarum.*’ In the whole, 93 leaves; exclusively of those previously described, and including the treatises upon Birds and Fishes. Among the embellishments which display the different characters of beasts, is one, of singular interest—divided into three parts—exhibiting the blood-hound in pursuit, and eventual detection, of a murderer. The dogs have a nimbleness of appearance, and a certain grace of delineation, perfectly delightful. But to particularise would be endless. The fac-similes at p. lxxxviii sufficiently evince the *degree of art* displayed in these striking illuminations. The *colouring* has little merit. It consists generally of two large portions of red and blue, touched with white. The coat of colour is thick and shining, approaching to the character of oil. The gold of the back-grounds is far from being poetically expressed by Philemon. It is such as acknowledges no superiority in any ancient MS. which I remember to have seen, and may almost set rivalry at defiance! Within 9 leaves of the end of the volume is the treatise of

coats of gold with such dexterity, that they even yet blaze with all the splendour of their original effulgence. Never visit the Ashmolean Museum without requesting good Mr. Dunbar * (who rejoices in the exhibition) to shew you this *keimelion* of zoography. Let me now put my menagerie in order, and beg of you to bestow a mite of approbation upon each specimen exhibited. Know however, before-hand, that the work also contains treatises upon Birds, Fishes, and Stones. Among the more delicate and successful embellishments in the volume, contemplate the following: the *first* representing the provocation of the asp to sting itself to death; and the *second* the stratagem practised upon the

St. Isidore 'upon the nature of man:' having a fine whole-length figure of the Saint prefixed, sitting before his desk, upon which is a book entitled '*Ysidor9 de Natura Hominis!*' On the reverse of the last leaf but one begins the treatise '*De Lapidibus*' with an illumination of the '*Lapides igniferi*' precisely similar to the one just described as distinguishing the St. John's copy. This treatise appears to end abruptly on the recto of the last leaf. The MS. is a small folio volume, of a thick but soft-surfaced vellum, written in a stout regular gothic type; of which four lines extend to seven-eighths of an inch. I am not however prepared to 'shew cause' why this MS. may not belong to the end of the *xiii*th century!

* *good Mr. Dunbar.*] I congratulate the idolizers of the memories of Ashmole and Wood, the lovers of antiquity in general, and the '*Domini Magistri*' as well as the '*Domini Doctores*,' of the University of Oxford in particular, upon the appointment of Mr. Dunbar to the Keepership of the Ashmolean Museum. The whole interior of that once cold and dirt-collecting repository hath been lately warmed, cleansed, and 'smartened up' in a manner worthy of the treasures deposited therein. Moths, gnats, mice and rats, and such small deer, cease to inflict their ravages upon the pictures and books: and a sort of comely and inviting order prevails—much, no doubt, to the comfort of Mr. Dunbar, and not less so to the credit of the Trustees of the Museum. We shall one day, and I make no doubt shortly, receive a garland from the hands of Mr. Dunbar, composed of the flowers which bear perennial blossom in the library of old Anthony: and among these flowers, (in the fashion of a book) let us have an extract or two from that comical and cubical duodecimo, entitled *Wallography*, or *the Britton described*, 1682, 8vo. which the pen of the said 'Old Anthony,' upon the fly-leaf of the same, designateth as 'full of drollery and roguery.'

tiger, to arrest the progress of her pursuit after her stolen young. They are each touched with a nice knowledge of the subject.



In the latter, you observe that the Knight throws down cylinders or globes of glass; and the ferocious dam, wishing to seize them, sees her image reflected — and thus, puzzled and distracted, her course is impeded, and the tiger-robber gets dexterously away.

LYSANDER. I own that this is vastly pretty and ingenious: nor is the style of art any way contemptible.

PHILEMON. On the contrary, it has great pretensions to elegance and accuracy. But if you *could* but see the *backgrounds* of the originals!! — solid, indurated, refulgent, almost imperishable! . .

LISARDO. You distract me, and at the same time make me the most melancholy of men! But proceed. I am breathless with anticipation.

PHILEMON. Be composed, I entreat . . . for I hardly know how to introduce what follows to your notice. The Ladies, I observe, start with horror and apprehension!



It represents the ravages sometimes made by hungry hyenas, upon the bodies of the dead — how they tear open the tombs, and devour the shrouded carcases! But see, a more ingenious and refined species of cruelty is exercised by the *Water-serpent of the Nile* upon the bodies of animals, who come to bathe in the treacherous flood. The designer of this uncommon production seems to have ransacked the remotest corner of his brain for such an extraordinary selection of animals. The back-ground of this picture, like the shield of Achilles from the recent forge of Vulcan, is in a perfect blaze of splendour! The animals themselves are touched chiefly in colours of red, blue, and white.



Yet, as you may equally observe, there are groups of animals of a more peaceful and pleasing character. The following, methinks, partakes even somewhat of Grecian taste.



It is time now to close our researches connected with these *Bestiaria*, illuminated in the XIIIth century. Let us resume a graver and not less interesting strain.

LORENZO. Have you nothing connected with *Romances*?

LYSANDER. Rather with *Sacred subjects* —

PHILEMON. Lysander is right : for of *Romances*, of the period under consideration, there are probably none existing which contain specimens of art or even traces of illumination. As to volumes connected with the Bible, they are equally without number and end. But let us consider only

some distinct features in this department of our present research: I mean *Gospels* and *Psalters* . . . Why I advert to this branch of theology at present is, that I happen just now to recollect the very beautiful and interesting MS. of the Greek Gospels in the possession of MR. DENT,* and

* MS. of the Greek Gospels in the possession of Mr. Dent.] The OPPOSITE PLATE will give the reader some notion of the peculiar style of art which prevails in the larger illuminations of this precious manuscript. It is the head-piece of the Gospel of St. Matthew, and intended for a representation of that Evangelist. Of the minor ornaments, I subjoin a fac-simile or two, not destitute of merit. The first is a pretty specimen of the Greek capital T: and the second (from fol. 253, rev.) represents our 'Saviour washing his disciples feet.'





FAC-SIMILE FROM A GREEK MANUSCRIPT OF THE GOSPELS: AD. 1200

in the Possession of John Dent Esquire.

written, as I conjecture, about the year 1200. No doubt this was once an inmate of Mount Athos; and together with several other, perhaps not less beautiful and interesting,

The magnificent manuscript under description is a large folio volume of the Gospels; or what is called an *Evangelistarium*. It commences with the Gospel of St. John; which is preceded by a splendid embellishment, divided into two compartments—one exhibiting Christ's descent into *Hades*, the other the inspiration of the Evangelist; who is sitting in the act of writing his Gospel. The surrounding border is among the most splendid in the volume. The text is written in two columns of a flowing Greek character; having 21 lines in a full column. The initial letter of every chapter is an ornamental one; sometimes (as in the first specimen, of the capital Greek T) extremely elegant and fanciful: in colours of red and blue, relieved by white and gold. The titles to the chapters are in gold. Occasionally (but rarely) there are side and bottom-margin ornaments; as on the reverse of the 19th leaf—where we see very small figures of the Paralytic, the Pharisee, the Scribe, &c. &c. The Gospel of St. Matthew commences on fol. 49; preceded by a decoration of which distinct notice has been already taken. The background of the figure is gold: the tops, or roofs of the small buildings, are bright red: the intermediate tiling is blue; and the drawn curtain of the building, to the right of the figure, is bright red: the three steps are of a wavy pink-coloured marble. The furniture, upon which the book and screw are fixed, is dark brown, as well as the chair upon which the Evangelist sits. His footstool is of gold. His garment is pale yellow, with the tunic, across his arm, blue. The tiling, to the left, upon the first building, is blue. The balustrade and pediment are white. The beautiful arabesque border that surrounds it, is, generally speaking, red and blue relieved by white, on a gold back-ground. Its present condition is sufficiently beautiful; but originally these ornaments must have been of a dazzling splendor.

The Gospel of St. Matthew ends on the recto of fol. 123, and is succeeded by a blank leaf. St. Mark's Gospel follows on the recto of fol. 125: preceded by a portrait of the Evangelist, of precisely the same character as that of the previous Evangelist. St. Mark ends on the reverse of fol. 216, succeeded by two blank leaves. St. Luke follows on the recto of 219; having a representation of the Evangelist, in a peculiar form, prefixed: with a surrounding border of uncommon beauty and elaborate detail. Few specimens, even of Persian art, can exceed this interesting decoration. In the course of this Evangelist we perceive several attempts at historical composition in the way of art; as, on the reverse of fol. 253, appears the '*Washing of the Disciples Feet, by our Saviour*,' forming the second specimen in the preceding page. The *Betrayal of Christ by Judas*, occurs in pretty nearly the same style, on the reverse of fol. 269: and the *Crucifixion*, in like manner, on the recto of fol. 281. On the recto of fol. 295, preceded by a blank leaf, and having at top a very elegant illumination—commence excerpts from the four Evangelists: which

volumes, of equal or superior antiquity, have been scattered abroad upon the earth's wide surface to enrich the cabinets of the curious, or gratify the cupidity of the avaricious. What gems, of which even poets can scarcely dream, are at this moment darting their lustre in unexplored recesses ! and yet what gems, of probably superior *brilliancy*, have been trampled beneath the feet of the plundering Turk ! But ah ! still more painful thought, what curious and extraordinary specimens of the expiring art of Greece have been mangled, lacerated, or deliberately anatomized, for the capricious decoration of a worthless volume !

LISARDO. No more, no more of this 'heart-rending strain.'

PHILEMON. A truce then, if you please. But of the Psalter, which may probably be considered the Parent of *Missals*, *Breviaries*, or *Hours**—let me just submit to you a very

appear to end on the reverse of fol. 335. These are succeeded by various extracts (accompanied by very pretty head pieces, and two subjects, the Circumcision and the Annunciation) relating to the Greek Church. At fol. 355, are extracts and forms relating to the liturgy. At fol. 367, is a small illumination (one inch and a half in height) of the death of the Virgin. In the whole, 378 leaves. On the reverse of the last leaf, in a later hand, are directions, in Greek, to the officiating priests for reading the *Evangelistarium*. It remains to add that this magnificent and precious MS. (allowed by the curators of the British Museum to be superior, in condition and splendor, to any similar Greek MS. in that repository) was procured from abroad by the enterprise of Mr. Woodburn, and sold to its present possessor for a price proportioned to its worth. As to its age, I incline to think it (on the authorities of Montfaucon and Bandini) to be of the latter end of the xith, or beginning of the xiiith century : and it may be further remarked that the character, in which it is written, prevailed as late as the end of the xvth century ; as may be seen from the fac-simile of the Psalter, printed at Venice in 1486, in the *Bibl. Spenceriana*, vol. i. p. 127.

* *Psalter*—probably the parent of *Missals*, *Breviaries*, and *Hours*.] This may be a capricious surmise ; but positions less tenable have been maintained with all the warmth and virulence of hypothetical casuistry. It is not a very over-strained supposition to imagine, that some one portion, more than another, of the sacred scriptures (and what has been more popular than the psalmody of David?) might have been selected for the purpose of a devotional manual ; written and adorned

ancient, but not wholly barbarous, specimen of grouping—representing the salutation of Elizabeth and Mary—from a volume of this description in the *Gough Collection* attached to the Bodleian library.* The countenances are, doubtless,

with all the nicety and skill of the calligraphist! Next would follow the particular church-service, or office of religion, as a subject for similar art—and hence the innumerable volumes of *Missals*, *Breviaries*, *Offices*, and *Hours*. But our present business is with the *PSALTER*; of which, I will be bold to maintain, *more ancient* specimens of calligraphy and illumination are to be found, than of *Missals* or *Church Offices*.

At the same time it is but right to make mention of two very ancient ‘church service’ or devotional volumes, with illuminations (probably of the xth century) which are contained in the public library at *Rouen*. My friend Mr. Petrie, who has furnished me with the notice of these curious tomes, from ‘ocular demonstration,’ observes that both formerly belonged to Robert Archbishop of Canterbury, who had been Abbot of the monastery of Jumiege, in the middle of the xth century. One of them is entitled ‘*Benedictionarius Roberti Archiepiscopi Cantuariensis*’—and the other ‘*Missale ad Vsum Ecclesie Anglicane, datum ad Cenob. Gemeticense, a Roberto qui ejusdem quondam Abbas fuerat, tumque Episcopus Londoniensis, &c.*’ Both books (says my legendary lore-loving friend) are very fine specimens of writing, gilding, and illuminating (in body colour) as well in subjects, as in borders—which latter consist chiefly of foliage mixed with frets, &c. For an account of this ‘Robert,’ examine the valuable but rarely opened pages of the *Neustria Pia*, p. 309: and consult also Mr. Gourdin’s dissertation upon these two very tomes, in his *Mém. de l’Académie de Rouen*: where they are discoursed of in chronological order. The latter work is out of reach; but the former is at this moment ‘sub oculis.’

* *Gough Collection attached to the Bodleian Library.*] It was I think some time in the year of our Lord 1812, when I first entered the ‘Gough Collection’ here alluded to. The MSS. and printed books of the late Richard Gough (of monument-loving memory) were at that time under arrangement, in an oaken floored room, light, spacious, and dry as the rain-unvisited dust of the plains of Arabia! But the day, on which such visit was made, partook not less of the *heat* than of the parchedness of the said Arabian ‘plains;’ and well do I at this moment call to mind the perseverance, energy, and exactness, with which the now very excellent and able head-librarian of Bodley, the REV. B. BANDINELL, continued his labours of arrangement—in despite of such ‘Arabian’ solstitial ray! Books are ‘sweet friends’ at all seasons, ‘thinks I to myself’—but at a moment like this, place me beside the translucent stream from gushing fountains of purest Parian marble; and let me gaze only upon illuminated margins of fruits, flowers, and ‘frets!’

A most unseemly rhapsody! quoth the grave and frowning reader—for if the said ‘excellent and able head-librarian of Bodley’ had addicted himself to such

not a little grotesque; but the folds of the drapery are managed with considerable attention to elegance and ease



mawkish pastime, where would have been ' *A Catalogue of the Books relating to British Topography, and Saxon and Northern Literature, bequeathed to the Bodleian Library, in the year MDCCXCIX, by Richard Gough, Esq. F. S. A.*—which was put

If you wish to see the progress of art, in volumes of this description, you must carefully and leisurely survey the numerous treasures, in which the rapturous strains of David are contained, now deposited in the British Museum—the immense reservoir of what may be called the tributary streams of Harley, Cotton, Soane, and his late Majesty George II. How exquisite are the gems of this kind of which a faithful account, accompanied by fac-similes, might be at once gratifying and instructive! But will the public taste and public spirit encourage ‘hands to be put in motion’ upon such a design? Or—let us however avoid the virulence of invective!

LORENZO. Perhaps you will be pleased to *direct* us to the examination of some *particular* Psalter contained in this vast national Book-Magazine?

PHILEMON. My recollection furnishes me just now with only *two* that are particularly curious on the score of antiquity and brilliancy of execution. The first, in the early part of the xivth century, which was snatched from the jaws of perdition by that worthy book-wight BALDWIN SMITH, and presented to Queen Mary,* has a vast variety of introductory

forth at Oxford in the year 1814—by the same industrious and respectable gentleman?! I feel the force of the interrogatory, and hide my face in shame among the leaves of the old membranaceous PSALTER above alluded to by Philemon: to which said Psalter, methinks, the reader hath good right and reason to be forthwith introduced. It is numbered 194, at page 429 of the Catalogue just mentioned, and is briefly described as ‘PSALTERIUM; præfiguntur orationes quædam Charact. perantiq. 4to. membran.’ The ornament, above given, occurs in the earlier part of it. The writing is in a large coarse gothic, and the vellum is thick and sombre. The colours are in body—at times rather highly glazed—and the touch of the artist is firm and accurate. The volume bears strong marks of being as old as the latter part of the xiiith century. The magnificent capital initial B, prefixed to the first verse of the Psalter, is noticed in a following page.

* *worthy book-wight Baldwin Smith, and presented to Queen Mary.*] The volume here alluded to (*Bib. Reg. 2 B. VII.*) merits a particular description; as much from its intrinsic curiosity, as from the meagre account of it by Casley,

illuminations, from subjects furnished by the Old Testament; but they are in outline, and sometimes sufficiently strange as well as meagre. Yet, upon the whole, this is a volume of very

p. 23. It may be called a quarto; being about 10 inches by 7. The first 65 leaves are entirely filled with illuminations, in outline, slightly shaded, chiefly with green and purple; which relate exclusively to scriptural subjects, and were apparently executed late in the xiiith century. There are texts of scripture subjoined, written in a small, close, gothic hand, in the French language. Some of these illuminations, especially of groups of warriors, have great merit: among which may be noticed those on the reverse of fol. 51, on fol. 52, recto, and fol. 56—which richly deserve fac-similes; although I suspect that Strutt has not entirely overlooked *some* of these originals. There are scenes of a tender description, equally numerous and equally well executed: reminding us much of the style of art in the marginal illuminations of the famous ROMAN D'ALEXANDRE, in the Bodleian library; of which in due time and place.

On the reverse of folio 66, commences a new style of art: with more colour, and with gold back-grounds—but we only gain in splendor what we lose in delicacy and expression. Whole length portraits of Christ, the Apostles, Prophets, &c. with a Calendar, are the succeeding contents; when, on the recto of the leaf opposite the commencement of the Psalter, (which immediately follows the Calendar) we read this partly-defaced inscription, in a gothic type:

*This boke was sune tyme
 and it was his wil
 that it shuld by succession all way
 go to the or to*

The text of the Psalter, written in a large gothic type, in long lines, (16 to a full page) with almost every line illuminated more or less—occupies 234 leaves. The more elaborate illuminations, with ornamented and gold back-grounds, are almost uniformly clumsy and unsuccessful. Beneath the text however, we have the same style of art as in the introductory part: outline delineations, but of a gay character. Games, sports and pastimes, with scenes of hawking and hunting, (of no ordinary merit) are found here in abundance. The figures are from 2 to 3 inches in height. On the reverse of the 3rd of the last blank leaves, is this extraordinary memorandum, in a gothic hand: which is also given by Casley:

*Hunc Librum nautis ad exteros transvehendū datū:
 spectatus et honestus vir BALDWINUS SMITHUS Londini
 a portorijs et vectigalibus retraxit. atq; MARIE illustrissi-
 mæ anglie ffrancie, et hibernie REGINÆ Donavit,
 mense Octubri. Anno domini millesimo quingentesimo
 quinquagesimo tertio. Regni sui Primo.*

Hence the remark of Philemon—concerning the book being ‘snatched from the jaws of perdition by that worthy book-wight BALDWIN SMITH.’ It remains

extraordinary interest. The second, of a date a century later, is perhaps on many accounts *more* valuable. The art displayed in it is rich, striking, and of very considerable merit. Nor is the volume, in other respects, without peculiar interest; for it was once, in all probability, the property of HENRY VI.* and I would venture no small bet that the piety

only to add that this very singular volume is bound with a large flower, worked in tambour, upon one side of it; which said flower might have been the produce of the very needle of Queen Mary herself!—as I make no question of her Majesty having set an extraordinary value upon the contents of the book.

* *once, in all probability, the property of Henry VI.]* I am not sure whether there be not as ‘great a fuss’ made about this precious little volume, as with any other similar bijou in the whole Cottonian collection. It is noticed by Smith and Mr. Planta, under *Domitian* xvii. supposed by them to have been executed for the use of Richard II. The figure of a royal child, frequently occurring in the illuminations, is also considered by them as the representation of RICHARD HIMSELF. Strutt has adopted the same notion. The sequel, I apprehend, will prove each of these conclusions to be erroneous. But we had better commence with Smith’s animated description (p. 135) literally copied by M. Planta. ‘*Psalterium, pulcherrimis figuris, elegantissimisque delineationibus, ornatum; cum hymnis, et symbolo Athanasiano. Præmittuntur calendarium, tabulæ conjunctionum lunarium cum variis phasibus lunæ depictis, cycli, et tabulæ festorum mobilium. Illic plus quam semel extat pictura R. Ricardi 2di. genibus flexis coram B. Virgine, Jesum in sinu habente. Liber in illius regis usum, dum puer esset, videtur illuminatus.*’

First, as to the period of the execution of this volume; and secondly, respecting the style of art which it exhibits. The first division of the subject shall be discussed in the words of a most competent judge; and the reader shall draw his own conclusion respecting the successful refutation, or otherwise, of the inference of the learned gentlemen just mentioned. The sentence of this πολυμαθης αλος judge is delivered in the following ‘pithy and pleasaunt’ manner, in a letter to one Rosicrusius. ‘With respect to *Rich. II.* I am inclined to assume the *undoubting* formula of Mr. O. of L.: *all wrong*:—but I have no objection to substituting *Hen. VI.*—for the following reasons: 1. The kalendar prefixed is French, both in language and Saints; very few English being among them. 2. The lunar, &c. tables, start from A. 1420: but as poor Richard was murdered in 1400, these could hardly have been intended for his use! 3. Henry VI. was crowned at Paris, A. 1431, when 10 years old. In one illumination we have a child-king kneeling before the Virgin, in a surcoat and mantle of *England* and *France*, with apparently *S. Louis* by his side; (a beatified king in a robe covered with *fleur de lys*) and in another is *S. Catherine*, seemingly his mother’s patroness (her name was

of that monarch induced him to keep this precious manual carefully deposited in some golden or silver cabinet—under lock and key, guarded with a dragon like vigilance . . .

LISARDO. Why all this fear of robbery?

PHILEMON. Because this precious tome contains several portraits of his Majesty when he was a young gentleman of about nine years of age. You see him therein, in the most pious attitudes, by the side of his then tutelary saint, St. Louis. It has, however, much stronger claims upon our admiration; and the artist, whose moral pencil was exercised in the embellishments of it, has achieved no ordinary effort

Catherine): in a third I suspect the Duke of Bedford to be kneeling by his side, in a scarlet robe.

‘I am therefore inclined to suppose the book may have been executed for Hen. VI. at the time of his coronation, in France; and it is certainly a very curious performance.’ Well, reader, *Richard* or *Henry*? ‘That is the question!’ The answer must surely be immediate—for the *latter*. Strutt however had supposed the fleur de lis gentleman, with a nimbus round his head, and therefore beyond all doubt intended for a *French Saint*, to have been THOMAS of WOODSTOCK! A ‘strange, conceited,’ but not very witty supposition.

In the second place, as to a description of its contents, with observations upon the style of art which it betrays. It is an octavo volume of 286 leaves; measuring seven inches and a half by five and a half. The borders, in gold, now faded, are very elaborate; and a full page contains 15 lines, in a large but close gothic type. The calendar has 10 leaves. On the reverse of the 11th leaf is the decoration, of which the copper-plate at p. cii, (by *Audinet*) may give the reader a pretty accurate notion; as its fidelity is unquestionable. On the recto of the 12th leaf, the text of the Psalter begins. We have here an illumination divided into three parts: of which the upper one consists of David and Bathsheba, beneath is David playing on the harp: and below, the figure of HENRY VI. a handsome child of 10 years of age, is kneeling. The same kind of figure occurs four times more in the course of the work: namely, on folios 49, 74, 176, and 205. In the first instance it is nearly defaced: in others it is fresh and beautiful—and always the same in figure and countenance: yet too small (one inch in the whole) for successful copying. Sometimes the infant monarch is presented, as at folio 49, to the Virgin, by St. Louis; and, as at folio 74, by St. Catherine. At folio 176, his Uncle, the Duke of Bedford (Regent of France) is kneeling by the side of him. The original of the second copper-plate fac-simile, given at page ciii, occurs at folio 120, reverse; and is, I submit, a very choice specimen of architectural

in the generality of the performances. The borders also are exceedingly elaborate. But as you seem to be impatient for a glance at it, look, I beseech you, at the two following

art. On the reverse of folio 73, we observe what may be called a *counterpart* of the ensuing reverend gentlemen, in the STALLED NUNS which here ensue. The bottom portion only of the entire embellishment is given.



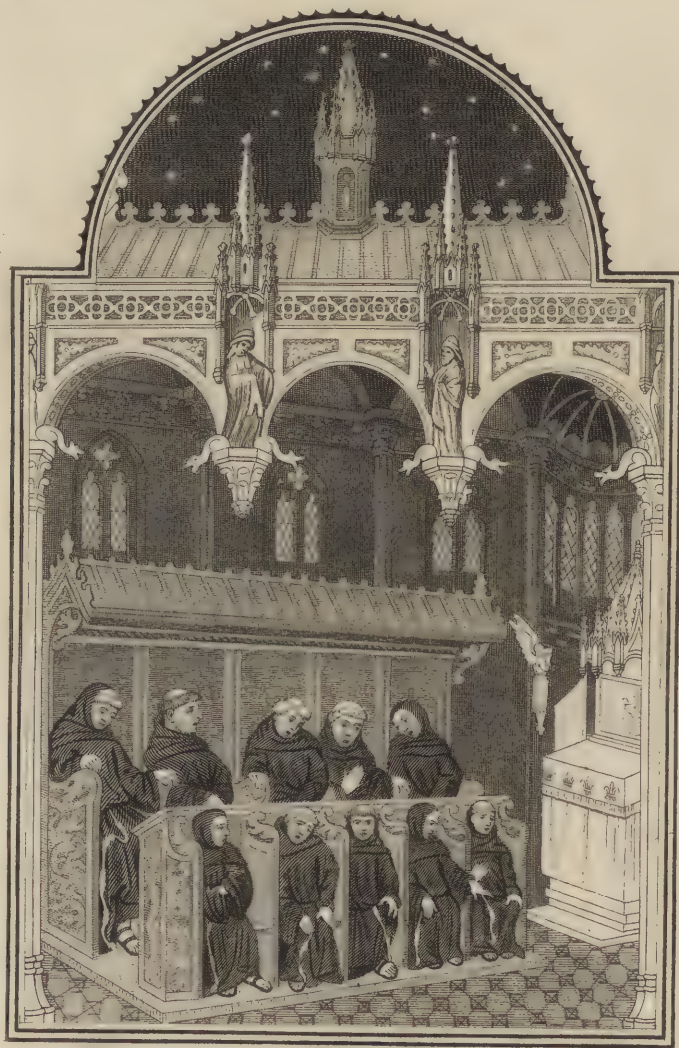
From folio 148, a series of grave subjects ensues; including frequent representations of Death, &c. Upon the whole, this precious little volume merits every attention for its antiquity, its beauty, and intrinsic worth: and I make no doubt of its being guarded with 'dragon-like vigilance' by those to whose preservation it is now entrusted.

specimens—which I have caused to be copied, with the greatest exactness and fidelity, for your gratification. The colouring must necessarily be considered out of the question; but the composition cannot fail to excite interest.

LORENZO. Perfectly striking and almost inimitable! We



have here a sort of morality which might have given a hint to the author of the well known subject called the *Dance of Death*. The architectural accessories, in this second specimen, are rich and sparkling to a degree!—But I trust you are not about to shut up so interesting a volume?



PHILEMON. Yes: for consider what remains to be discussed!—and imagine, from these specimens only, what a diligent examination of the treasures, from which they are taken, would produce to an ardent, enlightened, and liberal mind—backed by public encouragement, or invigorated by private fortune! Indeed, indeed, my excellent good friends, (for let me forget my relative situation of monarch) I cannot but grieve at heart, when I see so many fine young capacities, just emancipated from the indulgent discipline of a college, and launching upon the wide ocean of human life, without having their taste directed, their spirit excited, or the LOVE OF THEIR COUNTRY roused, by an investigation of the performances of their ANCESTORS—by improving some of the best qualities of the mind, in perpetuating an otherwise perishable art—and by devoting to the protection of the indigent and ingenious, a small portion ‘only’ of that wealth, the lavish expenditure of which has too often ruined their constitutions, blasted their characters, and beggared their families!

LORENZO.

LYSANDER.

LISARDO.

} Bravo! Bravo!

PHILEMON. ‘I have said.’ Let us touch a more pleasing chord. Perhaps the present will be the fittest place to notice a very material feature, or branch, or department (designate it how you please) in the art of illumination, called INITIAL LETTERS; or, generally speaking, CAPITAL INITIALS—as these incipient letters are usually large and ornamental.

BELINDA. I rejoice that you have reached this department of the subject which forms the discussion for the Day. You observe that my worthy brother, if you only look around, has his cabinet graced with not a few of these interesting and gigantic forms of letter!

PHILEMON. His cabinet might be graced with more unseemly ornaments!

LISARDO. I love them dearly.

ALMANSA. But you are interrupting. Proceed, great MONARCH OF THE DAY; and let your sceptre of authority fall upon the shoulder of each revolting subject.

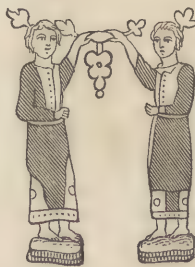
PHILEMON There will be no occasion for the infliction of such severe punishment. My subjects are docile and obedient. Of these initials, then—which Montfaucon seems to think were introduced as early as the *eighth century**—take the following specimens; from the pages of the same learned

* *Capital Initials—introduced as early as the viiith century.*] ‘Ab octavo jam sæculo in Manuscriptis Græcis observantur literæ prægrandes, initio operum et librorum, Calligraphorum arbitratu confictæ: ubi variis hominum, serpentum, avium, piscium, &c. figuris, singulæ literæ representantur: quarum pro specimine Alphabetum in Tabula datur.’ *Palæogr. Græca*, p. 254. The Plate, here mentioned, has been copied in part in the following fac-similes. The order is thus:

	M	
K	H	Y
T	Π	E
O	E	

In Montfaucon, the alphabet is given entire, in similar characters: but the specific age of each letter, or of each particular class of letters, is not mentioned. Indeed, having once ascertained nearly the remotest period of their adoption, it answers little purpose to trace their genealogical characteristics through succeeding centuries: yet the ENSUING CUTS, in wood, and upon copper, which accompany the CAPITAL LETTER DISQUISITION of Philemon, will be considered, I trust, as no very unsatisfactory illustration of the subject, from the xth century. Astle, p. 76, has given some specimens of early capital initials of a very inferior description. I could dwell somewhat here upon the *drollery* and *richness* of those very extraordinary capital initials, of which Lambecius has given elaborate fac-similes, upon copper, in his *lib. ii. col. 527, &c.* (*Edit. Kollarii*) but space and time equally forbid an enlargement of the subject. These embellishments are quite of the end of the xivth century, in a large and magnificent *German Bible*, executed, as the colophon imports, for the EMPEROR WENCESLAUS, in 3 folio volumes—‘tantâ figurarum inauratarum ipsi contextui insertarum multitudine, adeoque eleganti, magnifico et pretioso ornatu marginali decorata et insignita, ut absque singulari admiratione spectari nequeant.’ There’s tempting description for you!—lover of gold-embossed backgrounds, and rainbow-tinted

antiquary—as corroborative of the taste and fancy with which they were oftentimes executed.



I shall not attempt to decide at what precise period any of the foregoing specimens were introduced; but we may add that they are *Greek capitals*, and peculiarly characteristic of Grecian art. As we approach the twelfth century, especially in *Latin MSS.* we observe very whimsical specimens of the grouping of human figures and of animals. It cannot be affirmed, however, that such specimens are always in the best style of art, nor can we readily allow of the propriety of their introduction in volumes of a grave import—but if you love ease and whimsicality, look at what here follows—from an ancient MS. of *St. Paul's Epistles*, preserved in the library of Christ Church College, Oxford.* I could probably select a more tasteful or intricate specimen; but in what you

mantles! The subjects treated of in the capital initials, chosen by Lambecius for his fac-similes, exhibit chiefly the effeminate and voluptuous mode of life of that slothful Bohemian king; who was dethroned in 1400—'domi torpens, vino ciboque marceus, et lucem dormiendo nocti conjungens'—but have I not almost deprecated an *enlarged* account of this splendid and singular performance?

* *St. Paul's Epistles*—in the library of Christ-Church College, Oxford.] This ancient MS. is preserved in the archive-room attached to the library under notice. It is a very small folio, or large octavo; having the text executed in a lower-case roman letter, with an interlined glossary and marginal explanations: the latter in a very small and neat hand. It is written in ink now become brown from age; and, as I suspect, is of the earlier part of the *xiii*th century. The capital initials, throughout, are really exquisite; displaying perfect taste in the arabesque, with occasionally much successful union of the droll and fantastical. They were originally, as their appearance still indicates, executed in bistre-colour; like most of the embellishments of this period. Never had I greater difficulty in the choice of my subject—among these bewitching decorations! But I trust the specimen, given in the ensuing page, does not falsify this account, nor detract greatly from the taste of the selector. We shall make another visit or two to this highly-enriched archive-closet—in the course of this *FIRST DAY*. Meanwhile, let that excellent bibliographical friend, (the sole and fortunate possessor of the *Kele-printed Christmas Carols*) ycleped the Revd. Henry Cotton, receive our best thanks for affording us, not only a sight of—but leisure to take a tracing from—one of the capital-initial ornaments of the foregoing *EPISTOLÆ PAULI GLOSSATÆ*.

here behold, admit that there is a graceful flow of lines, in spite of its singularity. Perhaps, however, you ought to be informed that this fanciful ornament is intended for a P.



You may remember the specimen of grouping from the early Latin Psalter in the *Gough Collection*, attached to the *Bodleian Library*. The same sombre MS. furnishes us with

a particularly resplendent instance of the most complicated, yet not ungraceful, species of ornament, in the first capital-letter prefixed to the Psalms of David. Of course I mean the B. There may be a more ancient* (and yet this possesseth a

* *There may be a more ancient.*] There is a more ancient, and somewhat similar, yet greatly inferior, specimen of this B—in the valuable Latin and Saxon Psalter deposited in the MS. Library at Stowe. The reader hath probably already disported himself in the account of this extraordinary volume, at page liv ante. The original of the specimen alluded to by Philemon, and given in the following page, is highly painted, in a glazed body colour, chiefly in *red* and *blue*; with spirited touches in *white* by way of relief, or strong demarcation. It is certainly the most elaborate yet graceful specimen of its kind which I remember to have ever seen.

In this enumeration however of early-decorated Psalters, we must not, in quest of treasures which are abroad, be wholly unmindful of those more immediately at home. The manuscript library of the ROYAL SOCIETY is enriched by two illuminated Psalters of even a much earlier date than the preceding; one of them, numbered 60, is considered by Wanley to be of the time of Edward the Confessor. It has the calendar ornamented with some singular figures of the signs of the zodiac, and an illumination of the *Crucifixion*, executed in a very uncommon and interesting style. This book has also rectangular borders, with foliage, somewhat in the manner of those of the *Ethelwold MS.*—belonging to his Grace the Duke of Devonshire: see p. lix, ante. It should be noticed that there is an interlineary Saxon version. The other MS. numbered 155, is supposed by Wanley to have been executed for the greater part in the time of Cnut. It has also a calendar, and a clever drawing, apparently of St. Benedict, seated between two monks. This Psalter has borders with foliage, like the preceding, but with much gold. It contains also some very bold CAPITAL INITIALS: the B among the rest—but within the sweep or curve of a D, is the apposite representation of David cutting off the head of Goliath. At the end of this second Psalter are the ‘*Cantica Sacre Scripturæ*’; to which is prefixed an illumination of St. Benedict, seated, holding a staff in his right hand; with the figure of a monk, prostrate, at his feet—holding a book, upon which is inscribed ‘*Lib Ps.*’ Other figures are also introduced. In the text of Walter Whytleseye, *apud Sparke*, p. 173, we read of a magnificent present made by Godfrey, Abbot of Peterborough, elected A. D. 1290. Among the various gifts bestowed by him, occurs ‘*uni Cardinali, nomine Gaucilino, dedit quoddam Psalterium litteris aureis et assuris scriptum, et mirabiliter luminatum.*’ O brave Godfrey—and thrice happy Gaucilinus! I cannot at this moment take upon me to determine whether early *Greek MSS.* of the Psalter usually exhibit similar decorations; but, according to Hardt’s *Catalog. Cod. MSS. Græcor. Bibl. Reg. Bavar.* (1806-1812, 4to. 5 vol.) vol. iv.

pretty tough longevity) but certainly not a more splendid instance of intricacy of ornament in this well-known letter.



LORENZO. I own this is vastly curious and elaborate; and trust you have yet a score of them?

PHILEMON. No, my excellent host: for to exhibit other similar instances would answer very little purpose. But look at what I am about to place before you. We have reached the period of CHORAL, or CHURCH-SERVICE BOOKS,*

p. 42, and vol. v. p. 21, there appears to be two MSS. of this kind, one of the xth, and the other of the xiiith century, which are described as 'titulis et initialibus miniatis, caractere minuto, antiquo et nitidissimo,' &c.

* CHORAL or CHURCH-SERVICE Books.] My friend Mr. Ottley absolutely revels in the possession of the most splendid ancient fragments of books of this description, obtained by him, in Italy, from monasteries or private individuals. As no names are here mentioned, this general observation will be perfectly *stingless*. The copper-plates which belong to this portion of the BIBLIOGRAPHICAL DECAMERON bear evidence of the wealth of my friend's collection—yet that collection, 'rich and rare' as it is, was once of still greater extent. ONE 'great and glorious' sample of ancient art, exhibited in Choral Books, Mr. Ottley however still possesses; which must unquestionably be considered as the *Jupiter planet* of the system. In other words, it was executed by the famous DON SILVESTRO DEGLI ANGELI, (of whom see p. cxxv, post) and is described by Vasari as the *chef-d'œuvre* both of the artist and of the age. First, for the dimensions. From the bottom of the picture to the central top, which is pointed, for the reception of the upper part of the Virgin and her attendant angels, there are 14 inches. In width the illumination measures 10 inches. The surrounding border, in a sort of tessellated or mosaic squares of black, yellow, red and blue, is an inch in width.

Secondly, for the subject; which represents the *Death of the Virgin*. The corpse is surrounded by all the female relations of the deceased, with the twelve Apostles, and our Saviour in the centre; the latter of whom receives in his arms the departed spirit (in the form of an infant) of his mother. The countenances of this solemn yet splendid group are full of sorrowful expression; but in the midst of such a general and almost insupportable ebullition of grief, the countenance of our Saviour is marked with a mildness, a dignity, and composure, which are perfectly heavenly. Among the rest, the figure of *St. John* is eminently graceful and expressive; and the female, at the foot of the Virgin, has a quiet composed character not unworthy of the pencil of Raffælle. There are some lovely countenances among the females; but to particularise would be endless. Every head is surrounded by a thick and shining *nimbus* of gold; and, above, the Virgin, 'in glorious majesty,' sits enthroned with eight attendant angels—in attitudes which equally express their piety and rapture. The whole of that space which is between the assumption of the Virgin, and the group

the very seed-plot, or nursery ground, of such whimsical decorations. In these books, GIOTTO, CIMABUE, and a hundred other graphic constellations of various degrees of magnitude and lustre, diffused their grateful light; and

below, consists of one broad, highly-raised, and indurated mass of resplendent gold! The entire composition, executed in body colours, much glazed, absolutely partakes of its original freshness and radiance. This magnificent and unique specimen of ancient art is justly and highly valued by its owner. Indeed it is beyond all price. I had almost forgotten to notice its age; which is of the middle of the xivth century.

There are no limits here for even a brief sketch of the progress, popularity, and final disuse, of these massive and magnificent volumes of Church-Service: but the reader will readily suppose that, as the art of printing became generally exercised throughout Europe, the execution of these Choral Books, by means of the pen and pencil, was in the same proportion disused. Mr. Woodburn, the skilful and respectable dealer in old paintings and prints, has several very fine specimens of them; and several, about two years ago, were sold by auction by Mr. Evans—but these exhibited chiefly the decorated capital initials. At a late sale, however, by Messrs. Leigh and Sotheby, (May 1, 1816) there were several lots of entire volumes of these *Chants* and *Services*, of a bulk and breadth that forbade ordinary shoulders to bear them away. They were thus described—and I consider them to be no unapt appendage to this CHORAL NOTE. They produced about 2*l.* each at the sale,

933 *Cantus Monastici*, in atlas folio, on vellum, with Music, the capital letters illuminated, many of them containing whole-length portraits of Bishops, Saints, &c. in fine preservation, russia, gilt leaves

936 *Codex Membranaceus in quo continentur Lectionarium antiquum, Ad calcem Calendarium. Sec. XV.* Large folio.

Several leaves illuminated, with ornaments in gold and colours, some of the initials being adorned with male portraits.

937 *Codex Membranaceus in quo continentur Beati Hieronymi Opera quædam selecta. Sec. XIV.*

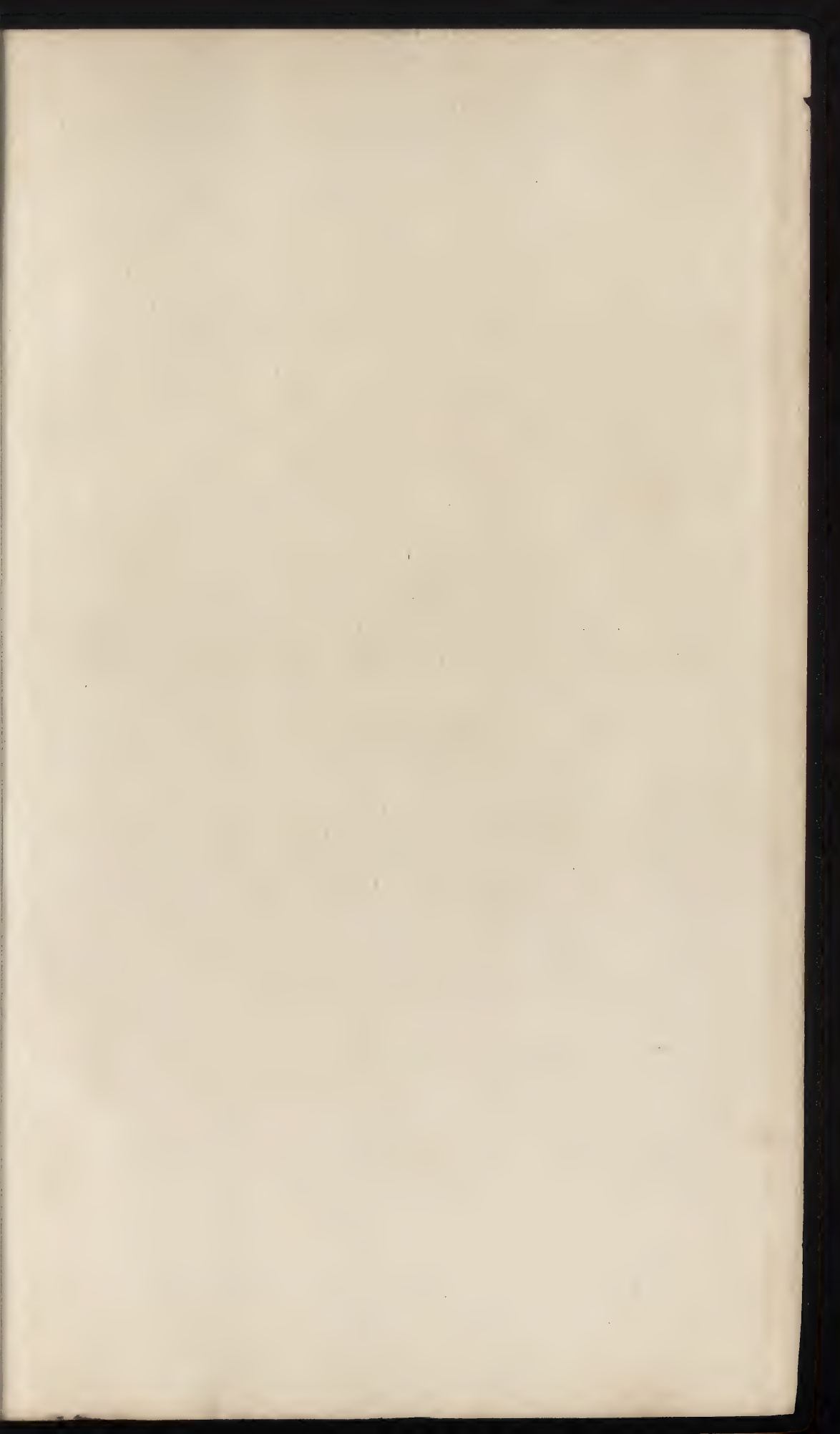
Several leaves, together with the larger initials, are beautifully and delicately ornamented.

938 *Divus Hieronymus ad Mulieres, Cod. membr. Sec. XIV.*

The great initial letters are similarly ornamented with those in the preceding article: the ornamented border of the first leaf is remarkably fine.

939 *Liber qui dicitur Summa Confessorum seu Joannina, Cod. membr. Sec. XV.*

Illuminated, and has also numerous small portraits and other devices in the initial letters: it formerly belonged to the Monastery of St. Justin, at Padua.





FAC-SIMILE OF A CAPITAL INITIAL

From a Manuscript executed by Francesco Veronesi & Giuliano di Libri

About the year 1480





FAC-SIMILE OF AN ILLUMINATED CAPITAL-INITIAL

From a Choral-Book of the Middle of the THIRTEENTH CENTURY, in the possession of W.Y. Otley





FAC-SIMILE OF AN ILLUMINATED CAPITAL INITIAL

From a Choral Book of the end of the FIFTEENTH CENTURY, in the Possession of W.X. Ottley Esq^r

when you examine the two following specimens,* one of the XIIIth and the other of the XVth century, you will allow that both the subjects are conceived with sufficient elevation of mind; but that the latter shews the improvement which the lapse of two centuries has effected.

There is no doubt that the Popes and Cardinals of the time procured the most distinguished artists to decorate their Missals or Books of Church Service; and pursuing the capital-letter subject, pray behold the consummate skill and success which characterise the pencil of GIROLAMO DEI LIBRI—in the succeeding initial letter D, wherein Pope Sixtus IV. and some of his Cardinals are introduced.†

ALMANSA. I am quite charmed with such specimens; and wish in my heart that some Girolamo, of the present day, would introduce the portraits of YOUR MAJESTY and Privy Council, here solemnly assembled, within the graceful curvatures of a capital C or D.

940. *Cantus Monastici, Codex membran. Sec. XV.*

The ornamented initials are of the largest size: in the first St. George is represented with the Dragon: the whole of great beauty.

943. *Cantus Monastici. Sec. XV.*

The initials of the different services are very large, and richly ornamented.

* The reader will consider the FIRST TWO of the accompanying COPPER PLATES, from the originals in the possession of Mr. Ottley, as illustrative of the remark of Philemon.

† The COPPER PLATE immediately following the two just mentioned, must be considered as here alluded to by Philemon. The Pontiff, in his chair, is robed in white. The figure kneeling is clothed in the red gown of a Cardinal. Mr. Evans, in his account of this extraordinary Missal (which will be found fully described in the ensuing pages) imagined that the action between the Pontiff and the Cardinal represented the counting out of the money by the former for the payment of the artist in the execution of the Missal: but this explanation is probably rather ingenious than conclusive. The vessel, in the foreground, seems to be filled with holy water. The entire composition is perfectly enchanting; and there are few capital initials which will venture to arrogate superiority over it, on the score of delicacy, grace, and beauty.

LISARDO. The thought is not very extravagant, my Almansa ! Let us have our *Family Bible* illustrated with a similar ornament. Yet tell me—are these beautiful initials the exclusive decorations of *Church-Service Books* ?

PHILEMON. By no means. For see, what a lovely illustration of an O, from a *MS. of Horace*, (once the property of Ferdinand I. King of Naples,*) does the following specimen exhibit ! I know of nothing which exceeds it.

* *MS. of Horace—once the property of Ferdinand I. King of Naples.*] The OPPOSITE COPPER PLATE illustrates the panegyric of Philemon. It is indeed singularly elegant and beautiful ; and was obtained (as is above intimated) from a MS. of Horace, once the property of Ferdinand King of Naples. This MS. was purchased by me for 125*l.* at the sale, by auction, of the library of the late Mr. James Edwards. It is thus spiritedly described by Mr. Evans in his Catalogue of the same Library ; no. 263. ‘ This is a manuscript of the first splendour, both for writing and illumination. It was executed for Ferdinand I. king of Naples, who first introduced printing into his states, and was so ardent a collector of books and manuscripts, that Mr. Roscoe relates, that the Florentines, to conciliate him in a rupture, presented him with *some fine Manuscripts of the Classics*. As the Palle of Florence are seen among the ornaments, this may be one of them.’ There can be no doubt, I think, but it is : and a more lovely folio volume never graced the shelves of a collector. Having procured it for the mere purpose of causing the fac-simile, here alluded to, to be engraved, I disposed of it afterwards to the Marquis of Douglas for the price at which it had been obtained.

The frontispiece of this MS. contains figures, and is most elaborately executed ; but the remaining ornaments are chiefly arabesque, and confined to the initial capitals. The one, HERE GIVEN, is thus coloured. The lateral perpendicular ornament is in gold, shaded by brown : with deepening shades of crimson. The fruits are in their appropriate colours : but the hatched background, including even that upon which the cobweb is painted, is blue ; somewhat darker than ultramarine. The letter O hath a gold background ; but the square frame is in apple-green. The palle or balls are coloured in imitation of pearl. The outer wreath is in a crimson or evening-primrose tint : the inner one, in blue—and the inverted corners of the outer wreath are also in the same blue colour. The effect of the whole is perfectly beautiful ; from the soft, glowing, and equally-distributed tone of colour. The letter stands thus in the text :

DI PROFAN̄
VVLGVS ET
O ARCEO. LIN
GVIS FAVETE
carmina non privf.



FAC-SIMILE OF A CAPITAL INITIAL.

From a M.S. of Horace formerly in the possession of Ferdinand I. of Naples.



LORENZO. You are right. The composition is indeed delicious.

PHILEMON. Let me now, as the last specimen to be adduced, present you with something of rather a whimsical, if not monstrous, appearance; but as it brings down our illustrations towards the middle of the sixteenth century, we may fairly close the discussion of this branch of the subject. Observe, I intreat you, what a striking *melange* the following P exhibits!

BELINDA. Extraordinary indeed! The gothic age seems revived in it.

PHILEMON. Not exactly so, either: for know that this formidable P belongs to a *Chronicle* executed expressly for FRANCIS I.*—and if you could only see several other capital

* a *Chronicle executed expressly for FRANCIS I.*] The *Chronicle* here alluded to (from which the FIFTH COPPER-PLATE capital initial, accompanying this description, is given) also belonged to the late Mr. James Edwards, and is described at no. 672, in the Catalogue of his Library. The full title, written in blue ink, in the gothic character, is thus: 'Les Croniques et gestes Des trehault et tresvertueux faitz Du Trescrestien Roy Francoys Premier de ce nom. Comâcees autêps de son aduenemêt a la couronne Qui fut *Lan de g̃ce n̄re sr. Mil. v. xiiij.* Le lûdj. p[re]mier Io^r. du moys Premier Io^r. de la sepmaÿe Et p[er] Ior. de lâ en bône estraÿe.' Mr. Evans not inaptly describes it as 'a magnificent manuscript on vellum, with splendid miniatures and highly ornamented capitals at the beginning of each chapter, of which many are six inches by five, displaying all the richness of invention and grandeur of execution to which the art of illumination had arrived. The first illumination occupies the whole page, fifteen inches by ten and a half, and represents Francis on his throne, surrounded by his court, and receiving the book from the author. The arms of Francis the First, quartered with those of his first wife, Claude de France, are on each side of the frame-work which surrounds the picture: her arms are painted separately in a cordon. Bound in green velvet.'

Thus far Mr. Evans: but the illumination just described, although the largest, is perhaps the most indifferent in the volume; and certainly not by the same hand which executed the remainder. The countenance of Francis bears no resemblance to the received portrait of that monarch. The title, just given, is over the capital initial (P) of which the OPPOSITE PLATE is a fac-simile. The remainder of this 2d leaf is written in a gothic character, with golden letters. The entire

letters of a similar or even more fantastical composition, you would not easily forget the MS. in which they are contained.

chronicle is executed in the same gothic-secretary type. The INITIAL LETTERS are undoubtedly the attractions of the book. Those on the reverse of the 2d leaf, and recto of the 3d, contain what were most probably intended for portraits of the *Father* and *Mother* of Francis—as I suspect the heads, in the facsimile given, to be portraits of *Francis* and his *Queen*. What is singular, there are several letters, as at fol. 7, rect. and rev.) of which the *outlines*, in a sort of india-ink colour, are only given; and on the reverse of fol. 16 there are *three female faces* only coloured: the rest of the ornament of this magnificent letter, (D) nearly six inches square, being in outline. In both instances the back ground is untouched: so that we know exactly the process or mode by which the illuminator proceeded in his work. The backgrounds of these initial letters are generally in a blaze of colour, of red, green, or blue. They are sometimes also very tastefully managed, in introducing a sombre or quiet tint in the ornaments for the formation of the letter: as the R, on the reverse of folio 26.

There are only *two other illuminations*, which are not engrafted upon an initial letter. The first has been above described. The *second* occurs at fol. 19, rev. and is entitled '*Comme l'arceuesque recueill la sainte ampoule et la porta sur le grant autel.*' The archbishop, upon horseback, bare-headed, in a white vestment, carries the 'ampoule' in his hand: the golden canopy under which he sits being borne by clerical and lay attendants. The *third* illumination (somewhat injured however) has by much the greatest merit; and deserves to be published as an engraving. It occurs on the recto of fol. 21, and represents Francis I. clothed in regal robes, standing in the midst of his lords spiritual and temporal. The following description, from the text, of the respective attires of this splendid assemblage, may be considered an interesting morceau of *costume-painting*. My friend, PALMERIN, in particular, will, I am sure, rejoice to peruse it. '*Les Arceuesques et euesques pers de france cōme dit a este les vngs appres les aultres . . . destre pres du roy estoient reuestus de riches chappes leurs mitres en leurs testes leurs croces es mains ou aultres latenoyent pour eulx F'imbrices enrichies de grosses perles gros Rubis saphirs dyamās et aultres choses singulieres et moult belles a voir. Le[s] ducz et contes pres du roy a ma] senestre estoient vestus d'un grāt manteau en couleur purpurie long jusques pres de terre fourre dermines ouuert par le coste destre et rebraces iusques sur les paule du bras senestre Aussi vng grant chapperon de mesme couleur et fourrure qui leur cououroit tout le col et le desus des espauls. Les ducz sur leurs bonnetz auoyent vng chapelet dor massyf en forme de couronne ou y auoit en lieu de fleurs de lis tout autour du bort, separeement petits trioletz seulement Ainsi quil appartient aux ducz a porter en difference des roys. Les Contes sur leurs bonetz aussi auoyent vng sercle dor massif en forme de couronne ou y auoit au bort de dessus tout autour boutons dor pres lun de laultre ainsi que bien grosses perles qui est ce que les contes doibuent porter en difference de ducz.*'

LORENZO. You need not adduce further specimens, good Philemon: as the greater part of those already given only completes our despair of rivalry in the present times.

It only remains to observe that this extremely curious, as well as splendid, manuscript Chronicle—being a sort of *Diary of the Domestic or Private Life of Francis I.*—is executed in double columns, in a hand before described, and that it appears to terminate abruptly on the reverse of the 29th leaf: there being 3 following leaves ruled, but not written upon. It concludes with the king's 'dining and going to mass'—which is constantly mentioned in the course of the Chronicle. The condition of the illuminations, with some few exceptions, is quite extraordinary. This MS. was purchased by me at the sale of Mr. Edwards's library for 100*l.*—with a view of making its ornaments and contents subservient to the entertainment of the reader of this work. The reader shall judge whether such object have been accomplished. That volume now enriches the choice cabinet of Mr. John North; who obtained it from me at the price for which it was purchased at the sale.

The present seems to be a fit place to have a little further gossip respecting CAPITAL INITIALS. The practice of introducing them, by the aid of the *illuminator*, was by no means wholly set aside upon the prevalence of the art of printing. It ceased however, generally speaking; unless in volumes (as we have just noticed) confined to the *boudoirs* of monarchs and noblemen. In the library at Hafod, its late amiable possessor shewed me, with peculiar zest, one of the most splendid and gorgeous volumes of this description that can possibly be seen. It was executed for Philip IV. King of Spain, in the year 1637. The binding—in red velvet, with gold and silver filligree upon the sides, raised coat of arms in the centre, upon silver washed with gold—forms no mean approach to the contents of the volume! The first 3 leaves are blank: the four following contain figures, on each side, about 7 inches high, with appropriate back-grounds, and arabesque borders: extending, in the whole, to about 12 inches and a half in height. Each of these pages is thus illuminated; 1. A figure (qu. St. Peter?) with a cross in his left hand, and a book in his right: red curtain behind: cherub at each corner: beneath, the word DON. 2. A figure upon horse-back trampling upon the dying and the dead: beneath, we read PHILIPPO. 3. Two angels over a naked man, in the midst of roses: he is bleeding as if from the punctures of the thorns. The angels are about to clothe him with drapery: beneath, QVARTO. 4. A female figure, crowned, kneeling, and looking up to heaven: dead and dying figures around her: above, is Christ: at the bottom of the picture, POR LA. 5. A whole-length figure of the Madonna, surrounded by cherubim—with a child (*Salvator Mundi*) in her lap; another at her side—the cherubim is in gold and brown: very clever—beneath, GRACIA. 6. The crucifixion—very superior, as an effort of art, to either and all the preceding. The clouds are beautifully managed; and the blood, gushing from the side and feet of the dying

LISARDO. Even so. Proceed therefore with such other branch of our illumination-discussion as may seem more fit and interesting.

LYSANDER. Suppose you enter at once upon the subject of *Decorated Missals, Hours, and Offices*!?

PHILEMON. With all my heart. Yet what a piebald topic of discussion! What a meadow of daisies, cowslips, and butter-cups—rather, what a garden of anemones, tulips, carnations, and roses, of every hue and fragrance, does the MISSAL THEME present to the enraptured fancy of the Novice, or to the more cautious judgment of the Virtuoso!? Be present, spirits of other times!—of GIOTTO, CIMABUE, ODERIGI, FRANCO BOLOGNESE, SILVESTRO, and above all, of CYBO, MONK of the GOLDEN ISLES! *——

Saviour, has a thrilling effect. The countenance also is very fine: and the general appearance is as if it were executed upon ivory: beneath, DE DIOS. 7. Portrait of Philip IV. in armour, with red sash and Spanish puffed breeches: legs bare: helmet and feather on one side: a globe before him: a truncheon is in his hand; and a gold curtain is behind: beneath, REI DE. The 8th illumination, which represented the royal arms of Spain, in gold, has been cut out—as well as the 9th, which contained the genealogical tree of the House of URDANETE.

All the preceding inscriptions are in Roman capitals, gilt, upon a dark red ground. Then commences the text: which is only a law suit! Each page has a square border, 1 inch in breadth, of black exterior, and gold, red, green, or brown, within arabesque and fanciful embellishments: *Capital Initials*, square Roman or Italic: text in large italic, brownish ink. The initials are broad and bold, and exceedingly beautiful—upon various coloured grounds, relieved by gold, shaded. Many lines, in each page, are also in *small capital letters* in gold, upon a ground of red, blue, gold, green, or violet. At the end are various signatures in faded ink. The name of the artist who executed this surprisingly magnificent volume was FRANCIS DE HERERA DE SEVILLA. Such is the rough and rapid description which I made, with both the book and its owner 'sub oculis,' about two years ago! Each probably is from henceforth taken from me!

* CYBO, MONK OF THE GOLDEN ISLES!] While Philemon is lifting up his sceptre of invocation, and rushing onward with a sort of Sibylline inspiration to the description of his favourite *Missals and Offices*, let me gently request the reader to descend with me to these lower regions of simple narrative and sober disquisition: and, if he please, we will sit down quietly by the side of each

LISARDO. Where are we?

ALMANSA. Whither do you transport us?

LYSANDER. Such a magnificent appellative — ‘*Monk of the Golden Islands!*’

other, and discourse pleasantly about this wondrous ‘Monk of the Golden Islands.’ In the first place, however, if the said reader expreseth any desire to know particularly about GIOTTO, CIMABUE, and the illustrious *et ceteras*, above mentioned, he may, at his convenience, betake him to the splendid publication of Mr. W. Y. Ottley, entitled *The Italian School of Design*—where he shall read, to his heart’s content—charmed at the same time by fac-similes of their compositions—respecting the two ancient wights just mentioned; together with an account of sundry other ancient and equally eminent brandishers of the pencil. Vasari and Baldinucci of course will not fail to be consulted; especially when the curious enquirer is told that, from the pages of the latter, (Sec. ii. Dec. 8. ed. 1686.) he receives the following faithfully translated narrative—‘which hath to name,’

The Monk of the Golden Islands.

‘At this period [1370] flourished the Monk of the Golden Islands, descended from the ancient and very noble family of CYBO of Genoa, whose armorial bearings, being a set of *dies*, show, (with the word Cybo [κυβος] which in Greek signifies a *die*) that it is remotely sprung from Greece. According to some, our Monk was born in the city of Genoa, in the year 1326, and from having passed his days in piety in the Hieres isles, anciently called *Stecadi*, he was surnamed the MONK OF THE GOLDEN ISLANDS. He assumed the religious habit in the monastery of San Onorato, in the island of Lerino, which lies off the coast of Cannes, near to Antibes. There, besides his study of monastic discipline, he cultivated that of sacred and polite literature, and the *Art of Painting*; in all which, as we shall presently show, he made so great a progress, that, at his death, it was a subject of doubt whether he excelled most as a monk, a theologian, a poet, an historian, or a painter. To begin with what relates to painting; as our more immediate object: in his time not only a superior style of design and colouring having been discovered by Giotto, and propagated through Europe, but also a beautiful mode of colouring very small figures and other objects, which we call *miniature-painting*; and of which Giotto himself had produced wonderful specimens at Rome, and elsewhere, as had also his scholars and contemporaries, in imitation of him; it was not surprising that our GOOD MONK, who added to a great natural genius for painting, a superior degree of talent in writing all kinds of hands, should take pleasure, in particular, in the beautiful art of miniature-painting. For this purpose, then, he used in spring and autumn, to retire for some days, in company with another monk, a lover of similar studies, to a little hermitage he had in the *Hieres Isles* (in which his

LORENZO. Our Monarch is wandering —

BELINDA. Peace! — beware of his sceptre upon your shoulders!

monastery of *Lerino* had a small church) not so much for the sake of giving himself up more completely to holy exercises, as for recreation, and to afford his mind a little relaxation from the uninterrupted labours of his profession.' 'Here, at certain times of the day, he would walk abroad to contemplate, not only the beautiful prospects there offered by the shores of these islands, the mountains, the villages, and the sea itself; but also the herbs, the flowers, the trees, the fruits, the rarer fishes of the sea, the birds of the air, and the little animals of the earth; all which he would *draw*, and imitate in a wonderful manner: and these drawings he would afterwards make use of to copy into most beautiful books composed by himself, and of which we are about to speak. The monks of the monastery of *S. Onorato* at this time possessed a LIBRARY, which had formerly been celebrated as the NOBLEST and LARGEST IN ALL EUROPE, because it had been enriched by the Earls of Provence, Kings of Naples, and others, with the *choicest books*, in all sciences and arts, which could be wished for by men of letters. This library had been thrown into confusion and reduced to a very bad condition through the intestine wars between the princes of Beauce, Carlo di Durazzo, Raimond de Touraine, and others, who laid claim to the Earldom of Provence, in opposition to the Earls and lawful possessors of the same. The monks therefore gave to our painter the care of this library, and in a short time he placed the whole in its pristine order, at least as far as lay in his power; for he found, by a memorandum of it made formerly by one *Ermete*, a noble of Provence, and monk also of the same monastery, by order of the deceased second King of Arragon and Earl of Provence, that a great many of the books had been *taken away*, and others of little worth put in their places.'

'According to Nostradamus, in his *Lives of the Provençal Poets*, (who flourished in the times of the Kings of Naples) our Monk found in his researches, a BOOK, containing the names of all the *Noble and Illustrious Families of Provence, Arragon, Italy, and France, with their arms and alliances*; and also another, in which were works in rhyme of *Provençal Poets*, collected by the said *Ermete*, by order of the above named king; which, together with the lives and works of other Provençal poets, down to his time (found dispersed in that great library, and elsewhere) our monk transcribed UPON VELLUM, and having formed them into a book, with *most excellent miniatures by his own hand*, he presented it to Louis II. father of Renato, King of Naples and Earl of Provence, of which there appeared afterwards numerous copies

. From various books also in the library, and in other places, our monk, after much study, composed another beautiful work on the *Actions and the Victories of the Kings of Arragon, Earls of Provence*; which being copied with his own hand, in a very beautiful character, together with a volume, of the

PHILEMON. Your monarch is *not* wandering—save in the regions of truth: viewed probably through the medium of an enthusiastic imagination. Cybo, Monk of the Golden Islands, approach!—and, with sundry other spirits, nearly as ‘choice’ and free—aid, by your potent yet invisible interpositions, the attempt to render justice to those wonders of the pencil of which your venerable efforts must be considered as the prototypes!

LORENZO. Which be the names of those other ‘choice and free spirits’ alluded to by our Monarch?

LISARDO. His Majesty, I make no doubt, will readily mention them.

PHILEMON. Most freely—if I could trust to my memory for the recapitulation. First, however, and far more ancient than Cybo, appear the venerable forms of DAGÆUS and ULTAN!—*

OFFICES OF THE VIRGIN, enriched with very *beautiful miniatures* taken from his *fine collection of drawings*, he presented to Jiolanda of Arragon, the mother of King Renato, by whom they were held in high estimation.’ This extraordinary character is supposed to have died in his monastery in the year of our Lord 1408; about the year, if I recollect aright, in which our GOWER (a great poetical illuminator!) gave up the ghost.

And now, lover of graphic chit-chat, didst ever peruse any thing half so pleasing? Thank Baldinucci for the same; and thank also (for I loath strutting in borrowed plumage) Mr. Turner, for the treat afforded by the foregoing version from the gossiping Baldinucci.

* DAGÆUS and ULTAN.] The reader, I apprehend, will be as prone to express his ‘marvel’ of these uncouth names, as the fair Almansa is above. They are however by no means non-entities: for what saith the learned Dr. O’Conor in his *Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores Veteres*, 1814, 4to. p. clxxvii, &c? Truly, after quoting a curious passage from Giraldus Cambrensis (in his *Topog. Hibern.* 1603, fol. p. 730) in praise of the general ‘cunning’ and beauty of early Irish MSS.—and of one of the Gospels, (called Codex S. Brigidæ Kildarensis) in particular, seen by him in the *xiii*th century—the said learned Doctor speaks of the abovementioned Dagæus, a monk and ‘Abbas Inisceltraensis,’ who flourished in the early part of the *vii*th century, and died in the year 587—a skillful calligraphist—who not only wrote many books with his own hand, but even

ALMANSA. What names!—and what ‘Spirits’ are these?

PHILEMON. They are both of Irish extraction; and shone in their days (some thousand years ago) the very Constellations of *Book-Illuminators*. Nor shall the episcopal OSMUND,* of the xith century, be forgotten in this

manufactured and ornamented bindings, in gold, silver, and precious stones!’ A word or two now for ULTAN. ‘Ethelwolf, in a metrical epistle to Egbert, at that time resident in Ireland with a view of collecting MSS., thus extols one Ultan, an Irish monk, celebrated for his talent in adorning books—

Ex quibus est ULTAN, præclaro nomine dictus,
Comptis qui potuit notis ornare libellos.’

And Leland (*Collect.* vol. ii. p. 364) designates the said Ultan as being ‘Scriptor et Pictor librorum optimus.’ Harpsfield also makes honourable mention of him: ‘Ultanus qui politè et concinnè libros sacros exscribere solebat.’ Thus much from the erudite and instructive pages of Dr. O’Conor.

* *the episcopal Osmund.*] ‘The art of illuminating books was much practised by the clergy, and even by some in the highest stations in the church. “The famous Osmund (says Brompton, *Chron.* col. 977) who was consecrated Bishop of Salisbury, A. D. 1076, did not disdain to spend some part of his time in writing, binding, and illuminating books.’ *Henry’s Hist. of Gr. Britain*, vol. vi. p. 226. Again—from the same valuable pages; although Montfaucon, De Vaines, Peignot, and Lambinet, might easily furnish ample materials to swell these illumination-memoranda. ‘The illuminators and painters of this period (xi. and xith centuries) seem to have been in possession of a considerable number of colouring materials, and to have known the arts of preparing and mixing them, so as to form a great variety of colours. In the specimens of their miniature-paintings that are still extant, we perceive not only the fine primary colours, but also various combinations of them. There is even some appearance that they were not ignorant of the art of *painting in oil*, from the following precept of Henry III. dated 1239. “Pay out of our treasury, to Odo the goldsmith, and Edward his son, one hundred and seventeen shillings and ten pence (equal to 88*l* sterling of our present money) for oil, varnish, and colours bought, and pictures made, in the chamber of our Queen at Westminster,” &c. vol. vi. p. 227: see also vol. x. p. 213. I have more than once intimated, in the course of these notes, the possibility or even probability of *oil* being mixed up in the colours of the more ancient illuminations; and especially in those seen in the Duke of Devonshire’s famous Saxon Missal: see p. lix, ante.

While upon the subject of ancient calligraphy (referring the reader to Mabillon, *De Re Diplom.* p. 43—to Montfaucon’s *Pal. Græc.* p. 4, 5, 22—to Bandini, *Cat. MSS. Græc.* vol. i. p. 22, as well as to Astle, Casley, and Mr. Horne’s *Introd. to Bibliography*, vol. i. p. 84-143—for information respecting the *liquid*;

muster-roll of monastic artists. He appears to have been rather shy of his labours; yet I make no doubt that the historian Brompton saw more than *one* precious specimen of his pencil which hath long since perished in obscurity.

whether of *gold*, or *various-coloured inks*, with which the calligraphists performed their offices) let me introduce to the notice of some of the uninitiated in ancient scription—a representation of the *INK-STAND*, not of Dagæus, nor of Ultan, nor of Osmund; but of *St. DENIS*, the first Bishop of Paris: as copied from the first plate of Montfaucon's *Palæog. Græc.* p. 22. Note, however. Montfaucon does not say it *absolutely* was the *very* ink-stand of St. Denis: but he makes the following cautious and 'most wise' periphrasis: 'In thesauro Monasterii S. Dionysii in Francia, est Atramentarium remotissimæ vetustatis, ad usum olim, *ut putant*, S. Dionysii primi Episcopi Parisiensis,' &c. p. 23. He then goes on to describe it minutely: but the thing shall here speak for itself—premising, that it is attached to a tablet, with hinges, &c. Admit, knowing reader, that the ornaments round this *ink-bucket*, (for so it rather seemeth to be) are at once elegant and uncommon.



To revert, however, to the *Italian Artists* of the middle ages. Let not the labours of ODERIGI D'AGOBBO* be here forgotten: an artist whose name has been consecrated, as it were, in the immortal pages of Dante.

LISARDO. These notices delight me. Proceed with some half-score of them!

PHILEMON. You must excuse me. I have before frankly confessed the treachery of my memory in these matters; and therefore I can only further observe that FRANCO BOLOGNESE and DON SILVESTRO† kept up the celebrity of the art, of

* *the labours of ODERIGI D'AGOBBO.*] My best bow is again due to Mr. Turner for the following memoranda relating to this extraordinary artist, from the *Notizie de' Professori di Disegno*, (Sec. I. Dec. iv. p. 54.) of Baldinucci: who has entered pretty largely into an examination of the few 'notices' extant relating to him. Brevity must however be my object here. ODERIGI appears to have been a native of the city of GOBBIO, or Agobbio, in Umbria, a disciple of Cimabue, and an excellent illuminator, but too prone to arrogate a superiority over all his contemporaries—as Dante has introduced him in his *Purgatorio* (Canto XI.) thus lamenting his presumption:

'O!' I exclaim'd

'Art thou not Oderigi, art not thou
Agobbio's glory, glory of that art
Which they of Paris call the limner's skill?'

'Brother!' said he, 'with tints, that gayer smile,
Bolognian Franco's pencil lines the leaves.
His all the honour now; mine borrow'd light.
In truth I had not been thus courteous to him,
The whilst I liv'd, through eagerness of zeal
For that preeminence my heart was bent on.
Here of such pride the forfeiture is paid.
Nor were I even here; if, able still
To sin, I had not turn'd me unto God.'

(CARY.)

He is conjectured to have worked at Rome, at the same time with GIOTTO, in illuminating books for the library in the Papal palace: but excepting some fragments of his labours, which Vasari says he possessed, all his works are supposed to have perished.

† FRANCO BOLOGNESE and DON SILVESTRO.] Franco Bolognese was the scholar of Oderigi d'Agobbio. He flourished about the year 1310, and illuminated many books for the Vatican library. He is said to have pursued painting.

which we are speaking, till towards the end of the xivth century; when BARTOLOMEO, the Abbot, and GHERARDO a Florentine, continued it into the xvth century—at which

also, and to have been the first who introduced that art into Bologna, where he founded a school for it. Vasari says he was possessed of specimens of his works both in illuminations and paintings. Baldinucci, Sec. II. Dec. i. edit. 1686. Of DON SILVESTRO, a more enlarged account is here presented to the reader; as we must consider him, with his brother monk and calligraphist, JACOPO FIORENTINO, to have been a great *Choral Book Man* (see p. cxi, ante) and in many respects of most distinguished celebrity. He is mentioned by Vasari, and by Baldinucci as being ‘*A Camaldulan Monk of the Monastery degli Angeli at Florence—a Miniature-Painter.*’ The following is from the latter, *ut sup.*

‘It is just, that, amongst those of whom we have made mention, as following the example of the famous Giotto, and applying themselves, in those first ages of the revival of painting, to illumination, I make some mention of DON SILVESTRO, a Camaldulan monk of the above monastery; who executed works so beautiful for their care and design, that they deserved the applause not only of monarchs, but even of professors in the best age of art. But it must first be known, that about the year 1340, there came into the aforesaid monastery, a monk of holy manners named DON JACOPO FIORENTINO; who, valuing every moment of time which was not employed upon his monastic duties, had acquired by great study, a *style of writing* in that kind of large character, which is sought after for *Choir books*, (which, for the most part, are written UPON VELLUM) and for this he was with good reason ranked amongst the most excellent writers of this class that had ever gone before him, or even succeeded him for several centuries after. He wrote as many as *twenty pieces* of *Choir books* for his monastery, which were the largest that Italy had ever yet seen, and also a great number for Rome, and Venice, and particularly for the Camaldulan monastery of Sts. Michel and Matthew in Murano; for which reason he was not only celebrated during his life by every one who knew his great excellence (and particularly by the very learned D. Paolo Orlandini, a monk of his order, who composed many Latin verses in his praise), but after his death, his brother monks chose to preserve with becoming care that HAND which had laboured so piously and so excellently for the service of SACRED SINGING!!

‘Now, our Don Silvestro, (of whom we are about to speak) who was most admirable in the *art of illuminating*, happening to live, at this time, in the same monastery with Don Jacopo, was the person who, with such marvellous art and care, adorned with his figures all the above-named books; which being seen, as we have said, by the greatest artists of the best ages of painting, were highly praised:—and we know that his holiness Pope Leo X. coming to our city of Florence, wished to see and examine them individually, and confessed that he had often heard them praised by his father LORENZO THE MAGNIFICENT. And it is said that, after having examined and admired them all, whilst they were

period there flourished a set of professional artists, or illuminators, embodied into a society called *The Corporation of St. Luke*.^{*} The Society however was of *Florentine extraction*.

lying open on the desks of the choir, he exclaimed in these or similar words : ‘ If these were according to the use of the *Romish Church*, and nôt, as they are, of the monastic and Camaldulan order, we would have some of them—giving an adequate reward—for the Church of St. Peter,’—where two were already preserved, which were considered to be the work of these monks. So much was Don Silvestro esteemed by all, and particularly by the monks, that the latter, on his death, chose to confer on him the same honour as they had conferred on Don Jacopo : namely, to *preserve his right hand*, which had performed such great works, to eternize his memory.’ See an account of Silvestro’s *chef-d’œuvre*, at p. cxi. ante.

Where rest now the (‘ pickled,’ is a most odious and unsavory expression!) embalmed ‘ right hands’ of these book-adorning monastic brothers? I own I should prefer them, in my cabinet, to the choicest mummy that ever had its perpendicular resting place against the walls of the most magnificent *Ægyptian catacomb*.

^{*} *a Society called THE CORPORATION OF ST. LUKE.*] Let us first pay due attention to BARTOLOMEO and GHERARDO. BARTOLOMEO Abbate flourished about the middle of the xvth century; and died, according to Vasari, in the year 1461. He was abbot of *St. Clemente* at Arezzo, and one of the finest illuminators of his time; having executed several works for the monks of his own abbey of Arezzo—and particularly a MISSAL, which wás presented to Pope Sixtus IV. having, in the first leaf thereof, a most beautiful representation of our Saviour’s passion. Another Missal, by him, was in the cathedral at Lucca in Vasari’s time. *Vasari*, vol. i. p. 354, edit. 1697. GHERARDO was a Florentine, and painter as well as illuminator. He flourished, according to Vasari, in 1470. We shall speedily, both in the text and notes, follow up the sequel of these Missal Illuminators—beginning with FRANCESCO VERONESE. Now then for a little gossip connected with

The Society called THE CORPORATION of ST. LUKE. This Society was first established at Florence, about the beginning of the xivth century, and is noticed by Vasari; vol. i. p. 129. Among the more particular accounts of it, as an establishment at *Antwerp*, may be placed that given by Mons. JEAN DES ROCHES—in his lecture or memoir upon the ‘ Origin of the art of Printing’—read in the Imperial Academy at Brussels (of which he was secretary) on the 8th of January, 1777. I chose to have nothing to do, here or hereafter, with Mons. des Roches’s silly hypothesis respecting this origin, (namely, that printing was invented by a fidler, or instrument maker, of the name of LEWIS, before the year 1350) but shall only notice a very curious document (as it is justly allowed to be by Breitung, the able commentator upon Des Roches) brought forward by a friend of the latter—who writes to him in the following manner : ‘ Having occasion to make an accurate Catalogue of all the persons contained in the Archives of the

LYSANDER. I wish you could shew us specimens of these almost forgotten Artists.

PHILEMON. I regret that I am unable to do so : but the

Fraternity of St. Luke at Antwerp, I found, among other things, a Book written in a very ancient hand, containing chiefly the privileges and regulations of that Fraternity—collated by the celebrated Cornelius Graphæus, Secretary of State, who died in 1558. The first piece that occurs in that book (marked No. I.) is likewise the oldest : at least according to date. It is an act of the Senate in behalf of THE CORPORATION OF ST. LUKE, dated the 22d of July, A. D. 1442 : and relates to taking up the Mastership, the regulation of the Fraternity, their apprentices, &c. Des Roches and his friend struggle lustily for the word ‘Prenters,’ (introduced in this act) being intended to convey ‘Printers of Books ;’ but Breitkopf knocks them both down with a mere bulrush in argument ! He admits, however, that, ‘If the lecture of Mr. Des Roches have left no other recommendations in elucidating the history of the invention of printing, it yet deserves every praise for having paved the way towards a discovery of the origin of these performances by making us acquainted with the Society of Professors of the Fine Arts in the fraternity of St. Luke at Antwerp.’ A little further, he goes on to observe, in a note, that, ‘at the commencement of the xvth century, in Paris and Orleans *only*, there were upwards of TEN THOUSAND SCRIBES ; whose art however, by the adoption of printing, became of little use. They were of course in a great degree destitute of subsistence.’ *Dict. du Gens. du Monde* ; vol. iii. p. 120. These are doubtless rather interesting anecdotes ; and I am indebted for the preceding—not having the least knowledge of German or of Breitkopf’s text—to the politeness and liberality of Mr. Thomas Wilson ; who, some years ago, was so kind as to translate, for my acceptance, Breitkopf’s ‘*Remarks on the History of the Invention of Printing.*’ That gentleman hath my ‘thousand and one’ thanks for the same.

But we must not lose sight of our SCRIBE. It should seem, from the late edition of our *Typographical Antiquities*, vol. i. p. 79, sign. a, that this Corporation of St. Luke might have been a sort of branch of a more ancient Society, ycleped ‘*The Brothers of a Common Life* ;’ [‘*Fratres Vitæ Communis*’] of which Gerard de Groot was the reputed founder, in the middle of the xivth century. How these ‘bretheren’ were clad, appears from a print of one of them published by Lambinet from Heliot’s *Histoire des Ordres Monastiques*, &c. vol. ii. p. 339 : and re-published by myself, in the pages just referred to, upon a reduced scale. As a companion to such upright figure, take the following sitting one—of a SCRIBE, from an illumination in that most resplendent MS. of the *Romant de La Rose* (MSS. Harl. no. 4425) in the British Museum : to be presently minutely described. The worthy gentleman is, methinks, ‘done to the very life’—surrounded by his desk, book, red and black inks, pouch, penknife, and vellum slips ! Possible it is, that it may exhibit a portrait

Illuminators who were enlisted into what was called *The Corporation of St. Luke*, have been noticed by Vasari, Des Roches, and Lambinet. I take it that they were a

of one of the 'Ten Thousand' (not 'Greeks' but Calligraphists) whom Breitkopf describes as roaming about for 'salt to their porridge' towards the beginning of the xvth century—when this very scribe ('or Author') and all his brethren were
* pushed from their stools' by means of the *Art and Craft of Printing!*



Comment lacteur mue propoz
Pour son honneur et sō bon loz
Garder en priant q̄l soit quittes
Des parolles quil a cy dittes. *Fol. Cxxvii. recto.*

sort of itinerant professors—now dwindled into mere Italian daubers, and venders of small pictures—who assail our doors and impose upon the credulity of our servants.

LORENZO. This strikes me as a severe and perhaps unwarranted conclusion.

PHILEMON. It may be so: for I pretend to nothing beyond a mere sketchy and superficial notice of this most interesting subject—heartily wishing that the pen of Mr. Ottley* may one day be devoted to its satisfactory elucidation. And so farewell to the *Corporation of St. Luke*!

The present is probably the fit moment to direct your attention to some of the *Productions* of these Calligraphists, Miniature-Painters, and Illuminators: for having given a brief history of their rise and progress, we may, as a natural and pleasing result, just throw our eyes upon, or make particular allusions to, portions of their multifarious performances. I am well aware, my excellent friends, of the task imposed upon me by such a declaration; and I can perfectly anticipate the eagerness and interest with which you look forward to its complete and successful execution.

* *the pen of Mr. Ottley.*] This gentleman can never exercise his pen upon an uninteresting topic; nor is his graphical weapon apt to continue long idle. When he shall have completed, to his own satisfaction, (and therefore to that of the public) his *History of the Rise and Progress of the Italian School of Design*, and his new *Dictionary of Engravers*, he will, I trust—backed by that liberal encouragement which such a subject ought to excite—turn his attention to some account of the early *British School of Art*: and give us a good thumping quarto (as a companion to his two tomes upon engraving, already published) in which such a work may receive every advantage of illustration. The sharp-sighted reader will perceive that I am only inviting my friend to put an *extinguisher* upon my own labours; nor need the said ‘extinguisher’ be a very large one to cover the FIRST DAY of this Bibliographical Decameron! Till it be manufactured, however, I only entreat the said ‘sharp-sighted reader’ to let the diminutive light of this ‘First Day’ illuminate his winter’s fire-side. Peradventure it may be some time ere Mr. Ottley’s large wax-taper be in fit trim for burning!

But I must draw largely upon your candour and forbearance upon the occasion ; and entreat you only to consider what ‘ hereafter follows ’ as a feeble manner of putting together even my own ideas upon the subject. Ha !—it is as I expected : — Lisardo is almost nervous with rapturous expectation !

LISARDO. Do not banter. I am indeed quite anxious (but by no means nervous) to witness the manner in which you mean to indulge us with the performance of so delightful a task : and I freely own my well-grounded anticipation of contemplating some of those costly productions, whether as *Missals*, *Romances*, *Chronicles*, *Volumes of Poetry*, *Heraldry*, or what not—studded and emblazoned with all the ‘ cunning ’ skill of the illuminator—which must have been the delight of the middle ages, and are yet the admiration of our own !

PHILEMON. I comprehend you. The observation, though somewhat flourishing and rhetorical, is not undeserving of attention. You bespeak, I perceive, the *order* of my narrative. A more injudicious one might have been selected ; and I will so far gratify your vanity as to adopt your hint. Yet let me, at the outset, just clear the way for the fifteenth century, by observing that there are very many volumes, as well upon *Heraldry* and *Orders of Precedence*,* as upon

* *upon Heraldry and Orders of Precedence.*] The language of Philemon seems here to be somewhat obscure, and to stand in need of annotation. He is probably making allusion to a curious volume, entitled ‘ *Liber de Nobilitatibus*, ’ executed in the first year of the reign of Edward III. preserved in the archive-room attached to the library of *Christ Church, Oxford*. This volume, remarkable for the multiplicity and oddity, rather than for the splendor and beauty, of its illuminations, was given to the College by *William Carpenter*, in 1707 ; formerly a student of the same. On the recto of the first leaf, we read as follows : ‘ Hic incipiunt rubrice capitulorum huius libri de nobilitatibz. Sapienciis et prudenciis regum. Editi. ad honorem illustris. domini Edwardi dei gracia. Regis anglie

religious and historical subjects—executed in the fourteenth century—of which but very limited notices (if any at all) have reached us. And as to PETRARCHS and BOCCACCIOS

incipientis regnare. *Anno domini ab incarnacōne milesimo Tricentesimo. vicesimo sexto.* This title is in red. The text is a coarse, slim, gothic character. Every page seems to be surrounded with figures; and there are men in armour, of all sizes, and in all occupations: a huge couple are on folio 3. The gilt background, at fol. 4, is dotted, like the illuminations in the Ashmole Bestiary. Nearly two thirds of the book (which may be called a large octavo) are filled with drolleries, of beasts, men, and monsters. Occasionally, whole pages are filled with rude encounters; and the last 7 leaves are occupied by drawings, in a delicate black-outline, representing sieges; in which are sundry implements of war that remind us of the ornaments in the Valturius of 1472.

From *Christ Church* suppose we take a step to the *Ashmolean Museum*? and examine a volume, of later date, no doubt—but of a somewhat similar tendency: and of which description there are probably many hundreds, yet in the full vigor of existence—although upwards of 300 years old! The Ashmolean treasure, marked 764, is a quarto, connected with chivalrous costume or detail. On the reverse of the first leaf is a whole length figure, with a crown upon his head, in the heraldic fashion. Opposite to it we read, ‘*The first fondacion of the office of armys and whereof it bygan translate oute of Latyn into englis.*’ (This reminds us of Master Caxton’s ‘*Faites of Armes and Chivalry*,’ and indeed the character of the writing has a closer resemblance to Caxton’s ordinary type than any thing I remember to have seen.) The text commences thus: ‘*Eneas by goddis grace Besshop of Seueñ to Iohn Enderbacke the kyng Secretary and beloued brothir mony salutacion sendeth.*’ ‘*Question to make mony men.*’ The first 8 leaves are in English: on the 9th leaf the French text commences thus: *Le tresnoble et trespuissant Roy Alexandre,* &c. On the 28th leaf: ‘*Explicit lextait de l’arbre des batailles entant que touche des Armes.*’ Then a blank leaf. On the reverse of the ensuing, or 30th leaf, is a fine and well-preserved illumination of three pairs of knights, combating. Each knight uses a sword. Opposite, on fol. 31. ‘*Cy sensuyt la facon des criz de tournois et des Ioustes.*’ It begins with the observance of the laws of chivalry by our King Arthur; and the remainder of the volume is devoted to the subject of which the preceding title professes to treat. In the whole, 136 leaves. See however a very resplendent tome, of the heraldic kind, among the *Harl. MSS.*: no. 6199: upon the order of the THOISON D’OR.

Before we take leave of the description of books, above alluded to by Philemon, and as we have just pronounced the words ‘*L’Arbre des Batailles*,’ I cannot refrain from requesting the locomotion-loving reader to glide with me through the key-hole (as it were) of the door of the library of *Hafod*. There, let me take down for his amusement, as I once did for my own, a small thick folio, of choice vellum (written in pale ink, in a character much resembling the largest type of

—yet rest a moment:—surely some fairy has just put this *book-ring*, containing the *Sonnets of Petrarch*,* upon my finger?

Verard) entitled according to the preceding comma-inverted words. The margins of this MS. are unusually ample, the text being *proportionably* in a small compass. The illuminations make up in *quality* for paucity of number. There are only *three* of them: in a fine state of preservation. The first, on the reverse of the 3rd leaf, is nearly of the entire size of the page: angels are fighting in the air—beneath is a tree, extending from the bottom to the top, upon which some of the angels rest. A group of warriors are fighting just under the branches; while another group, beneath them in turn, and immediately above the root of the tree, is engaged in sharp conflict. The root is being devoured by flames, with the heads of six warriors consuming in them! What a *splendid pun* is all this upon the title ‘*L’Arbre des Batailles!*’ The surrounding border is at once graceful and brilliant. The two other illuminations are of much less dimensions, but by the same hand, and nearly equally interesting and well finished. The initial letters and titles to the several chapters are executed with great neatness. This precious volume, bound in green velvet, with brass corners and clasps, was once the property of DIANA of POICTIERS.

* *book-ring, containing the Sonnets of Petrarch.*] Whether Philemon made a purchase of a volume of this description, in the possession of Wr. Wurtz, when he was lately in this country, I cannot take upon me to determine; but most certain it is that Mr. Wurtz (who pleased the most fastidious bibliomaniacs, during his stay, by his unassuming and well-regulated manners) really *did* possess a manuscript of Petrarch’s Sonnets, written in the italic letter, in pale or brown ink, of which the *length* was only ONE INCH, and the breadth thereof five eighths of an inch. And yet this Lilliputian tome contained FIFTY LINES at least in a page! The text however was only legible by means of a glass. There were also illuminations, in a good Italian taste, in bistre-colour. The ‘Triumph of Death,’ in particular, I remember to have been of considerable merit. This most singular bijou was cased in a binding of gold-filliagre.

As we are upon ILLUMINATED PETRARCHS, I cannot forego the desire of gratifying the reader with an account of a volume of that poet, singularly distinguished for its appropriate embellishments, which is contained in the library at *Hafod*; and which account was taken during a visit made to that romantic spot when it was animated by the presence of its late proprietor! The memorandum runneth as follows: ‘MS. of Petrarch’s Sonnets, &c. in octavo: red velvet binding, in a green-leather case.

‘This very precious MS. is written in the cursive or italic character—a little stiff and upright; and may possibly be anterior to the date of the first printed edition—1470. A table of 7 leaves, without any illumination, precedes the text. Then follow 2 leaves of green vellum: on the reverse of the 2nd of which is one of the *three large illuminations* which are of singular execution. A border, with a

BELINDA: You are the most favoured of earthly Monarchs! I am almost disposed to rob you of it. At any rate let us minutely examine it. Wonderful indeed!

sort of Ionic pillar on each side, and a frieze at top, with arms beneath, encircle the painting. Along the frieze or architrave, we read 'FRANCISCI PETRARCAE FLORENTINI POETAE CLARISSIMI;' in small capitals. At bottom, a Cardinal's cap and tassels surmount and surround a coat of arms, supported by cupids, sitting each on a cornucopia. The arms are a shield, gules, with a black eagle on the upper division, &c. &c. On the bottom division, to the left of the picture, at top, stands a winged horse (or pegasus) on the summit of a rock, from which issues a stream of water. At the foot of the rock, sits a figure with rays round the head, of feminine expression, but probably intended for Apollo. He is playing upon a fiddle. Opposite sits the poet, laureated, as if catching the inspiration of the god, and about to commit his thoughts to paper. In the centre is a large tree, with the figure of Cupid standing upon the head of Laura, whose arms are made a part of the branches of the tree. A river runs below, and a city is in the back-ground. The opposite page has an arabesque ornament. The head of the poet is in the centre of the first letter V[oi]. This first sonnet is in capitals of red, purple, gold, and blue. The arms, with only the upper part of the shield, are below. Another large illumination, similar to the first, but upon white vellum, much covered with back-ground, illustrates the sonnet written upon the reverse of fol. 116, beginning

Standomi vn giorno solo a la fenestra.

It is singularly curious. The *third* illumination is executed upon a lilac ground, and is more elaborate than either of the preceding. Upon a rock, at top, an ancient figure is shewing Petrarch (whose book is in his left hand) the triumph of Love below. Cupid is in his car, which is in flames, about to discharge his arrow. An old man, with a crown upon his head, is on one side, having his arms tied behind. Two young couple precede the car. Behind (at bottom of the picture) are couples in joyful procession: the central pair is very graceful. The opposite page is slightly executed in the arabesque style. This beautiful MS. has been cropt, from the numerals being at the extremity of the upper margin.

In the same care-soothing library there is a very pretty folio MS. of the *Decamerone* of Boccaccio; translated into French by the well known '*Laurens de premier fait familier au Bureau Dampomartin citoien de Paris.*' Consult the *Bibl. Francoise de la Croix du Maine*, &c. vol. ii. p. 32, vol. iv. p. 576. It is written in a brownish ink, in double columns, apparently of the time of Charles VI. of France. The borders are unusually elaborate; and the illuminations, containing generally small figures, are both striking and brilliant. The first group, sitting upon the grass, about to hear the commencement of the tales, is very beautiful: the Empress of the first day (Pampinea) is in the act of being crowned. The art

LYSANDER. We will pass on, if you please, to the Order of the Day. Shall *Missals* be the first note to touch, in your approaching calligraphical concert?

PHILEMON. 'Missals'—with all my heart. Yet, as a volume of *anterior* execution, and as partaking in some degree of the warblings of the muse, pray let me introduce to your especial notice a vastly pretty group of females—from a ponderous tome of the works of CHRISTINE DE PISA,* in the British Museum. I observe that the Ladies

however I suspect to be either Flemish or French. The condition of the volume is most desirable. This precious MS., bound in green velvet, was also in the collection of DIANA OF POICTIERS. The reader of course will not fail here to refresh his memory with the notice of that *most lovely* of all *lovely Manuscripts of the Decameron* (belonging to Mr. Coke) given at p. xiii, ante.

* *the works of CHRISTINE DE PISA.*] The 'ponderous tome,' above alluded to, is among the *Harleian MSS.* (no. 4431) in the British Museum: and contains, in the whole, 398 leaves. It is a vellum MS. written in a small gothic letter, in double columns. On the recto of the first leaf, in a large hand, is the following autograph: 'Henry Duke of Newcastle, his booke, 1676.' On the recto of the second leaf, above the text, is the ILLUMINATION of which the larger and more interesting portion is presented to his audience by Philemon. It appears to me to possess considerable merit; especially in the grouping, which is really not unworthy of some of the happier efforts of Stothard. Beneath this illumination, of the authoress presenting her book to the Queen of France, we read the following strains—and let not the reader 'disdain' to peruse them; for the famous Duke de Berry, a tremendous bibliomaniac about the period of their composition, (1410) gave not less than 200 crowns, to Christine herself, for a set of that Dame's '*Balades*,' &c. The fact is 'extant in choice print,' thus: (taken from the original inventory in the year 1416) 'Vn liure compilé de plusieurs *Balades et ditiez*, fait & composé par damoiselle CHRISTINE [de Pizan] escrit de lettre de court, bien historiée: acheté de ladite damoiselle *deux cens escus*, prisé 40 livres parisis.' Peignot's *Curiosités Bibliographiques*, p. xv. So that, by this time, I imagine the reader to be quite impatient for the verses subjoined to the aforesaid illumination. Les voilà!

Tres excellent de grant haultesse
 Couronnee poissant princesse
 Tres noble Royne de france
 Le corps enclin vers vous madressce
 En saluant par grant hüblece
 Pry dieu quil vous tiengne en souffrance

are absolutely envious of the *head-dresses* of their sex at the commencement of the *Fifteenth Century*! Allow, at any rate, that the grouping and its accessories are pretty and interesting.



Long temps viue, et apres loultrance
De la mort vous doit la Richece
De paradis qui point ne cesse.

A hearty, pious, and appropriate salutation : and the artist, in the above picture, has

BELINDA. We admit the justice of both these latter observations; but can by no means acknowledge our envy at the perfection of the *head-dresses* of the same stately group!

PHILEMON. As you please. Having now then brought you just within the pale of the xvth century, I proceed to an account of MISSALS executed chiefly within that period. And first for the notice of that resplendent and costly tome ycleped the BEDFORD MISSAL!* The Spirit of John DUKE

suited 'the action to the word.' The remainder of the illuminations, by more than one hand, are not only much smaller, but of greatly inferior merit to that which is above given. The general condition of this interesting tome is such as to rejoice the heart of the worshipper of the memory of CHRISTINE DE PISA: while an excellent account of the contents of it, will be found in the *Cat. of the Harl. MSS.* vol. iii. p. 144. See, too, the *Typog. Antiq.* vol. i. p. 75-6.

* ycleped THE BEDFORD MISSAL.] When the reader is informed that the late Mr. Gough (as above alluded to by Philemon) published a quarto volume (in 1794) of 83 pages—descriptive of the contents of this really unrivalled Missal—he cannot expect even a full or satisfactory detail of its multifarious graphic embellishments within the compass of a *moderate* note: and no limits are left for a very *immoderate* one. Upon the whole, however, after dipping into Gough, I know not how to present the reader with a more spirited or interesting delineation of its general features, than what appears in the language of Mr. Evans, in the *Catalogue of the Library of Mr. Edwards* (1815, 8vo.) its enthusiastic possessor for the preceding nine and twenty years. At number 830 of this catalogue we read as follows:

'THE CELEBRATED BEDFORD MISSAL or book of Prayers and Devotional offices, executed for JOHN DUKE OF BEDFORD, Regent of France; containing 59 miniature paintings, which nearly occupy the whole page, and above a *thousand small miniatures* of about an inch and a half in diameter; displayed in brilliant borders of golden foliage, with variegated flowers, &c. At the bottom of every page are two lines, in blue and gold letters, to explain the subject of each miniature: a circumstance perhaps only to be found in this expensive performance—but what enhances the value of the MS. in this country is, that it has preserved the *only portraits* remaining of the noble pair who formerly possessed it; JOHN of LANCASTER, DUKE of BEDFORD, *Regent* of France, and ANNE of BURGUNDY, his *Duchess*, interspersed with their mottos; an elegant expression of the gallantry of that time, on his part—"A vous entier;" and on her's "J'en suis contente;" and also the portraits of HENRY 5th of ENGLAND and CATHARINE of FRANCE. Nothing can exceed the strength of character,

of BEDFORD, REGENT OF FRANCE, be present to unlock all the 'hidden springs of harmony!'—as I open the concert alluded to. I observe you comprehend me in a trice; and

and high finishing of the portraits. Mr. Gough pronounced them the finest example of the art, of that period, he had ever seen. Vertue engraved the portrait of the Duke from this painting. Another interesting characteristic in this fine MS. is the attestation of its being presented by gift of the Duchess, and by order of her husband, to King Henry the VIth, when he went to be crowned in France, and was spending his Christmas at Rouen. The Monogram of the Attestor (I S) is JOHN SOMERSET; styling himself *Domini regis ad personam servitor et sanitatem vitæque conservationem consulens*. This is confirmed in Hearne's Vita Henrici 6. per T. de Elmham; where he is called physician to the King; and that he was a favourite, appears from a grant of the manor of Ruislip* to him for life, by Henry VI. See *Lysons's Environs*, vol. v, page 258. This rich book is 11 inches, by seven and a half wide, and two and a half thick; bound in crimson velvet, with gold clasps, on which are engraved the arms of HARLEY, CAVENDISH, and HOLLIS, quarterly. It was the property of Edward Lord Harley, Earl of Oxford and Mortimer, who bought it of Lady Worsley, great grand-daughter to W. Seymour, second Duke of Somerset, who was appointed governor to the Prince of Wales, by King Charles the First. It descended from Lord Oxford to his daughter, the Duchess of Portland, and was purchased at her sale, May 24th, 1786.'

Such a description, with the previously-known character of the volume, was sufficient to inflame the ardour, and sharpen the weapons, of the most indifferent book-knight: while it animated the 'thorough-bred' with a degree of mettle approaching to madness! Accordingly, on the day of the sale of the Missal, there 'pricked forth,' from the lists, two well-known bibliomaniacal champions: one, cyleped the MOST NOBLE THE MARQUIS OF BLANDFORD—the other 'having to name' JOHN NORTH, ESQUIRE.' The surrounding Book-Knights were silent spectators: knowing the courage and daring of these adventurous champions. At length, after inflicting upon each other divers 'huge and lusty strokes,' the first-named champion gained the prize for the sum of 687*l.* 15*s.* 'of lawful money of Great Britain:;' but the defeated knight is reported to have exclaimed, in retiring from the combat, 'Another such victory, and . . .' Let me add that this contest reflects equal credit upon 'victor and vanquished.' I now return to the volume itself—for the reader, I dare think, is prepared for an 'immoderate' note. Mr. Gough, in his quarto pamphlet, before-mentioned, published

* Mr. Evans has noticed to me a singular coincidence. The back-windows of Mr. Edwards's house (which was the old manor-house) at Harrow, looked upon this very manor of Ruislip! Thus the late owner of the BEDFORD MISSAL might contemplate the spot which was 'granted' to the VERY PERSON who attested the donation of it to its original and REGAL POSSESSOR!

are preparing to turn over the leaves of the enchanting volume under description; which is, really, and in truth, a most precious and praise-worthy monument—not only of the state of art at the opening of the xvth century, but of the

four copper-plate fac-similes from it. One, of the Duke of Bedford, as given in this work, with its surrounding ornaments—(the latter obliged to be omitted for want of room): the *second* with the Duchess kneeling before her tutelary ‘patroness and name-saint St. Anne’ also with its surrounding ornaments: the *third*, of ‘the legend of the changing of the arms of France, from three *toads* to three *fleur de lis*, in the reign of Clovis, A. D. 500, as represented in tapestry,’ &c. These latter figures are very small; and the surrounding ornaments are full of historical subjects. Mr. Gough thought that ‘the portrait of *Henry the Fifth* here represents the figure of Clovis.’ ‘*Cela se peut*!’ but the face is too small (not the eighth part of an inch) to make the circumstance of any moment. A *fourth* plate, given by Gough, is a fac-simile of the ‘attestation of the Missal being presented by gift of the Duchess, and by order of the Duke, to King Henry VI. by one of the king’s servants, who appears to have been his physician.’

Upon the merit of these *four* plates, on the score of accuracy, I will not pretend to sit in judgment; but the *first* of them, representing the Duke, &c. cannot be faithful if the praise of *fidelity* belong to the *present* representation of the same subject. What then is to be the result, and upon which is the reader to choose? I will only simply observe, that the ACCOMPANYING PLATE is executed by Mr. *George Lewis*, from a drawing made by himself—line for line, and stroke for stroke, from the original—that this drawing was allowed, by the late owner of the Missal, to be ‘completely successful!’ and the reader may be assured that one and the same spirit of *fidelity* has influenced both the pencil and the burin of Mr. *George Lewis*. ‘*Palmam qui meruit, ferat!*’ Note further; that Mr. Gough’s plate, or plates, are only *in outline*—with a prodigious deal of the characteristic ornaments of the original wholly omitted. I am aware that there are some *few* copies of Mr. Gough’s book with the plates *coloured*: but these I have always considered as the sorriest possible representations of the originals! Who, of the modern ‘sons of men,’ could successfully imitate the delicate hues, the radiant colours, and the dazzling gold, of this wonderful volume?! The attempt would be either folly or madness. Therefore it is, that one sober tint, either *brown*, or *black*, is more satisfactory than the piebald colours of an indifferent modern illuminator. In respect to *minuteness* and *delicacy*, I may be allowed to notice the very masterly style in which Mr. Lewis’s plate is executed. One word more, and I have done. This extraordinary volume, which belonged to the Duchess of Portland, daughter of Lord Oxford, was purchased (as above-mentioned) by Mr. Edwards, at the sale of the gems, pictures, and antiquities, of the Duchess, in 1786 (see no. 2951) for 213*l*. It



G. Lewis Sculp.

ILLUMINATION FROM THE BEDFORD MISSAL;
In the primitive style. Marguerite of Bedford.

noble and fostering spirit of the aforesaid Regent in particular! Most of you, I believe, were present at the late sale of this unrivalled Missal—and Gough, as you may remember, has written a pretty stiff quarto volume upon it: yet much as you may have seen and read, appertaining to it, I will not suffer you to depart without calling your attention to the copy which I have caused to be taken of the *principal Illuminations*; namely, the *Regent himself kneeling before his Tutelary Saint, St. George*.*

LORENZO. Most singular, most splendid, and most interesting!

PHILEMON. Even so: and after all that has been thought, said, and written, respecting the Missals in this country, give me the BEDFORD VOLUME! The Breviary, companion of this precious tome,† is no doubt yet in existence; and the style of art, which it particularly developes, was very prevalent at the period of its execution. Among other specimens, the LAMOIGNON MISSAL, now in the *Hafod*‡

was obtained against the bidding of his present Majesty. During Mr. Edwards's possession of it, he was twice or thrice offered 500 guineas for the same; but the result proved the discretion with which these offers were declined. To an Englishman, the BEDFORD MISSAL is the proudest and most interesting monument existing of the early art of book-illumination!

* See the OPPOSITE PLATE.

† *Breviary, companion of this precious tome.*] My friend Mr. H. Petrie has supplied me with the notice of a 'Breviary after the use of the Church of Sarum,' among the MSS. of the Royal Library of France (no. 273?) which contains many beautiful small illuminations, together with some large subjects. It was executed in 1434, and belonged to John DUKE OF BEDFORD, Regent of France. It follows therefore that the conjecture of Philemon is supported by fact. But will, or rather *can*, the Missal and Breviary of the same Regent ever again become the property of the same person? The chances are as an hundred to one against such an occurrence.

‡ *Lamoignon Missal—in the Hafod Library.*] At page cxxxii ante, the reader has been introduced to a few of the 'Hafod Treasures' through the medium of a description taken by myself *on the spot*. In general, views of *nature*, taken in

Library, and numerous other volumes, (although not of a religious cast of character) are apposite illustrations. But we are now approaching the time of MASO FINIGUERRA

LISARDO. Surely that great artist never executed a Missal, or other Book?—

PHILEMON. You interrupt me. I was about to remark, by introducing the name of Finiguerra,* that subsequent

a similar manner, are thought to have more of truth and spirit about them, than compositions drawn from fancy, or from recollection only. Whether the same inference apply to *book-views*, I dare not take upon me to determine: but I will venture upon submitting another book-sketch executed in a similar manner. It relates to the Missal above alluded to by Philemon; once in the LAMOIGNON COLLECTION. 'This lovely Missal comes the nearest in execution, as well as in style of design, delicacy of vellum, and general characteristic appearance, to that of the BEDFORD, of any which I have ever beheld. The larger subjects, or illuminations, are surrounded by fanciful borders; having circles, in which figures, or groups of figures, are introduced—illustrative of the main subject or larger illumination. Some of these are exceedingly elaborate; and every page of text has a delicate border, in which drolleries, or serious subjects, are introduced with equal felicity. The condition of the Missal is perfect. Mr. Johnes admires, and with justice, the large figure of *St. Jerom* (the last illumination but one) sitting and writing: with a cardinal's hat on the floor, and a lion before him. The *last illumination* reminds us strongly of the style of execution seen in the Bedford Missal. At top, is a crucified Christ, supported by the Father, with a Dove between them: emblematic of the Trinity. Cherubims surround them. Below, the Patroness, to whom the Owner dedicated the work, is kneeling upon a blue cushion, with closed hands, looking stedfastly at the cross. Her female attendant is behind her; also kneeling, and reading in a devout manner. A white dog is walking before the Patroness. (The costume is of the earlier part of the xvth century). Figures, representing the cardinal-virtues, and intertwined with foliage and flowers, constitute the border: the whole full of beauty and effect. The text (beginning with the first chapter of *St. John*) is in a large gothic letter. The dimensions of the volume are 10 inches three-eighths, by 7 and a half. Although the edges are gilt, with coloured ornaments, and have an old appearance, I suspect that this lovely volume was originally full 2 inches taller. Aug. 2, 1815.' If I remember rightly, the wretched DE ROME was the binder. Thus much for the third *book-sketch*—taken in Hafod library in the month and year aforesaid.

* *the name of FINIGUERRA.*] It might indeed very naturally have been supposed that some of those illuminators, who lived subsequently to Finiguerra,

artists, benefiting by his example, might, in their productions of the pencil, have displayed purer taste and more accurate drawing and composition. But, on the contrary,

would have profited by the beauty of his productions; but the truth is, as Philemon above observes, that, towards the end of the xvth century, there are too many retrograde movements in art to warrant us in drawing such an inference: nor can any one, however he may justly delight himself with the fac-similes published by Zani and Mr. Ottley, (and more especially with the remarks as well as the fac-simile of the latter) have, I had almost said, *any*, but certainly not anything like an *adequate*, idea, of the brilliancy and perfection of the *sulphur casts* (as they are called) of MASO FINIGUERRA. One of these sulphurs (and only two are known to exist) has recently enriched the very choice library of the Right Hon. Thomas Grenville. It had been formerly in the cabinet of Signor Seratti; and 'per varios casus' (not necessary here to describe) it found its way into that land 'flowing with milk and honey,' commonly known by the name of GREAT BRITAIN. How many similar curiosities—as gems, pictures, books, and statues, have recently taken the same direction, we will not stop to enquire—nor is it at all necessary (however the fact may be known to a 'chosen few') to mention how much of the said 'milk and honey' Mr. Grenville was compelled to produce in order to obtain possession of such a treasure. Suffice it only to remark, that, in more skilful hands, or under more discerning eyes, it could not possibly be placed. But the reader is impatient for the *sulphur*, and thus he hath an account thereof.

It is the self-same sulphur (or composition, like plaster of Paris, with a delicate yellow tint, upon which the subject, in black, is impressed or taken off—) from which the copper-plate impression of Zani, from Mariette's collection, now in the French Museum, was copied: but Zani's impression is *defective* in that part (the extremities or upper border) where this is *perfect*; and the present is slightly defective in that part (the centre) in which it should seem that Zani's is comparatively perfect. Of the two, however, there can be no question respecting the superiority of condition of Mr. Grenville's sulphur; and it is not a little curious that such varieties, as to condition, should appear in representations of the same subject. The *subject* is as follows; taken from a ms. memorandum accompanying the sulphur: 'The subject represented is the ASSUMPTION OF THE VIRGIN, who is crowned in heaven amidst the rejoicings of saints and angels; and although only measuring about five inches by three and a quarter, it contains in all *forty-two figures*. It can hardly be expected that in the course of 3 centuries and an half it should have escaped altogether the ravages of decay; still it is, upon the whole, in a very entire state, and is particularly interesting from being quite perfect in that part where the impression in the French Museum is mutilated; this latter, on the other hand, supplies some trifling deficiencies in the sulphur cast.'

as we approach the latter part of the Fifteenth Century, we find such a predominance of *Flemish taste*, and extravagant decoration, that it grieves one to think the examples of earlier and better artists seem to have been thrown away. I must make, however, one or two glorious exceptions.

LISARDO. Which be they?

PHILEMON. First, and foremost, let us 'doff our bonnets' to the illustrious names of FRANCESCO VERONESI and GIROLAMO his son! The magnificent and matchless Missal, which owns *them* as the artists* who have immortalized it,

'The fineness of some of the lines which are pourtrayed on the sulphur is quite astonishing. They have been minutely confronted with the engraved *pax*, and correspond with it to the greatest nicety. The effect of the whole is most lively and brilliant, bearing altogether a strong resemblance to an *engraving upon ivory*.'

The truth is, nothing can exceed the prodigious power of expression which appears in the minutest countenances—whether of agitation, as in the angels blowing the trumpets, above; or of softness and resignation, as in the attendant angels below. In the elegance of the attitudes, and folds of the drapery, we observe all the grace of Raffaele and all the breadth of Masaccio. The copper-plate impression affords no idea even of the truth of the *features* of the respective countenances; which necessarily implies the total absence of original *expression*. Had CLOVIO copied such a gem, and introduced it into some missal, for one of his royal masters!—how many purse-strings would have been unloosed to gain possession of such a treasure!?

* *The magnificent and matchless Missal which owns THEM as the Artists who have immortalised it.*] What will not the reader be led to expect from this gorgeous style of description? Let Mr. Evans, however, first make known the general splendor and importance of this Missal, from the description of it which appeared at no. 246, in the *Catalogue of the Library of Mr. Edward Astle*, sold by him in January, 1816.

'This magnificent Missal is unquestionably one of the very first and grandest exertions of the art of illuminating books. It appears to have occupied several years in preparation; and acquires a singular interest, as the miniatures form an epoch in the annals of the art, and constitute a land-mark between the ancient and modern school of illumination. The more ancient paintings were executed by FRANCISCO, called "DA I LIBRI," from his extraordinary talents in painting miniatures in books, and by his son Girolamo, who was the instructor of Giulio Clovio. The miniature of the *Presentation of Christ in the Temple*, is subscribed with the name of FRANCISCUS VERONENSIS at full length; a very unusual circumstance, but arising no doubt from the conscious pride which the artist felt in

is, at this moment, as it were, before me. For you, my amiable auditors—for Belinda and Almansa—I rob it of this amethyst, and of that emerald : which, for lustre, shall

contemplating the success of his exertions. It is indeed a chef-d'œuvre of the art sufficient to immortalize the painter, whether we consider the beauty and excellence of the composition, the gracefulness of the attitudes, or the delicacy of the finish ; all, and every part is exquisitely beautiful, and vindicates his claim to the *cognomen*, bestowed upon him by the admiration of Italy. Girolamo, it is known, successfully emulated the paintings of his father. Vasari is quite animated in the description of his talents. I think his exertions are particularly discernible in the paintings of some of the borders, they correspond remarkably with what Vasari has said frequently occur in the works of this artist, namely, representations of ancient cameos, precious stones, jewels, and fancy pieces. It is impossible to view the large painting of the crucifixion, without feeling the profoundest reverence for the talents of the painter. Among the later productions is the exquisitely beautiful painting of the *Celebration of the Mass*. The portraits of the Pope and the Cardinals attending him, are admirable performances. The last of the miniatures represents the Pope in the act of remunerating a Cardinal [see the third plate at page cxliii, ante] we may infer he is paying for this Missal, and from the quantity of money introduced, he appears to have justly appreciated the merits of the work. The arms of Sixtus IV. are placed under the painting of the Celebration of the Mass, and occur in other places with the Cardinal's hat above them : we may therefore conclude it was commenced for him while he was a Cardinal, and finished after his elevation to the tiara, or else it must have been done for his nephew the Cardinal Giuliano, who bore the same arms, and was afterwards Pope, by the title of *Julius the Second*. The reader will not be surprised to learn that such a treasure produced, at the sale, the sum of 307*l*. I had seen it, in 1804, when it was bought in for 231*l*. Mr. Esdaile is the present fortunate possessor of it.

Let my own tale now be told respecting this very singular and magnificent volume. It was in the year 1814 when I borrowed it of Messrs. White and Cochrane for the purpose of having the accompanying plates engraved, and of making an elaborate description of its illuminations : as I then considered, and still do consider, the specimens of art, contained in it, altogether of a most extraordinary nature. To allay any *nervous* sensation, on the part of its then owners, it was insured by me, during the time of detention, for 450*l*. Thus the artist, Mr. George Lewis, went to work with confidence and glee ; and my own slumbers were wholly undisturbed—'*quoad hoc*.' Here followeth a description of the 'handy works' of Messrs. FRANCESCO and GIROLAMO, in the Missal aforesaid, which is bound in ancient red morocco, fastened by silver-wrought clasps, and measures 14 inches and half long, by 10 inches and half wide. A full page contains 12 lines, in a broad faced gothic letter, nearly half an inch in height.

challenge the brightest hues that sparkle in the casket of the jeweller ! And yonder string of pearls, large, entire, and glossy—as if wet with the ocean wave—place it my . . .

The '*Tabula Missarum prime partis missalis pontificalis*,' occupies the first leaf. I shall advance at once to the notice of the *Illuminations*; designating the artist by whom each subject was executed; and premising, that the pictures of Francesco are in water colour, and those of his son in body colour. It may be also worth further observing, that the *tints*, used by FRANCESCO, are generally pink, lilac, purple, or green; with a peculiar touch of the pen, by which he marks the folds of drapery and the anatomy of the human figure. That this artist is oftentimes extravagant, must be readily admitted; but amidst all his wildness of fancy there is a delicacy of expression, and crispness of touch, that render his performances strikingly original and characteristic. No man ever produced more power of colouring, as a water-colour painter—which is evident even from the present condition in which they appear: but in their *pristine* state his performances must have glowed with a lustre of which we can hardly have an adequate conception. His *gilding*, less firm and resplendent than that of Girolamo, partakes of the soft and attractive tone in which he has contrived to work up his subjects to the highest pitch of delicacy and expression. Girolamo, both in his body colours and gilding, is perfectly uniform: bold, rich, and sparkling—but his taste has comparatively the air of a Flemish painter.

First Illumination. By GIROLAMO.

The capital initial I, ('*Incipit prima pars Missalis secundum vsvm romane curie in quo continentur Missæ quæ per pontifices consueverunt celebrari*') which is about 4 inches in height, is within a rich border. At bottom, a tent with a golden canopy. In the centre of it, a Cardinal's hat; beneath which is an oak-tree with acorns; all in gold: on one side of the trunk S, on the other D. The back-ground is ultramarine, in part deeply shaded. An angel, on each side the tree, with one hand holding up the curtain covering the arms, and with the other holding up the curtain on each side of the tent. At the foot of each angel, a child is playing on a guitar, each in a graceful attitude. Beneath, the illumination is damaged: prevailing colours of border, purple, lilac, and red. On the reverse,

Second Illumination. By FRANCESCO VERONESI.

Prodigiously elaborate, occupying the whole page. What appears to be the letter N, forms the principal object. Within, 6 robed male figures: of which 5 are upon their knees; the central one with hands elevated, having a naked figure, apparently a female, balanced in the centre of the hands: a rich canopy (the colours somewhat faded) before this figure: another canopy, to the left, in the back-ground. The lines which constitute the letter (N) are filled by human figures on each side, grouped, or linked together, in the most graceful manner. At top, are a peacock and two doves, in lilac colour. Above the whole, are

LYSANDER. Remember, the Ladies are the property of Lisardo and myself! But I can forgive you...

LORENZO. Jealousy is 'a green-eyed monster,' saith Shakspeare. Yet proceed: and do not suffer the caustic gravity of the worthy Lysander to throw a damp upon the

pearls, precious stones, and cameos. To the left, from the bottom, is a border of nearly 3 inches in width, crowded with figures in the most fantastic and beautiful attitudes: these are relieved by architectural ornaments, pencilled with surprising delicacy: in the centre are the arms (by Girolamo) as described in the first illumination, but on a smaller scale. Beneath the above central, or principal illumination, having 2 lines of text between, is a most magnificent and elegant specimen of art; with vases of fruit, and three recumbent children at bottom. To the right, are two figures supporting a rich vase. The whole forms a perfect specimen of the variety, peculiarity, taste, richness, and expression of the genius of the artist. Unluckily the left border is rather tarnished by the stain of sea water; but the eye of the virtuoso has abundant gratification in what is left entire. After 8 pages of text, we come to the

Third Illumination. By GIROLAMO.

To the left of the initial capital I (3 inches) our Saviour is giving instructions to his Disciples. Border of flowers at top, to the left, and at bottom: slight ornaments to the right. The whole, fresh and uninjured, and sparkling with gold and ultramarine; it is however among the least elaborated illuminations. Again, after 8 further pages of text, we come to the

Fourth Illumination. By THE SAME.

Exceedingly rich and gorgeous, and in the finest state of preservation. At top, forming the circular part of the letter P (upwards of 4 inches and a half in height) is the Almighty in the sky: below, the figure of Isaias: to the right, 7 male figures. At bottom, in a circle of 2 inches and three quarters, is what appears to be the Apostles (8 figures) expecting the descent of the spirit. To the left, and at bottom, is a broad border: to the right, narrower border. Then 4 pages of text, before the

Fifth Illumination. By THE SAME.

Three small figures, Christ replying to the messengers sent by St. John the Baptist. The illumination, 2 inches and a quarter. A very rich and elegantly-imagined border. In the centre, to the right, two boys (each playing a musical instrument) full of expression. Prevailing colours of border, purple, lilac, and green: in good preservation; but the gold sparingly introduced. Another 4 pages of text, and we reach the

Sixth Illumination. By F. VERONENSIS.

Remarkable for the extraordinary grace and beauty of the border: the left

glow of description which such an extraordinary volume seems to produce.

PHILEMON. I crave pardon of my subjects. You will however readily anticipate my notions respecting the extraordinary Missal here alluded to. In fact, that Missal was executed by the two eminent artists before-mentioned, expressly for POPE SIXTUS IV. whose portrait, as is conceived,

side and bottom of which are composed of children fantastically grouped, of a portion of which the following is a most interesting fac-simile :



The border at top, and to the right, is narrower, and filled by fanciful ornaments, exhibiting equal taste, and coloured chiefly in green. At the bottom of the text, is a capital initial G, nearly three inches and a half in height, and nearly 4 inches in width. The lines, which form the letter, are filled by the most elegant and tasteful arabesque ornaments, and are coloured in green : within the letter, is a half length of *St. Peter*, holding the keys with his right hand, and a book (pressed to his breast) with his left. Like almost all the figures of FRANCESCO VERONESI, the present exhibits a disproportionate length as well as slenderness of limb. The

thus occurs in one of the marginal decorations. Although these wonderful specimens of ancient art be, occasionally, injured in several places, yet, collectively, there is nothing to put in competition with them! Even the *grotesques* enhance the value of the volume; and the frequent betrayal of a remnant of what is called the *gothic taste*, connecting the old with the new school of art, gives additional interest to the performance.



whole is in delicate tint, but in fair preservation. Two pages of text only follow, when we come to the

Seventh Illumination. By FRANCESCO and GIROLAMO.

The border, in purple, red, and green, is by the former: the illuminated capital initial I (2 inches and a quarter) is by the latter: St. John the Baptist, seated on a bank, is discoursing with three men. The left side of the border very delicate and fresh; terminating, at bottom, with a fine mask, over which is a lion's skin. A horse, to the right, in a whimsical attitude. The left border has suffered injury: and the bottom has been retouched (clumsily) in dark red. We glance over 5 pages of text, and reach the

Eighth Illumination. By GIROLAMO.

Very splendid; but the green back-ground, on the outside of the border, is somewhat faded, and injures the effect of the piece. The capital initial R, at bottom (about 4 inches square) exhibits one of the best specimens of the powers of Girolamo's pencil. The whole is fresh, brilliant, and striking; although a little too vivid for nature. In the air, a half length figure of the Almighty, clothed in purple and white, holding a ball (the globe) in his left hand, and elevating his right. On each side of him, is a cherubic attendant. Beneath, is the infant Saviour, irradiated with glory: on either side of him an angel, in white, with wings of gold, in graceful attitudes of adoration. Below, is a fine sweep of landscape; glowing with the rays of a warm setting sun. The embossed gold on the outside is in the highest preservation. After 3 pages of text, comes the

Yet the specimens of beautiful and even Grecian taste which prevails—the arabesque borders, now fanciful and now grave—the incrustations of gems and precious stones—the onyx,

Ninth Illumination. By GIROLAMO.

Less splendid and interesting than the generality. An illuminated I, inclosing a representation of St. John preaching in the wilderness: 2 inches and three-eighths by 3 and a half. After 3 more pages of text, we are struck with the

Tenth Illumination. By THE SAME.

Very splendid and in fine preservation, with the exception of a trifling injury, or smear, over the lower parts of two very graceful figures of boys or cherubs, at the bottom of the lower border. The principal illumination is an O; nearly 5 inches in width by 3 and seven-eighths in height. Within, is a beautiful and highly preserved whole length of St. Andrew the Apostle: his right hand resting upon a cross, and his left holding a book. The Apostle is looking intently upon his book; having more than an ordinary expression of countenance. The border throughout is rich and magnificent. Four pages of text succeed, when we observe the

Eleventh Illumination. By THE SAME.

Comparatively trivial, but in good taste. The illumination (2 inches and five-eighths by two and a half) is the calling of St. Peter and St. Andrew. A great stain at bottom. After 3 pages of text, we observe with peculiar interest the

Twelfth Illumination. By F. VERONESI.

On looking at this elaborate and exquisitely executed illumination, filling almost the entire page, the first sensation that strikes us is—that of *regret*: the sea water having almost defaced the lower part, and probably absorbed, or caused to fly, the numberless delicate touches (chiefly in white, upon a lilac ground) which are introduced in the upper part between the lines of text. The border is brilliant and beautiful to a degree; of which the chief colours are green, crimson, and purple. The principal illumination exhibits the embracing of Mary and Joseph. A glory surrounds the heads of both. These figures are preposterously tall, and the draperies of them too much marked by foldings. They are within the letter S, nearly 5 inches square, (the first word being 'Salve') and the marking of the lines of the S is distinguished and adorned by a profusion of precious stones and shells, &c. A little to the right, below, is a beautiful group of three children, much damaged. In its original state, coming fresh from the pencil of Francesco, this production must have had an exquisite effect. Six pages of text follow; and then the

Thirteenth Illumination. By GIROLAMO.

Border, fresh and splendid. Illuminated L 2 inches and a half by 2 and a quarter. An old man with 5 youths—1st. ch. of St. Matthew illustrated. After turning over 7 pages of text, comes the

sardine, ruby, emerald, amethyst, pearl—in sundry compartments of borders, or ornaments of capital initials—these,

Fourteenth Illumination. By GIROLAMO.

This is among the very choicest and most successful of Girolamo's pieces. The border throughout is light and tasteful; and the figures of 3 cherubs, at top, and a child playing upon a guitar, on the left, below them, are extremely delicate and interesting. The base of the border is in better taste than the generality of Girolamo's productions. The chief illumination, not less than 5 inches square, is within the letter D (as appears by the context) and represents the Shepherds hearing the glad tidings of the birth of Christ. What gives it perhaps better effect—there is no figure seen in the sky from whence the annunciation is supposed to proceed: the anxiety, the fixed attention, and attitudes of the three shepherds, are admirable. The back-ground, a mountainous country, is *almost* in a perfect style of colouring; and very much beyond what is usually seen in distant landscapes executed in opaque or body colour. The embossed and burnished gold, around the letter, seems to retain all its original splendor. The whole is in charming preservation. Next come 3 pages of text—and the

Fifteenth Illumination. By THE SAME,

Of a more quiet and simple character. The principal illumination, nearly 4 inches by 2 and a quarter, represents Augustus Cæsar issuing the edict for general taxation. He is sitting in a chair of state, and four figures are before him: the whole neatly executed, and in perfect preservation. The border is simple, rich, and in good taste. We turn over 6 pages of text, and look with delight on the

Sixteenth Illumination. By F. VERONESI.

Full of splendor and taste, and having a most singular effect: but unfortunately damaged and retouched. There are only 2 lines of text above, and 3 below, the principal illumination: and the entire space between these lines is covered with a layer of burnished gold. The chief illumination is a P: the tail of which is 9 inches long; the circular part is 5 inches and a half, by 5 and a half; and within is a representation of *Christ in the Manger*. The Virgin, gracefully kneeling, with her arms folded, is on one side; and Joseph is sleeping at a distance, reclining upon his right hand. Two angels are above the manger. The *marking* of the letter is filled by complicated groups of animals, children, and adults. The letters, U, E, R, on the right side, are most elaborately executed upon a purple back-ground. The border, on the right side and below, is beautifully arabesqued; but much damaged. There is something, at first sight, very complicated and extraordinary in the whole of this magnificent illumination. Six pages of text follow: when we come to the

Seventeenth Illumination. By GIROLAMO.

One of the most beautiful and delicate of his performances. The infant Saviour is enshrined in glory. An angel, on each side, in blue vestments, is kneeling, in

(*minor* decorations, I grant) these, of their kind, know of no superiority in any contemporaneous Missal !

the act of adoration. One of the least elaborate of his borders : but the whole is in perfect preservation. We observe 5 pages of text, and recreate ourselves with the

Eighteenth Illumination. By F. VERONESI.

One of this artist's finest works. *Esther*, *Mordecai*, and *Ahasuerus*, with attendants, are within the letter C. The lineal formation, or marking of the letter, is beautifully executed ; especially a winged boy to the right. The foregoing, which are the principal figures, are full of grace and expression ; but exhibiting the usual disproportionate length of limb. The colouring of *Esther's* robe has all the delicacy of *Clovio* and all the warmth of *Titian* ; but it is perhaps a little too pinky. The surrounding border, forming the frame work of the page, is equally classical and fanciful ; while the two groups, of two children each, beneath, have never been surpassed. The whole page has, however, a tarnished appearance. After 5 pages of text, follows the

Nineteenth Illumination. By FRANCESCO and GIROLAMO.

A rich and finely flowing border ; but the two ornaments beneath, introduced by the pencil of *Francesco*, shew the superior taste and delicacy of that artist. Of one of these ornaments I subjoin a fac-simile, in the colour in which the original appears, but necessarily of less crispness of execution.



But let us proceed to the higher branches of art, of which this extraordinary performance affords such abundant specimens. In the groups of figures, there is, amidst all the

The prevailing colours in Girolamo's border are purple, lilac, and ultramarine. The illuminated letter, I, represents a small group of Jews addressed by our Saviour. Next follow 5 pages of text; and the

Twentieth Illumination. By GIROLAMO.

An interesting and fresh looking illumination. The principal letter, I, represents St. John the Evangelist, in fine preservation: nearly 4 inches square. The surrounding border is exceedingly elegant and splendid. In the centre of the right border is the supposed portrait of *Pope Sixtus IV.* above given by Philemon; but I have some doubts of its identity. That the reader however may be better enabled to form his own judgment upon it, he is here presented with an excellent engraving of the head of the same Pontiff, drawn and engraved by G. Lewis, from a bronze medal in the possession of the late Mr. James Edwards.



We may merely take a glance at the following illumination (the *Twenty First*) and stop a few minutes only at the

Twenty-second Illumination. By GIROLAMO.

In beautiful preservation and delicately executed. The principal illumination (within the letter P) represents the *Circumcision*. There is unusual grace and

intricate, harsh, and angular folds of drapery, at times, much expression and even pathos. Look at this representation of *Mary Magdalene* at the foot of the cross—in the

splendor of effect in this interesting page. The smaller capitals (*PUER NATUS EST NOBIS*) are elaborately adorned. Three pages of text follow. Then the

Twenty-third Illumination. By GIROLAMO.

The least elaborate in the whole book; but by no means the least graceful. The christening, or calling 'his name *Jesus*,' is the principal illumination. The border is worth copying; being unconfined by a straight line—2 pages of text follow, when we approach the

Twenty-fourth Illumination. By GIROLAMO.

Among his most magnificent productions. The illumination, 6 inches by 5, represents the *Adoration of the Magi*: very fresh and not unhappily conceived. There is a profusion of embossed gold throughout; and the border partakes of the general splendor. The half-length figure below, in a white garment, crowned with a scroll, is mean, and what is called gothic. The two angels, above, to the left, are as graceful as this latter is forbidding: nor must our attention be wholly withdrawn from this small angelic figure at top. Four pages, and the *Twenty-fifth Illumination*, (not deserving of particular description) follow: after which succeed 24 pages of text—and as a compensation for so many unadorned leaves, we reach, and contemplate, with delight and amazement, the

Twenty-sixth Illumination. By F. VERONESI.

The PRESENTATION, one of the most exquisitely finished pieces of illumination in existence! It is full of figures; crowded but not confused: the colours are rich, or gay, or tender, as the subject appears to require. The subject is introduced within the letter S. The exterior is much injured, and the ornaments upon it are entirely defaced. The artist's name is at full length below: see p. cxlii. The border, consisting of 6 ornaments, is only on the left: it is therefore less profuse than usual, and, by such means, does not kill the enchanting effect of the picture. It is also in the very best taste of the artist. I have heard that 100 guineas were once offered for this illumination. Need more be added? Five pages of text follow; then the

Twenty-seventh Illumination. By THE SAME.

The Presentation in small: only 2 inches and six eighths by 1 and seven eighths. The Virgin and Simeon in attitudes as before. The border is wonderfully beautiful—having a greater variety of colour for back-ground than usual. Not an ornament in it but what is deserving of a careful and highly finished copy. For fancy and taste it can have no superior. Then follow 72 pages of text; with numberless beautiful capital initials. At length we reach that *eighth wonder of the world*—the

Twenty-eighth Illumination. By F. VERONESI.

The CRUCIFIXION; from the lower part of which, at the foot of the cross, the

magnificent representation of *the Crucifixion*!? Was ever mental agony more powerfully expressed? In the original,

ensuing figure of *Mary Magdalene* is taken. The Virgin, in a red garment, is nearly 5 inches in height: the mother of the Virgin is in purple—they stand on each side of the cross, above the figure of *Mary Magdalene*. The crucified Saviour, about 4 inches and a quarter, is ‘yielding up the ghost.’ The character of his head is most expressive. Two cherubs, or small angels, in green, are catching, in a cup, the blood that streams from each of the hands of Christ; below one of them, a cherub, in red, catches the blood from the side; also in a cup. On each side, a little below, is a group of similar infantine characters. Again, below, an infantine angel catches the blood, in a cup, which flows from the feet. The above fac-simile shews the lower part of the cross; as well as the beginning of the inscription—‘*AB OLYMPO*’—alluded to by Mr. Evans. But no power of engraving can express the magical manner in which the golden locks of the agonised *Mary* are made to flow over her shoulders! Almost every hair is articulated by the surprising minuteness of touch of *Francesco’s* pencil. The illumination occupies the entire page, being nearly 15 inches in height. The whole presents a blaze of splendor and force of expression hardly conceivable. Opposite to this miracle of art is

The Twenty-ninth Illumination. By GIROLAMO.

The artists have here put forth their respective strengths, apparently in competition with each other. We have before us the most elaborate of *Girolamo’s* productions. The principal picture, *St. Gregory celebrating the Mass* (5 inches and a half by 4 and a half) is in exquisite preservation; and although in the gothic style, has great expression. There are nine principal figures, of which *Sixtus* is the most prominent; and ten heads are looking over a green drapery, dividing those people from the rest. Nearly in the centre, is the Pope’s seat, covered with green. *Sixtus* is in white and gold. The surrounding compartments, by way of ornament, are far preferable to any other similar production of this artist. The entablatures, the children, the flowers, and the general tone of colours, are exquisite. There are six lines of text, (including the top illuminated line) in the centre. These two ILLUMINATIONS facing each other, of such magnificent dimensions, such elaborate finish, and such superb colouring—seem for a moment to absorb us in extatic admiration! Next follow 37 pages. Then a blank leaf: when we reach the

Thirtieth Illumination. By GIROLAMO.

A part of this very interesting illumination presents us with the letter D; of which a highly finished fac-simile has been already presented to the reader: see p. cxiii ante. The border is minute and beautiful. To the right, two angels are singing from a scroll, with musical notes. Below, are eleven cherubic heads, in red, round the Lamb in glory: the colours radiant, and the composition richly deserving of a fac-simile. At the top of the border is a small half length of the Creator.

the hair is entirely golden—and touched with a minuteness and brilliancy quite astonishing. Indeed I know of nothing which unites so much radiance with such extreme delicacy of execution.



After 10 pages of text, and the *Thirty-first Illumination* (which is rather a secondary performance) follow 29 pages (mostly with musical notes) which conclude the volume. There is not room for another word. Yet—'all hail' to the owner of such a matchless treasure !!!

LORENZO. Conceiving what must be the effect of the original, I am free to confess my unbounded admiration of this specimen !

PHILEMON. You seem to speak the sentiments of the party : yet the fingers, you observe, have a harsh effect, and savour of the gothic taste before-mentioned. But of all its ornaments, whether in the shape of borders, capital initials, or detached groups, there is nothing which can exceed the composition of the *Presentation in the Temple* by the aged Simeon. It happens also to be perfect. The countenances, especially of the Virgin and Simeon, afford the finest contrast possible of tenderness, modesty, and natural grace, with age, anxiety, and prophetic sagacity. But an entire morning might be well devoted to this Missal ; and so, exhorting you never to let slip an opportunity of turning over its leaves, and minutely examining its excellences, I proceed to the notice of other specimens of the character of which we are discoursing.

We now approach the latter period of the *Fifteenth Century*, and the reign of our *Seventh Henry* in particular. I believe you are all pretty well informed of the propensity and even passion of that monarch for books. The splendid remains of his library, in the British Museum, are alone a demonstration of his *bibliomaniacal* character : yet that Museum, vast, rich, and well-furnished as it is, wants *one gem* in particular, connected with the subject of which we are discoursing, to render its acquisitions nearly complete. That gem, however, can never with propriety leave its present resting-place. I would be understood to make especial allusion to the *Missal*, once the property of *Henry VII.** which has for a century enriched the Cavendish

* *Missal, once the property of HENRY VII.*] There is probably some truth in the general position of Philemon, that THE LIBRARY OF HENRY VII. once

Collection, and is at this moment highly treasured, as it deserves to be, by his Grace the DUKE OF DEVONSHIRE.

contained, among other books, a great number of *Offices, Hours, Missals, and Breviaries*. Be this as it may; certain it is, that His Grace the Duke of Devonshire possesses, in the above treasure, animatedly described by 'the Monarch of the Day,' a very curious, lovely, and interesting volume, of an octavo size, but once of ampler dimensions. The reader without further delay shall be introduced to a pretty thorough acquaintance with it. In the first place, its exterior is full of promise: we observe the ancient brown-leather covers, with its stamped, ornamented compartments, and the motto, 'DONA. NOBIS PAC[EM]' introduced into a modern back and binding, by the late C. Hering, with peculiar taste and felicity. Such *approaches* do the heart of the tasteful bibliomaniac absolute good. On the recto of the 1st leaf, lo and behold the following interesting memorandum!

'This book given be K. Henry 7 of England
to his daughter Margaret Q. of Scotland &
mother to the lady Margaret Douglas
who also gave the same to the Archbishop of St. Andrews.'

Next follows the *Calendar*. On the recto of the 14th, and succeeding leaf, appears *Henry's own hand-writing*; as hereafter follows — concluded by the 'gigantic autograph' of the monarch above alluded to.

*Remembre yo^r. Kynde and
louyng fader. in yo^r
good prayers*

You are briefly to know, therefore, that this Missal contains not only the gigantic autograph of Henry VII., but his own express donation of it to his daughter *Margaret*, afterwards Queen of Scotland; and whose daughter, in turn, as solemnly bestowed it on the *Archbishop of St. Andrews*. By

This is the memorandum of Henry on giving his daughter the volume. On the reverse of the 15th leaf, is a large *Head of Christ*, highly coloured, but with the chin disproportionately short: it is surrounded by a blue radiated back-ground, within a border of flowers. The illuminations, common to missals, follow: but many of them are in half-lengths, of a larger size. Among the smaller ones are the martyrdom of *St. Thomas a Becket*, and a figure of *St. George* (fol. 31, rev.) on horseback, completely armed, fresh in colour, and vigorous in design and expression. Now, gentle reader, prepare for *evidence of the donation* (on the reverse of fol. 32) before mentioned. In the hand-writing of the austere but daughter-loving Henry, we read again as follows:

*Pray for your lowyng fader that gaue
you this booke and I geue you att all
tymes godds blessyng and myne.*

(Autograph as before.)

On the reverse of fol. 156, and last leaf of text, we read a memorandum of equal interest. It testifies the donation of the book by MARGARET, (the fac-simile of whose autograph is subjoined) the *Grandaughter* of Henry, to the Archbishop of ST. ANDREWS.

*My good lorde
of saynt Andrews
i pray you pray for
me that gaue you
thys buk yours
too my powr*

Margaret

We proceed to two other ms. memoranda, and then gently shut up the volume! On the recto of the following (blank and last) leaf, are Lord Burlington's initials: on the reverse, we read as follows:

April the 23d, 1718.

This book was for above 70 years in the hands of Mons. le Pin a Magistrate of Bruges and after his death, in ye year 1717, purchased from his Executors by me

GEORGE WADE.

some chance or other, it got abroad, where it was purchased by the celebrated General Wade, and by him was given to his friend Lord Burlington, about a hundred years ago.

LORENZO. Singular indeed ! But have you no specimen of the style of art which it displays ?

PHILEMON. None It is, generally speaking, in the Flemish style; in the most lovely condition; and the borders, if I remember rightly, are among the most perfect and delicious of their kind. Indeed, although in respect to *extraordinary art*, there be nothing exactly *unique* to mention,

As an interesting key-stone to this beautifully-constructed bibliomaniacal arch, we read, at the end, the following brief and pithy notice :

given to me by General Wade.

Burlington

The calligraphy is somewhat indifferent. The letter is large and gothic, but the ink is faded. The illuminations are fresh, perfect, and joyous: the borders sometimes exhibiting all the brilliancy of a *flower-garden*; and sometimes, in its *fruits*, almost realising the 'luscious' picture of the poet; 'presenting'

—— the downy peach; the shining plum;

The ruddy fragrant nectarine; and dark,

Beneath his ample leaf, the luscious fig.

The vine too here her curling tendrils shoots;

Hangs out her clusters (Thomson's *Autumn*, v. 675-9.)

But 'quo musa tendis? To balance (as painters call it) all this gaiety and luxuriance—and to remind the pious reader that there are more important things for human observance and human enjoyment, than hare-bells and grapes—the moral artist has introduced, in several of his borders, *deaths-heads*—touched (if an apparent Hibernicism may be indulged) to the very *life*! These ghastly emblems of mortality are generally found in borders of Flemish Missals of the period in which the present was executed. And thus say we farewell to 'the Missal, once the property of Henry VII. which has for a century enriched the Cavendish collection, and is at this moment highly treasured, as it deserves to be, by his GRACE THE DUKE OF DEVONSHIRE!'

yet, as regards general beauty, and the particular interest attached to this volume, I am quite certain that his Grace of Devonshire would never even endure the *thought* of exchanging it for *any* specimen—however rich, rare, and exquisite! Indeed, this Missal, and the Saxon one, written at the command of the *Great Ethelwold*, of which you may not have yet forgotten the description, are, I verily conceive, Book-Treasures, in the DEVONSHIRE COLLECTION, of such interest and singularity—that the wealth ‘of either Ind’ should never be said to outweigh them in value!

LISARDO. Bravo! I fully accord and sympathise with everything you say hereupon. Proceed with your era of Henry the Seventh.

PHILEMON. Indeed I have no particular formula or data connected therewith; but there must be many volumes, of the Missal kind, which were once in that monarch’s collection: * and it was about his period too, if I do not greatly err, that the fashion began to prevail of introducing *large subjects* in small volumes.†

* *many volumes of the Missal kind,—once in that monarch’s collection.*] To confirm both the conjecture of Philemon, and what has been advanced in the preceding note, the reader ‘is hereby informed’ that, among the Royal MSS. in the British Museum, (*Bibl. Reg.* 2 D. XL) there is a thin folio volume of *Hours*, of exceedingly delicate vellum, with a noble bottom and side margin, having a small text of only 18 lines—once the property of Henry VII—which exhibits vastly pretty side borders of fruits and flowers; worth the attention of any artist to copy, who is in pursuit of specimens of this nature. This beautiful book is imperfect at the beginning and end, and several leaves appear to be missing in other parts. Note; Casley, p. 37, carries this division of the royal MSS. only to 2 D XXXIX. He therefore appears to have overlooked the present volume; for a knowledge of which I am indebted to Mr. H. Ellis.

† *large subjects in small volumes.*] Among the *Harleian MSS.* (no. 2936) is a small octavo volume of *Horæ* particularly illustrative of the department of art above alluded to by Philemon. It contains all the excellences and all the defects of the style in question. Generally speaking, this style is harsh and offensive: for when the artists, employed in illuminating books, increased the size of their

LYSANDER. I do not exactly understand you.

PHILEMON. Simply thus. In devotional volumes of an octavo, or even sometimes of a duodecimo size, you shall see comparatively large subjects, but generally *half-lengths*, introduced so as to occupy nearly the whole page.

LORENZO. Do you happen to possess any specimen in the portfolios brought with you in your baggage-waggon?

PHILEMON. A droll conveyance for fac-similes of Missal-illuminations! But it so happens that I *do* possess a specimen—and a very striking one too—of the kind here alluded to; which completely exemplifies the style of art that I wish to submit to your consideration. The Missal from which it is taken, represents various leading events in the life of our Saviour—such as his *Birth, Adoration of the Magi, Circumcision, Crucifixion, &c.*—but among these larger subjects, there are none, if I remember rightly, which has a more *characteristic* appearance, which more emphatically, as it were, marks the touch and manner of composition of

figures, their defects seem to have increased in proportion. They had not sufficient knowledge of anatomy, nor sufficient management of light and shade, to render their larger performances so perfect as their smaller pieces appear to be. The book here particularly referred to is an exemplification of what we are speaking of. The border-ornaments are numerous and rich; but in the larger illuminations, they are only introduced at the bottom, and generally in one *colour*, relieved by gradations of shade. Sometimes we observe in them very pretty arabesques; but instead of *calligraphy*, we must be permitted to read *kakography*, as to the writing—which is in a roman character. Of its kind, however, this is rather a curious volume, with an occasional tenderness of touch not common in specimens of this character. Among the twelve larger illuminations, we observe, at fol. 66 rev. and fol. 67 recto, that eternal subject of graphic exercise—‘David and Bathsheba.’ As the figures are large half-lengths, we are prepared for extreme disgust. The countenance of Bathsheba, however, for once, happens to have (mirabile dictu!) a beautiful expression. But her total ‘lack of apparel’ hath not escaped the severe notice of some former possessor of the volume—who has left the following ‘marginal gloss’ thereupon, as a testimony of his utter abhorrence of such unseemly art: ‘*Pudet! Væ! Væ!*’ In the whole, 109 leaves.

the artist, than that of *our Saviour cleansing the Leper*; and which is here placed before you. The original graced the collection of the late Mr. Edwards.*



* *graced the collection of the late Mr. Edwards.*] My respectable neighbour, (and indefatigable collector of 'rich and rare' gems, in the department of book-illuminations) Mr. Bliss, is the present possessor of the volume here alluded to. It was purchased at the sale of Mr. Edwards's library; and is described summarily, but satisfactorily, at no. 825 of the Catalogue of the same. It is a thick broad duodecimo of *HOURS OF THE VIRGIN*; containing 13 larger illuminations—the subjects being in *half-lengths*, as above; and thirty-one borders of fruits and flowers, &c. Two of these borders, one representing the latter sufferings of our Saviour—and the second, the genealogy of the Virgin—

BELINDA. There is something, methinks, very striking in this manner of representing a subject—especially in smaller volumes of devotion; and I confess that my religious ardour would be rather *quickened* than *cooled* if my own *Prayer-Book* were embellished in a similar manner!

PHILEMON. I am not sure that this is quite orthodox, on your part: yet it cannot be denied that the giddy are oftentimes reclaimed, and the indifferent made serious, by spectacles of the like nature: especially when they adorn our chambers, or temples of worship, in the character of finished paintings. . . But this is digressive.

ALMANSA. Have you any thing else, of the same kind, to keep alive the admiration which we all feel by such exhibitions of ancient art? Be assured I shall have copies of them introduced into my own *Prayer Book*—whether heresy or orthodoxy be the result of such a measure!

are entitled to especial notice and commendation for the neatness and even minuteness of their finishing. It is not however on account of the borders—nor of the general excellence of the larger illuminations, of this volume, that I venture to congratulate my aforesaid ‘respectable neighbour and indefatigable collector of rich and rare gems in the department of book-illumination’—but on account (as indeed the above specimen may testify) of the *distinctive or peculiar character of art* which the latter display. Never were ‘Flemish Lads and Lasses’ more completely represented. Every character should seem to be a portrait: especially as in ‘The Descent of the Holy Spirit,’ and the ‘Announcing of the Birth of Christ:’ the latter consisting only of two Shepherds—one of whom, with the bagpipe under his arm, exhibits extraordinary individuality of character. In the ‘Adoration of the Magi,’ the two kings have very expressive physiognomies, and the subject is treated with something of dignity: but the ABOVE COPPER PLATE (executed by the faithful burin of Mr. Samuel Freeman) undoubtedly gives us, in the *Christ*, the finest countenance in the volume. The other figures partake of that poverty, or meagreness of execution, before alluded to: the turbaned figure, behind the woman, has the face muffled or concealed—probably from fear of contagion from the leper. The garment of Christ is gray; the leper’s turban is white: and the figure just mentioned has a gold turban, with the descending drapery in crimson. In the females, as in ‘The Annunciation,’ and ‘Salutation,’ there is considerable delicacy of expression. The condition of this curious little volume is most desirable. It was sold for 36*l.* 15*s.*

LISARDO. These are the ebullitions of mere female sensibility !

ALMANSA. And what has made Lisardo such a grave and solemn judge on a sudden ?

PHILEMON. I must not suffer this graphic conflict to proceed : as I am sure, in the end, whether your Prayer Books have, or have not, copies of such embellishments as have been this day submitted to you, your orisons will proceed from benevolent and pious hearts. So, with the waving of my sceptre, I dispel all controversy upon this head !

The same waving of the sceptre hath called forth another devotional tome, executed in the period in which we are now supposed to be gossiping ; but, in point of variety, richness, and number of embellishments, I hardly know *where* or *how* to class it. It is the *Roman Breviary possessed* by MR. DENT,* of which I now speak :—and perhaps

* *Roman Breviary possessed by Mr. DENT.*] During the sale of the library of the late Mr. Edwards, and more particularly just before the day on which the BEDFORD MISSAL was disposed of, Mr. Dent, (as Philemon has above correctly observed,) with all the parental fondness of the Owner of a choice treasure, brought down the Breviary under consideration—in company, I believe, with his Royal Highness the Duke of Gloucester—to see how far and how successfully a comparison of it, with the aforesaid Missal, would help to enhance or depreciate his own. The thought was a very natural one, but the action was probably a little indiscreet : as no lover of beautiful art would wish to see either the one or the other book *adumbrated* by the comparison ! For my own part, it seems to me that the two volumes can hardly be brought into competition with each other ; as their ages and styles of art are essentially different ; and as, in respect to the interest which an *Englishman* ought to feel, there can be no question about the superiority of the Bedford Missal.

My present business, however, is with ‘the Roman Breviary possessed by Mr. DENT.’ In the description of it, not a syllable shall be advanced, which, according to my humble apprehension, is not warranted by ‘every tittle of the case.’ This Breviary is without doubt a most resplendent and beautiful volume ; and the interlocutors above are justified in ‘the fine things’ they are pouring forth in commendation of it, from the specimen of art above adduced, and from the animated language of Philemon. It is about 9 inches in length, by nearly 6 and

you may remember, just previous to the sale of the *Bedford Missal*, about two years ago, how the enthusiastic owner of the said Breviary 'brought down' his rival treasure to com-

a half in width. The binding of it is singularly choice; it being the original—exquisitely covered, in a dark chocolate-colour calf, with minute arabesque ornaments, in blind tooling. The back is modern, but appropriate; and the interior is also in perfectly good taste—by the late C. Hering. This Breviary contains 523 leaves; every page having more or less of ornament; so that, collectively, here is such a body of illumination, as hardly any Missal, or other Breviary, can venture to match. No doubt these pages are executed with various degrees of skill; and it is quite evident that *three* artists, at least, have devoted their pencils to the decoration of the volume. Let us now therefore enter upon a description of this multifarious art-exhibiting tome. The Calendar is surrounded by broad borders, in which the various occupations of the season, as usual, are depicted: but the Calendar is the sorriest part of the volume—and we pass over it rapidly to fol. 8, rev. and 9, rect. where we observe very elaborate but Flemish art. The latter decoration exhibits *King David upon his death-bed*. A physician is examining the urinal: an angel is descending from above to receive his parting spirit. The colouring is brilliantly perfect. The recto of fol. 29, representing *the Nativity*, gives us the first refreshing specimen of the better art contained in this Breviary. The head of Joseph has peculiar dignity of expression. The colouring throughout is sober and subdued; yet it has evidently received some injury.

The *Adoration of the Magi*, by the same superior artist, occurs on the recto of folio 41. The head of Joseph is here again a very fine piece of painting: his habit is a deep chocolate colour. The background is very picturesque: being a large temple in ruins. At folio 63, the Almighty, in the act of forming the World, is floating in the air: a papal tiara is upon his head. Let us designate this costume, in the gentleness of our hearts, a *SLIGHT anachronism*! On the reverse of fol. 100, and recto of fol. 101, occur four small pieces, representing the night-scenes of the *Passion*, *Seizure*, *Betrayal*, and *Arraignment*, of Christ. Six similar small pieces, exhibiting the remainder of the striking events of our Saviour's life, up to his Crucifixion, immediately follow. The borders are sometimes vividly splendid. Subjects from the Bible, by the same artist, (decidedly different from him who executed the subjects on folios 29 and 41) within highly-wrought and elaborate borders, continue. Among these subjects, that representing the *Rich Man and Lazarus*, on folio 252, recto, is most singularly treated. The future destinies of the two characters form also distinct subjects of delineation. The rich man, naked and squallid, is tumbling upon a black globe, or ball, from which issues the fire of Hell to receive him: and this, too, precisely by the side of a marble terrace and balustrade—which flanks the chamber wherein he is banquetting, and around which the musicians are

pete with that magnificent and matchless volume! But there was nothing in common between the two volumes to make such comparison of any use or validity. For they were of

arranged—making the air re-echo to their trumpet-symphonies! Above, forming a powerfully-speaking contrast to the infernal scene below, is the spirit of Lazarus received into Abraham's bosom—amidst a choir of angels! Below, the same character, with his *clap-dish* (see this mode of treating the appearance of Lazarus—which was the usual one—represented in a wood-cut, of about the same date, in the *Bibl. Spenceriana*, vol. iv. p. 414) is approaching the banquet-room of the Rich Man—a dog jumping upon him as if to forbid his entrance.

In respect to borders of flowers, 'of a larger growth,' let that which encircles the page of folio 263, reverse, receive every praise. It is also fresh and uninjured. Yet the border which surrounds the subject of *Solomon delivering his Proverbs*, at folio 260, recto, has probably a more striking effect. On folio 293 we observe a very spirited representation of the *Martyrdom of St. Andrew*. On fol. 297, rect. is a figure intended for the *Portrait of St. Barbara*, sitting: the countenance is highly wrought, but the head is too large; the usual defect in all Flemish art of this period. This figure is by much the largest in the volume. The martyrdom of the same Saint is represented, in small, in the background. On the recto of folio 309, we are delighted with the beautiful representation of *St. John writing his Revelations in the island of Patmos*. The figure of the Saint, ABOVE EXHIBITED to his audience by Philemon, carries its own commentary with it! It is engraved by C. HEATH from an excellent copy by GEORGE LEWIS. A portion of the picture (from a consideration of the greatly increased expense) has been reluctantly omitted. It consists of visions of angels in the air, and two knights on horseback, by a river's side, below. The landscape, above the bank whereon the Saint sits, is touched and coloured with equal freedom and truth. Upon the whole, this is the choicest illumination in the volume; and we instantly recognise the pencil of the same artist who has previously (as at folio 29 and 41) charmed us by such admirable specimens of his skill. His pencil appears but once more in the volume.

On folio 314 reverse, is a brilliant little bit, representing the *Murder of Thomas a Becket*; within a fresh and sparkling border. On folio 348, is the very unusual subject of a representation of *St. Thomas Aquinas*: having a crucifix before him—an angel above, and two monks below. On the recto of folio 354 we are charmed with a vastly pretty illumination of the *Genealogy of the Virgin*; the back-ground is like scarlet fresh from the hands of the dyer! On folio 365, recto, begins a *new*, and *much inferior* style of art—as to the scriptural or legendary subjects introduced. The borders, however, are occasionally still more rich and imposing; as at folios 404, 405, 408, 412, 414, 418, 419, 421, 427, 431, &c. containing arabesques, with buds, or fruit, or precious stones, with a

different periods, as were also the calligraphy and the character of their ornaments. If I do not therefore go the full-length

back-ground of dark green, crimson, or blue. On the recto of folio 481, are some *Deaths' Heads* (a favourite ornament) executed with great delicacy and effect—but slightly injured. On the recto of folio 368, is a peculiarity worth noticing: the space, which *ought* to have been filled by a representation of *St. Catharine*, is left blank. Mr. Dent, I trust, will endeavour to get it supplied by a copy from some other clever figure, of the same character, executed about the same time. At folios 436-7, we discover the *GRANDEST ILLUMINATIONS* in the Breviary. The first folio has the reverse entirely filled with heraldic embellishments, representing the royal arms of *Ferdinand* and *Isabella* impaled, and emblazoned with all manner of appropriate decoration: the whole, as it were, beneath the protection of the wings of the royal eagle—with the motto 'SUB UMBRA ALARUM PROTEGE NOS.' Opposite to this blaze of splendor (being the recto of folio 437) we instantly recognise, at top, the pencil of the artist before so much praised, in the composition of the *Assumption of the Virgin*: a small, delicious, and perfectly enchanting specimen of art—in the finest possible state of preservation. Below, to the right of another rich piece of heraldic blazoning, (wherein we observe the arms of France quartered, on a blue ground) in letters of gold, in the gothic shape, we read the following very interesting memorandum: '*Dne. Elisabeth. Hispaniar[um]. et. Siscilie. Regine. &c. xpianissie. potentissie. semp[er] auguste. supreme. Dñe sue. clemētissime Franciscus De Roias eiusdē maiestatis huīllimus seruus. ac. creatura. optime de se merite. H[ic] . . . mariū . . . Hi . ex. obsequi . . . obtulit.*'

The latter part of this inscription is defaced, and I will not shew the folly of an awkward attempt at its restoration. From this important memorandum, or document, it is quite indisputable that one FRANCISCUS DE ROIAS, a Spaniard, caused this splendid volume to be executed for his royal mistress, Elizabeth (or Isabella) of Castille. Now as Ferdinand began to reign in 1474, and as Isabella died in 1504, we shall not long hesitate about the *date* of the execution of this Breviary. Let us say therefore somewhere towards the end of the *fifteenth century*. Who *Franciscus de Roias* was?—this deponent sayeth and knoweth nothing. Had he caused many similar tomes to be executed? If so, I wish they were reposing by the side of the present. I have not, however, yet done with the present tome. There are, as at folios 407 and 491, some pretty small female whole-lengths, with head-dresses of diadems or nets, and coloured with great delicacy and effect. Perhaps their heads are somewhat too large; but, as a whole, they form very interesting specimens of splendid female costume. It only now remains to observe, that the text of the volume is in a good style of calligraphy. The inks are red and black; and the character is a small neat gothic, each page being executed in double columns. And thus much (no stinted measure—I trust its owner will say!) for 'the *Roman Breviary* possessed by MR. DENT!

of admiration expressed by the Owner of the treasure now particularly alluded to, it is, because, having seen very many specimens of the like character, and wishing to exercise honestly the regal office which you have elected me to fulfil, I am disposed to speak of it exactly as its *various merit* seems to my humble judgment to justify.

It betrays at least *three* different styles or characters of art; and of these, unluckily, there are the fewest specimens of that which I conceive to be of the highest order. However, what *does* appear of this latter kind, if we except slight injuries, is really enchanting: and I hasten to lay before you a *portion* only of one of the few specimens here alluded to—which, could you but see the *whole*, you would allow to be among the most perfect of its kind. It represents *St. John in the Island of Patmos* writing his Revelations. Above, in the original, are visions in the air—delightfully managed.



ALMANSA. Beauteous representation of the Saint ! I will have *him* also for my liturgical collections.

LISARDO. I yield ; and can no longer resist the temptation of a similar embellishment.

ALMANSA. Victory !

LORENZO. Order ! Order ! Finish your account of this charming Missal.

PHILEMON. It only remains to observe that *every* page, of the *thousand pages* which it contains, is, more or less, decorated with border-ornaments ; and some of these decorations are absolutely as vivid and fresh as if they had been executed during the present Regency. You see, in a prodigious number of them, fruits, flowers, insects, precious stones, or arabesques, finished with a charming precision, and in perfect tenderness of colouring. And what gives it no small value is, that it contains elaborate heraldic illuminations, and an inscription which shews the volume to have been executed either by the pencil, or ‘at the costs and charges,’ of one FRANCISCUS DE ROIAS—for *Isabella* the Queen of Ferdinand, who was King of Spain and Sicily.

BELINDA. Precious monument of upwards of three centuries execution ! And in original vigour too—unknowing decay !?

PHILEMON. Not exactly so ; for there are, in too many instances, tokens of injury which must have arisen from the sheer carelessness of some former possessor. At present, Bramah’s lock and key properly guard it from the hands of the profane ! While we are warmed with the notice of these treasures, executed chiefly by Flemish artists, let me place quietly before you—taken from a similar treasure of still more *generally perfect art* * — a specimen or two from

* *a similar treasure, of still more generally-perfect art.*] The public are not

an extraordinary volume, of a small octavo size, which, only lately, hath challenged the admiration of the curious. What is singular, and of which I do not remember another in-

wholly unacquainted with this 'similar treasure'; as a very animated, and not violently over-charged, description of its beauties will be found in the *Catalogue of Messrs. Longman, Hurst, and Co.* 1816, 8vo. no. 6284. That account begins with stating that 'the beauties of this volume are of a description so dazzling, that words alone cannot convey the ideas requisite to form a conception of its singular attractions.' This may be true; but the 'dazzling' price attached to it—*Two Hundred and Fifty Pounds*—naturally begets a supposition that its 'attractions' ought to be of a very 'singular' nature indeed! I will be free to confess that, as a specimen of Flemish art, 'take it for all in all,' I have never seen its 'like' before or since. There is however a somewhat curious piece of *secret history* belonging to this 'attractive' octavo. It was left as a legacy to a charitable institution; that is to say, *Messrs. John and Arthur Arch*, booksellers, were first in possession of it, for the purpose of accounting to the trustees of the charity for the produce of the sale thereof: and *Four Hundred Pounds* was the original 'dazzling' price affixed to it, by one, or more, of the said trustees. At my suggestion, *Messrs. Arch* conveyed it to His Grace the Duke of Devonshire; with the idea that its extraordinary merit might possibly induce that nobleman to become its possessor. But the owner of the *Henry VIIth Missal* (described at p. cliv, ante) needed not an additional specimen of fine Flemish art; and His Grace declined the proposed acquisition. While in the possession of *Messrs. Arch*—as the trust-owners of the volume appeared to be fearful of the air of heaven 'visiting it too rudely'—Mr. Hodgetts (the artist who made the copies from the Boccaccio of Mr. Coke—see note at p. xiii, ante) was sent to make copies of the originals for the purpose of the ANNEXED ENGRAVINGS. Mr. Hodgetts completed his task faithfully. The larger portrait has a dark green back-ground: the countenance of the man is pallid, but of a brownish hue. His hat is black, as is the scarf upon his shoulders; the pudding sleeves beneath are brown; but the arms are clothed in crimson sleeves, relieved by a yellowish tint. The same dress appears in the smaller picture: the altar is draped in red crimson, with a green border: the stool is a brown oak colour: the monument beneath the feet of the man is brass: the visionary appearance of the lower part of the crucified Saviour is touched according to nature: the back-ground is blue and stone-colour.

But—the '*secret history*.' Thus then it is. On a sudden, without any specific notice, and without any alleged reason, this bijou of Flemish illumination-art was 'whistled out' of its snug resting place in the cabinet of *Messrs. Arch*—and found itself, to its utter surprise, among the treasures of *Messrs. Longman and Co.*—who, on their parts, had nothing to do with its previous destination, but received it, as a matter of course, on return, as an article for sale. From 400*l.* it leaped down to 250*l.* in value: yet this latter was much too 'high above the earth' to

stance, it is preceded by a *Portrait of the Patron*, apparently, who rewarded the artist for his execution of the volume. Allow with me that there is at least a great deal of *character*, or individuality, in this Portrait; although it may not exactly remind us of the countenance of the Belvidere Apollo!*

LORENZO. Singular indeed! *He* shall have a place in my interminable Collection of Portraits. I wish we knew his

render its situation secure; or, rather, its removal certain. Mr. John North, of whose cabinet of bijoux the reader will have pretty strong evidence in the pages of this 'FIRST DAY,' went, also at my request, to inspect this magnetic missal. He offered a liberal price, much however below the *printed* one; with which offer the vendors or trustees of the treasure did not think themselves justified in complying. The worthy gentleman, whose portrait accompanies this description, and which occupies the reverse of the first leaf, next found himself, on a sudden, the property of Messrs. Gordon and Forster; and the first punishment inflicted upon the feelings of this worthy gentleman, was, to send the volume, which was 'in the original stamped binding,' as properly noticed in the Catalogue of Messrs. Longman and Co—to be stripped of its old coating, and put into a green velvet and more spruce exterior! Such a proceeding was little short of rank barbarism: and it is said that mister Charles Lewis, on receiving instructions to perform the operation, started backwards 'three paces and mo'—while 'the lights' in his workshop 'burnt blue!!' However, the deed was done: off went the stamped covers—and on came the green velvet: and a more medley compound—a more infelicitous mixture of January and May—never came across 'the ken' of the collector. To conclude this 'mysterious' history—the said volume, with the said demi-apple, and demi-pea, green exterior, now adorns the cabinet of
. see p. . . . , ante. Its interior beauties are yet undiminished; and I long had the wish, but never the means, of putting the finishing stroke to this inadequate description, by treating the reader with an engraving, from the burin of Freeman, which should represent the spirits of martyrs and confessors, naked, and standing upright upon the backs of prostrate angels, in the act of approaching the divine presence—with hands folded in prayer and adoration. It is a very singular subject, and executed in the very best style of the artist. But—my hopes, long indulged, have now sunk into despair—and thus it is that

'Clouds obscure the brightest sky,
And night succeeds to day.'

The Poems of Nicolas Grimault, 1693, 8vo. p. 18.

* See the OPPOSITE PLATE.





Cheney

UNKNOWN PORTRAIT.

From a Flemish Manuscript of the XVIth Century.

London: Published for the Rev^d T. F. Dibdin April 1817.

PRINTED BY J. ALLEN

name; but are you *sure* that he is the Patron—as you designate him to be?

PHILEMON. Why I draw such inference is, that you observe evidently the same man (for the countenance cannot be mistaken) kneeling at the foot of the altar, in the first principal illumination. ‘Here he is!’—as we used to read in the chap-books of our infancy—



LYSANDER. There can be no doubt of the accuracy of the observation. These hitherto unknown miniature portraits, of an ancient date, are vastly pleasing. Probably you have a yet further specimen or two of the same kind?

PHILEMON. Has Lysander become unconscionable? But while I think of it, I *do* happen to possess something of a

like nature; although evidently of a different class of character. What say you to this *Knight of the Golden Fleece*, 'armed from top to toe?'



LISARDO. Better and better still. From what quarter has such an interesting gem been taken?

PHILEMON. From a Missal, of probably the latter end of the fifteenth century;* and what gives the subject an

* a Missal, of probably the latter end of the fifteenth century.] This missal is the property of Mr. Henry Broadley, of Ferriby, near Hull. It merits precisely the eulogy pronounced upon it by Philémon: making up, by its genuine, unsophisticated appearance, for its comparative deficiency in the higher branches of art. It is a small, thick folio; of about 11 inches by 7 and six-eighths. The binding is in the original dark calf, with stamped ornaments, in four compartments, on the exterior: and luckily, in the centre of them, we read the name of the book-binder, 'IOHANNES GVILEBERT.' Of the birth, parentage, and education of this man, perhaps nothing can now be known. The sensible and

additional interest, is, that it is the Portrait of a Knight of the Golden Fleece, who went on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem—never to return! Nor is there any other portrait of him known to exist. The volume, in which this singular embellishment is contained, is remarkable rather for the purity

sympathising reader will immediately call to mind Gray's affecting line: 'Full many a flower is born to blush unseen.' But for the Missal. The calendar has nothing in it remarkable. The first illumination, upon the first page of the text, exhibits the singular curiosity of St. John writing his Gospel, or Revelations; while the Devil, in the shape of a green and yellow-coloured monster, with long horns, and a spiked back, approaches slyly, and *turns over* the Evangelist's *inkstand*:—the ink is seen poured upon the ground, but the Saint seems wholly unconscious of the 'sly trick' of the fiend.

About 20 leaves onward, we come to the illumination of which the chief portion is given in the ANNEXED PLATE. The character, above represented, is said, in a ms. memorandum prefixed, to be 'ADRIEN DE TOULONGION, a Knight of the Golden Fleece, who died on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem'—and further, that 'the book was written at his request, during his absence in the holy land'—also, that the portrait of him, here given, is the only one known to exist.' It is, luckily, the largest and best executed illumination in the volume; being about 7 inches in height, by 3 and a quarter in width, exclusively of the brown and gold border. Above the knight, is an angel bearing his coat armour on a shield, quarterly, first and fourth, barry of 6 argent and gules: second and third, barry of 6, wavy or and gules: crest, on a helmet a leopard's head, langued. The bed of the knight, delicately tinted in light blue, is between the table and the shield. An open window, to the left, shews us two peacocks strutting before a red house. The floor of the room is in square compartments of green marble. The sur-coat of the knight is covered with his quarterings as above. His armour and helmet are steel. The cloth upon the table is brown, relieved by gold. The greyhound is white, with a red collar. There are some slight indications of injury in this charming relic of portrait-painting; not however of a nature to discompose the philosophy of its owner—in whom, I verily believe, concentrate both the wish and the means of acquiring a collection of choice old art which shall rank him among the ATTICUSES of the day! The initial letters in this fine antique volume are in a grave but rich style: the borders are common-place and rather indifferent: but among the *subjects*, note that, in particular, within about 12 leaves of the end; representing our Saviour sitting upon his cross, with the carpenters, at each end, preparing it for his execution. The costume of the heads of the latter is rather singular; and the countenance of the lower one, who is boring a hole with an augre, and staring at the same time in the face of our Saviour, is an admirable attempt at the expression of bare-faced, insulting, impudence. The writing of this missal is in a large sharp gothic character, with the titles in red. The age of the book may possibly be as early as 1480

of its vellum, and the soundness of its condition, than for the brilliancy of its calligraphy or illuminations. Yet, if I remember rightly, it is in its ancient binding, and possesses altogether so genuine an air, that I could readily compound for a little defectiveness of graphic skill.

You must here remember, that all the Illuminated Volumes of devotion, just mentioned, are executed in a **GOthic CHARACTER**; and are, generally speaking, remarkable for one and the same style of (Flemish) art. To submit further notices of similar treasures would answer very little purpose: nor indeed would the time allow of it, were I disposed to make the experiment. Therefore, just recalling to your memory the missals of this character, which you lately saw in the possession of Messrs. *Triphook*, *Wurtz*, and *Jarman*,* and which are of nearly equal merit with most of

* *Missals—in the possession of Messrs. Triphook, Wurtz, and Jarman.*] We will first dispatch Mr. *TRIPHOOK*'s Missal. I hardly know when I have seen anything, for its dimensions, and style of art, more curious and attractive. This bijou measures little more than 5 inches in height by about 4 in width. It appears, from a date, to have been executed in 1527 for one of the Sforzas, Dukes of Milan: and is an **OFFICE OF THE VIRGIN** after the use of the Metropolitan church of Rome. The writing is in roman letters: and the whole is in Latin, with the exception of a prayer, against private enemies, composed in the Italian language, at the end, in 7 pages. It is difficult to describe the *exact* character of art which this singular volume displays. In the minuteness, variety, richness, and even prodigality of ornament, in the *border-decorations*, I am not sure whether it do not unite the delicate capriccios of Francesco Veronese with the powers of colouring displayed in the similar ornaments of Mr. Dent's Missal. The illuminations, from the usually selected subjects of scripture, are at times quite extraordinary: exhibiting the peculiarity of touch and power of colouring, displayed in the countenances of Rubens, with the angular-folded style of drapery particularly used by Albert Durer. There is at times a sort of gaiety of composition: as in the figure, with the plumed hat, in the background of the subject of the *Salutation*—which reminds us of the decorations in the *Tewerdancks*. The *heads* are frequently full of pathos and expression; as that of the larger Shepherd, in the annunciation of the Nativity; and more particularly the head of the dying Saviour upon the cross. In such a galaxy of luminaries, the eye can with difficulty dwell upon an individual star: but, let the lover of all that is

the preceding—and, at the same time, earnestly advising you not to *multiply* copies of a similar complexion—I proceed to close this *Missal-Discussion* by the notice of two or three

curious and precious look carefully upon the *Circumcision*—its general brilliancy, and the management of the gold upon the woman, offering the basket, to the left, in particular: let him also contemplate the blaze of splendour in which the *Annunciation*, *Nativity*, *Adoration of the Magi*, &c. are executed and enveloped by their borders—and, equally interesting with either, the *Agony of our Saviour in the Garden of Gethsemane*—what then? Why, let him do this, and he cannot fail, instinctively and irresistibly, to throw down *forty sovereigns* for this treasure; and march home with it triumphantly in his pocket.

Next comes the Missal of Mr. WURTZ. That worthy bibliopolist shewed me the missal under discussion, when he was over in this country for the purpose of setting ‘springes for [bibliomaniacal] woodcocks.’ It is a broad octavo, written in a large gothic type; and its chief beauty consists in the purity of its vellum, and the truth and freshness of its ornaments. The borders are chiefly fruits and flowers, with an occasional display of precious stones and pearls; the latter very delicately managed upon a green back-ground. We see frequently the words *FORS VOUS* in these borders: of which I will not pretend to give an explanation. Upon the whole, although there be nothing decidedly pre-eminent in this volume, it possesses, nevertheless, such general beauty and perfection of condition—the colours are so fresh and fair, and the style of art (Flemish) so uniform and attractive—that, as a specimen of graphic skill, of the period under consideration, I should be well disposed to give it a very choice and ‘snug birth’ in a cabinet devoted to productions of the like character. It remains to notice a very blazing book-star, of the same description, in the possession of M. JARMAN, jeweller, in the Strand. An enthusiastic admirer of illuminated missals sent me ‘post haste’ to observe this said ‘blazing star:’ and I will be free to admit that its rays at first nearly dazzled me! Yet a second examination shewed me the fallacy of the first impression. There is more of gaudiness than of grandeur, more of obtrusive and sometimes even coarse decoration, than of delicate and accurate composition, throughout this volume. The pages are, as it were, overcharged with embellishment; and *quantity*, has been too often mistaken for *quality*, of colouring. There are, however, very many collectors who need not be afraid or ashamed of calling Mr. Jarman’s Missal a resplendent and heart-rejoicing tome.

But before we take leave of these precious bijoux, wherein *Flemish Art* appears to rather unusual advantage, let me occupy two further moments of the reader’s time, by the mention of an exquisite volume, of this description, in the possession of Messrs. PAYNE AND FOSS; recently obtained by them, and valued at the price of *Sixty Guineas*—be the same sum meted out in the *new* coinage of silver, or of gold! I admit unequivocally the extreme tenderness, beauty, and

singularly lovely and precious productions, executed by Italian or French Artists, and written in the ROMAN CHARACTER.

LORENZO. Talk not of time—when we are impatient for instruction like that which you are now imparting!

LISARDO. When vellum, purple or white, oak-covers, beautiful writing, and yet more beautiful *art*, be the theme—away with . . .

LYSANDER. Gently, I beseech you. Have you no mercy upon the lungs of Philemon?—and are not your eyes dazzled ‘even unto blindness’ by the sparkling gems which have been already displayed?

PHILEMON. I will spare the reply of Lisardo. For myself, know then, faithful and affectionate subjects, that my lungs are yet untouched, and my desire of communication yet unabated. The attention and admiration which you are pleased to bestow, are glorious incentives for a renewal of the *Missal-Theme*!

condition of this gothic-written missal: but it has suffered a little from the gentle pressure of some devotee’s (shall we say female’s?) finger and thumb—or thumb and finger—which ever mode of expression please the reader best. The borders are composed generally of fruits and flowers; and sometimes the scriptural subjects are surrounded by, or rather embedded in, *shells*. These subjects have now and then great *spirit* as well as *delicacy*: and that of the three young men, pursued by three figures of death (see a similar representation in the *Typog. Antiq.* vol. ii. p. 102) is really a master-piece of art. This choice devotional manual is a present ‘fit for a Queen;’ and, if so, for a Princess—whether her name be CHARLOTTE or MARY! Yet again; if, from the pressure of the times, (for Poverty, like Death, seems now-a-days ‘equally to rap at the gate of the palace and the door of the cottage’) there should not be a disposition to ‘mete out’ the ‘*sixty-guinea*’ measure aforesaid, possible it is that the beauteous little missal tome, in the same collection, executed in what is called *cameo gris*—and of very uncommon occurrence in this character—may, for TWELVE GOLDEN SOVEREIGNS, adding *twelve shillings* thereto (auncientlye cyleped GUINEAS) be considered a very eye and heart-soothing substitute! Indeed, I hold this *cameo-gris* production to be worthy a place in the choicest cabinet.

See!—what a galaxy of beauty and splendour does this specimen convey! Well may you be amazed. Know, therefore, that this glorious representation of the *Assumption of the Virgin* is taken from a Missal, or Office of the Virgin, (now in the possession of Sir M. M. SYKES, Bart.*) which

* a Missal—in the possession of Sir M. M. Sykes, Bart.] With what peculiar propriety does the account of Missals, written in the *Roman character*, commence with the present most exquisite specimen!? And how much does it redound to the book-spirit, taste, and enterprise of the present amiable and excellent possessor of the same treasure, that he ‘determined never to lose sight,’ ‘never to keep his eye off,’ the very volume which forms the subject of our discourse!? Such was the sentiment—and such the language, of Sir Mark. I own that, as a *whole*, nothing has yet approached it, in my humble estimation, of the period in which it was executed. But who was the artist? ‘Ay, there’s the rub;’ and what a fine fellow must that FRANCIS have been, who seems to have kept constantly upon the ‘alert’ a host of painters and illuminators, who have propagated his fame in colours as glowing as those which were exhibited upon their own canvas and vellums. But to the task. And yet reader, let me, in the very simplicity of my heart, just mention to thee how often, some twelve years ago, at the *sign of the Horace’s Head* (not ‘of the Sun’) in Fleet-Street, I have ‘stopped, gazed, and admired,’ with this beauteous tome beneath my eye! How often I have ‘sighed and looked, and sighed again,’ to become the possessor of such a treasure! Tedious digression—the book!

I obey. First however, as to its history: for most curious books have something, both extrinsic and intrinsic, belonging to them worth imparting. It was originally, beyond all doubt, the property of FRANCIS the FIRST; and expressly executed for that monarch. The letter F surmounted by a crown: the regal arms of France: the device of the *Salamander* (sometimes accompanied with the motto ‘*Nutrisco et extinguo*’) each, and altogether, unequivocally demonstrate its ‘rightful Lord.’ . . . What would I give—or rather *not* give—for a catalogue of the Books of Francis, and more particularly for a knowledge of the *secret history* of their dispersion? No matter: this volume of THE OFFICE OF THE BLESSED VIRGIN, after a lapse of two centuries and a half, came into the possession of the Duke de la Valliere, and was sold at his sale, in 1783, for 3000 livres. It was purchased by Mons. Paris; and of him by Mr. Edwards; and at the sale of the *Parisian* library it became the property of Mons. Laurent, a bookseller at Paris, for 109*l.* 4*s.* From the hands of M. Laurent it came into those of Mr. White, of Fleet-Street, who put it up to auction in 1804, and *bought it in* again for 115*l.* 10*s.* Sir Mark purchased it of Mr. White, for a sum a little beyond that last mentioned: and it now adorns the splendid library of *Sledmere*. Thus much for its history.

Secondly, for its appearance, and the character of its illuminations. Mons. De

was formerly the closet-companion of FRANCIS THE FIRST ; it having been, beyond all doubt, expressly executed for that monarch. Much as you may admire it, I am not sure

Rome, who, of all book-binders, is surely 'damn'd to everlasting fame,' hath shewn the trenchant propensities both of his taste and steel-instruments, by trimming, what was formerly a goodly quarto, down to the dimensions of a disproportionate octavo : and, in such 'trimming,' hath chosen to cut away, without remorse, very many of the marginal decorations of this lovely Book of Offices : arabesques, the rose, or the lily, by him 'nullo discrimine agetur.' Like a good tailor he cuts away, and cares not how many 'interposing sylphs' are dismembered by his operations. The frontispiece of the book bears the following title : OFFICIUM BEATÆ MARIE VIRGINIS—in roman capitals of gold and ultramarine blue, admirably executed. An oval, surrounded by flowers, with a cherubic head at top and at bottom, is the accompanying ornament. Four pages, having a brown and gold-corded border, follow—with two initial F's, surmounted by a crown, below each page. The *second* of these pages only is filled by a beautiful piece of heraldic painting, containing the arms of some ancient owner of the volume. On the reverse of the 3d leaf, appears the *first grand illumination*, representing a whole length figure of *St. Nicholas* (5 inches and three quarters in height) with the *three children in a basket*. The *St. Veronica sudarium* hangs at the bottom of the Saint's garment. The expression, drawing, and colouring of the whole, together with the tenderness of the back-ground, cannot be surpassed. The 5th leaf is blank. The calendar terminates on the reverse of the 17th leaf. The *Annunciation*, on the recto of the 18th leaf, is exceedingly well managed in its accessories ; but we instantly acknowledge the inferiority of the *subject*, in touch, colour, and composition, to that which has just before so much enchanted us. It is worth observing, however, that the same pencil, which executed the *Annunciation*, appears no where again throughout the volume : while the artist who designed the *Salutation*, on the reverse of fol. 27, and the *Nativity*, on the reverse of fol. 37, appears to be one and the same with him to whom we are indebted for the *frontispiece*.

However, we quickly recognise the 'cunning' hand of the *St. Nicholas* ILLU-MINATOR, in every one of the remaining subjects : *Shepherds keeping Watch* : *Adoration of the Magi* : *Circumcision* : *Flight into Egypt* : *Assumption* : (see the ACCOMPANYING PLATE.) *Angel appearing to David* : *Raising of Lazarus* : *The Trinity* : *Francis, in the character of St. Louis, touching for the Evil*. In the whole, 100 leaves of text, with 20 lines in a full page ; written in rather a full size character, but hardly approaching to calligraphy. Of each of these illuminations, let not the reader expect a detailed account : the vocabularies of the English, French, Italian, Spanish, and German languages, collectively, would hardly furnish terms adequate to describe their 'rich and rare apparel.' Whatever is radiant in colour, and soft in tint—whatever is lovely in the human form, or graceful in the disposition of drapery—whatever brightens or obumbrates





THE SCENE OF A RECONCILIATION

Engraving of the SCENE OF A RECONCILIATION formerly belonging to the Duke of Devonshire, and now in the possession of Sir M. M. C. C. C.

that even better specimens might not have been selected. Yet, methinks, what you here behold, * unites the dignity of *Poussin* with the tenderness of *Murillio*!

ALMANSA. Surely we have here the very perfection of the art. *Francesco Veronese* himself seems eclipsed.

PHILEMON. Not exactly so, either: although it might be with difficulty that you could produce many more striking specimens. What I particularly admire in the Missal here alluded to, is, that uniform classical taste in the borders of the pictures—which balance, by the sobriety of their tones, the vivid masses of colour in which the *Scriptural Subjects* themselves are clothed within the said borders. In this transporting volume, almost every page of which is beaming with the golden initial, and *Salamander*-device, of FRANCIS, we observe almost every-thing which renders art perfect: and if the *writing* be of secondary merit, the illuminations can yield to nothing superior.

LYSANDER. What can you say further? and how can we be interested in any additional specimen of art, after what we have just seen?

PHILEMON. Say you so? Look only at *a few pages* in the stupendous ‘volume of Creation.’ Because yonder forest waves its dark-green masses, or yonder mountain is gleaming with the thousand half tints of a setting sun, shall the meadow cease to attract by its velvet surface, or the rivulet

landscapes—whatever makes the clouds to float in fleecy masses, or causes the ray to dart from heaven—whatever gives character, expression, life and soul, to composition and colouring, are here—nearly in their pristine state: with the exception of the last subject, which has been much rubbed. And if artists, called upon to adorn *modern Prayer Books*, seek for appropriate decorations, they must look with no indifferent (shall I add an hopeless?) eye upon the illuminations of this devotional volume. O rare FRANCIS! and more than thrice fortunate, (‘terque quaterque beatus’) SIR MARK MASTERMAN SYKES, BART!!

* See the OPPOSITE PLATE.

to charm by its silvery windings? Has the lily, or primrose of the valley, no characteristic beauty?—and because yonder cedar of Libanus is vast and umbrageous, are we to withhold our admiration from the beech or the pine?

BELINDA. What does all this lead to?

PHILEMON. I will instantly extricate you from the labyrinth into which you seem to think I have enticed you. Has Belinda no love of a cottage, because a palace is a much grander abode?

BELINDA. My wonder and perplexity increase. Give us the moral of all this fabling.

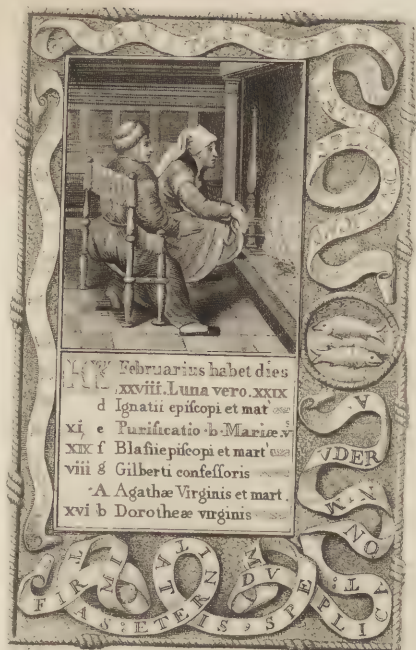
PHILEMON. 'If you have eyes,' prepare to open them now. Look at these charming little bits of nature, both in grove, meadow, and mountain!

BELINDA. I feel the force of your mode of reasoning; and admire the process by which you conduct us from the grand to the simple.

PHILEMON. Here are my humbler scenes! Here are my rivulets, my lilies, and my beechen groves! What you are now looking at,* are taken from a tiny and fairy-like volume of the *Office of the Virgin* in the possession of Mr. NORTH;† and these subjects are part of those which constitute the *Calendar*.

* See the OPPOSITE PLATE.

† *Office of the Virgin, in the possession of Mr. North.*] The further we proceed, the more thickly strewed with flowers seem to be the banks and bye-ways through which we pass. The birds carol lustily in the branches, and all creation wears a heart-soothing appearance! To what can this tend? Briefly this. After the *warm colouring* of the preceding note, has the reader any expectation of witnessing richer hues? After the glow of *Titian*, will he sigh for the splendor of *Rubens*? I know not: but the same reader is hereby informed, that the present exquisite bijou, of the devotional kind, 'is by far the most exquisite of the *Italian illuminated Offices*, that Mr. Edwards ever had an opportunity of obtaining.' So says Mr. Evans; *Bibl. Edwardsiana*, no. 829. And what was the result of such 'saying,' added to the 'tale' which the volume itself told? Mr.



Fac. Similes from a Calendar prefixed to the OFFICE OF THE VIRGIN:

printed at the Year 1620.

from an Original, in the possession of John North Esq.

ALMANSA. If the *opening* of this precious volume be thus attractive, what must be the character of the more serious and elaborate embellishments?

BELINDA. Pray, good Philemon, indulge us with one of these latter, to which my Sister alludes. Shew us only *one* more rivulet, or primrose, or beech-tree!

John North became the purchaser of it for 120*l*. Only 3 inches and a half in height, and scarcely 2 and a quarter in width, this 'most exquisite' manual produced ONE HUNDRED AND TWENTY POUNDS!! What is to be done, gentle reader?

To describe each illumination, the subjects being nearly the same as those of the preceding volume, would be useless. The *Calendar* speaks for itself in the accompanying plate. Such a series of apposite illumination, for the several months, surely never was before beheld! 'The writing (says Mr. Evans, very truly) is admirable, and the border most playfully ornamented, in the best style, with devices and mottos, for the family for which it was executed.' These borders are so various, that no two alike are to be found in the volume. They are invariably upon a *lilac tinted* ground; and sometimes we observe ornaments upon them; in *ultramarine*, which, for their splendor, absolutely defy description. The management of the *gold*, in the arabesque frames, or borders, of brown, red, or blue, (as we observe in the *plate of the Assumption*, above given by Philemon) is perfectly enchanting. The subjects themselves, though small, and sometimes rather fully occupied by figures, are conceived and executed with surprising delicacy and precision. I have doubts however whether the artist be Italian, Flemish, or French. In point of *style*, we do not witness that decidedly *Italian* character which marks the previously-described volume. The condition of this DEVOTIONAL MANUAL is equally matchless with its general merit. It is, of all things, 'most fit' for the book-boudoir of such a fairy queen as Shakspeare's TITANIA! But mortals of 'grosser habit' well know how to appreciate its worth; and Mr. North hath my hearty congratulations on the possession of such a jewel of calligraphy and illumination!

The present may probably be a fit place, while upon the subject of *tiny* tomes of devotion, executed in the Roman letter, to make brief mention of a very extraordinary volume of this kind, lately in the possession of the Rev. Mr. Arnold, of Corpus College, Oxford. It measured a little more than *an inch and a half in length*, by *an inch and one eighth in width*; in a gold filigree binding, with silver clasps: all studded with *rose-diamonds*. There were 12 lines of calligraphy in each full page. The initials had merit of their kind, and so had the illuminations of the months and other subjects—which were the size of the full page. It was not however free from injury. (Might not this be made a pretty ring-companion to the PETRARCH, noticed at p. cxxxii, ante?) The whole was contained in a silk bag, with rough gold exterior, and strings and tassels of gold. It was once the property of a family at Genoa; and was sold by Mr. Sotheby for about 35*l*.

PHILEMON. Readily; and the more so, as the subject you are about to view, is the same as that to which your attention has been recently directed: I mean, the *Assumption of the Virgin*. She is here, with every hue, tint, and colour, that can irradiate her person, and add splendour to her admission into heaven. And yet, in the original, with what infinitely superior attractions does she seem to 'seek the skies!'



LYSANDER. I retract all that I have said; and will never in future be sceptical about the increased interest to be kept up by exhibitions of this nature.

BELINDA. And I as freely confess my unqualified admiration of beech as well as of cedar!

ALMANSA. Never, in future, will I overlook velvet meads and meandering streams !

LISARDO. My hermitage shall be built in the humble valley, 'where the hare-bells and violets grow'—and not in immeasurable forests of waving pine !

PHILEMON. Good. But it is now really time to say farewell to Missals ! Yet, would that I could conjure up, by the waving of my sceptre, the two magnificent and extraordinary volumes of this description which adorn the libraries of *Magdalen* and *Christ Church Colleges*, at Oxford !

LISARDO. What are these ?

PHILEMON. They were formerly the property of CARDINAL WOLSEY,* having been executed expressly for his

* *formerly the property of CARDINAL WOLSEY.*] That day was surely to be marked with a 'white stone' in which I saw—first, at *Magdalen College*, under the direction of the very learned and amiable President thereof, Dr. Routh ; and secondly, at *Christ Church College*, accompanied by my 'excellent bibliographical friend,' the Revd. H. Cotton—(owner of the '*Kele-printed Christmas Carols*,' aforesaid ; see p. cvii) the two devotional volumes above noticed by Philemon, and once the property of the proud and magnificent WOLSEY. These two volumes strongly resemble each other in the respective styles of art in which they are executed. The *Magdalen* copy was deposited there by the Cardinal, as he had been formerly a bursar of the same College. The *Christ Church* copy contains, in the whole, 45 leaves : having 18 lines of roman letter in a full page. The vellum is thick, but with a soft surface. The ample margin reminds us of the broad brim of the Cardinal's own hat. On folio 32 we read the date of 1528 : with the initials T C at top—having a crown surmounted with Wolsey's crest of a lion's head, in blue. On the reverse of fol. 27, are two groups of angels in a delicious style of execution ; but the art, I submit, is Flemish or German, as we witness much of the Albert Durer manner in the foldings of the draperies. The borders, however, and especially the CAPITAL INITIALS, could have been executed by no other hands than those of an *Italian*. The latter are almost without a rival : and in the former, fruits, flowers, pearls, and precious stones, are executed upon a rich dark ground, in a manner perfectly enchanting. The larger subjects, from Scripture, have comparatively less merit. The figures are generally short, and coarsely executed ; and the management of the gold, or gilding, is usually unsuccessful. This criticism, feeble and inadequate as I know it to be, must be considered as equally applicable to *both* copies. Warton (*Hist. Eng. Poet.* vol. iii. p. 146) has a slight but commendatory notice of the *Christ Church* copy ; appearing to be ignorant of that in *Magdalen College*.

private devotions. I have no specimen of them at hand ; but believe me when I tell you, that, for splendour, classical propriety of ornament, especially in the *initial letters*, and general magnificence of execution, I know of nothing, of the period to which they relate, that eclipses them. They are also among the very largest with which I am acquainted ; if we except that extraordinary volume, executed about the end of the *Seventeenth Century*, which is to be seen in the *Public Library of Rouen*.* One would imagine the longest life inadequate to the completion of the latter—which however I understand is rather elaborate than exquisite. And thus take we leave of devotional volumes !

LORENZO. Forgive a question, if it be intrusive. But tell me, why, during your whole discussion upon theological volumes of calligraphical celebrity, you have omitted to notice, what has been always represented to me as commanding especial admiration, *copies of the Bible written in Hebrew !!* The JEWISH MSS. are surely deserving of mention.

PHILEMON. Undoubtedly ; but I have paid the less attention to them, as well from my ignorance of the language

* *seen in the public library at Rouen.*] Several of my friends, in their late continental excursions, have described to me this portly and even elephantine volume : measuring about *three English feet in height* ! The title of it, which attests the name of the *Calligraphist* and *Illuminator*, D'EAUBONNE, is thus : ' Graduale ad usum regalis monasterii S. Audoeni, ordinis S. Benedicti, congregationis S. Mauri. Pro solemnioribus totius anni festivitibus scribebat Parisiis Dom. Dan D'Eaubonne, ejusdem congregationis monachus M.DC.LXXXII.

[Obiit Parisiis die xi Feb. 1714.]

' The Roman character, in which it is written, (says my friend Mr. Petrie) as well as the musical notes, both an inch in height, are admirably executed. The illuminations also are finely done ; and sometimes a subject is entirely painted in relief, in one colour ; as crimson, purple, &c. It has besides much splendid gilding. This stupendous monument of graphical labour is said to have cost the Benedictine artist who accomplished it full 30 years of incessant application ! Quære — whether any account of DOM D'EAUBONNE be to be met with ?

in which they are written, as from a custom which I learn to be extremely prevalent—namely, the execution of *modern copies*, with so much nicety and truth, that the deception is scarcely to be detected. Yet the *MS. of the Pentateuch* lately possessed by MR. SAMS,* must be considered a glorious exception. . . . Now then for CHRONICLES and ROMANCES !

* *MS. of the Pentateuch lately possessed by Mr. Sams.*] Mr. Joseph Sams, an enterprising, respectable, and successful bookseller of Darlington, near Durham, was pleased, in the benevolence of his heart, to call upon me, more than once, in order to give a minute and faithful description of the extraordinary manuscript under consideration. Mr. Sams is an ardent bibliopolist in the pursuit of *antiques*, whether as MSS. or printed books—but he sometimes suffers his enthusiasm (amiable and commendable as it undoubtedly is) to get the better of his discretion ; and when—as he has already begun, and purposes continuing to do—he has enlarged his knowledge by continental travel, and by an examination of ‘the good things,’ in the shape of ‘*Fifteeners*,’ which his *own* country may afford, he will probably ‘draw in a little canvass’ in the warmth of admiration of ancient specimens of art. However, I cannot refrain from laying before the reader the very interesting account of this MS. OF THE PENTATEUCH which Mr. Sams caused to be printed in the *Manchester Exchange Herald*. I hardly know when the description of a book has presented matter of more singular detail, or even approaching the romantic. (Look however for one minute at *Schwarz’s Disp. II. De Ornamentis Vet. Librorum*—which particularly relates to *HEBREW MSS.*) Thus speaks the Newspaper alluded to, of the date of Feb. 3, 1816.

‘*Curious and unique ancient JEWISH MANUSCRIPT.*—The literati are likely to be highly interested with an original, ancient, and *complete* Manuscript of the Pentateuch, now in the possession of Mr. Joseph Sams, of Darlington, Durham. This original copy is of leather : it is in two volumes, about two feet wide, and measures 169 feet long ! It is supposed of goat-skin leather, and is most excellently dressed, so as to have an exquisite softness to the touch. Each sheet of skin is divided into pages, five inches and a half in width. The letters are very large, and not only most excellently written, but ornamented with a number of *Tags* or *Coronae*, which is a thing peculiar to the most ancient manuscripts. Each sheet of leather is stitched very neatly to the others with a kind of substance, in appearance not unlike cat-gut. The antiquity of this manuscript may be inferred by its being written on leather, a circumstance which would hardly have taken place after the invention of vellum was made. It was recently procured from the Continent under the most interesting circumstances. It is believed to be from 14 to 1500 years old ; and in any case is the oldest copy of the law extant. There is reason to believe it has been above 800 years in one Jewish family, on the Continent. It is well known to what a degree the Jews

LISARDO. As soon as you please; or rather Romances and Chronicles—followed by as much MISCELLANEOUS matter as you may think proper to select!

venerate their sacred books, and with what care they preserve them; it will therefore, be easily believed, that nothing but the most afflicting and imperious circumstances could induce a family, loving their law, to part with a treasure so precious. During the calamities which followed the train of Bonaparte's wars, a Jewish family, of opulence, was reduced to utter ruin and compelled to emigrate. They came to Holland in their exile, and were there so reduced as to be obliged to pledge, as their last remaining resource, this manuscript of their law, under a limitation of a considerable time for its redemption. The time expired, the pledge was not redeemed, and the property was sold in Holland by the person who lent his money on it. This most valuable and antique performance is now likely to become a public benefit.

‘It has been preserved with the greatest care, in a rich cover, fringed with a fine silk, and lined. The rollers on which the manuscript runs, are beautiful mahogany or iron wood. It has been seen by a number of Hebrew scholars and Jews: the former always expressing a literary enthusiasm, and the latter treating it with the most solemn reverence. It has been collated by a very learned man, and its *readings* preferred to the most ancient copies we have; so that this may justly be thought to be unique as well as the most ancient copy of the five books of Moses in existence.

‘These facts naturally gave birth to a few reflections. Is not such a manuscript a national object? Ought it not to be purchased for the British Museum, or the Universities of Oxford or Cambridge? There are many Noblemen and Literati would not scruple a most generous price, and for a generous price only its present possessor ought to be induced to part with it. The writer of this article having seen it, thinks, if he may hazard an opinion, that its least value must be 2000 guineas. Surely, such a national object ought not to be allowed to be in any private hand whatever; but either the Universities, or some other public body, should purchase and place it, where, under regular superintendence, it may be occasionally open to the learned, and to those who are curious for the accurate knowledge of all that pertains to the records of that wonderful people, the ancient Israelites.’—*Manchester Exchange Herald*.

So speaks the Provincial Newspaper of the date just mentioned. It remains to add that the Treasure, here described, was *not* disposed of to the British Museum, nor to the Bodleian Library at Oxford, nor to the Public Library at Cambridge, nor to the Archiepiscopal Library at Lambeth: but is now the property of a Dissenting Clergyman. While I honour the spirit of its present reverend possessor, I may be allowed to lament that such a precious document does not enrich the shelves of a *public* collection. Three sighs, and three-fourths of a fourth sigh, accompanying this declaration!—and if we are restricted from

PHILEMON. Insatiable Lisardo ! But I will do my utmost to amuse and instruct. Yet before we proceed further, grant me a boon—or rather let me crave pardon—for I have been guilty of a most flagrant dereliction of the duty which attaches itself to my royal station !

LORENZO. 'Tis for a good and gracious Monarch to prefer any petition, and his subjects cannot fail to obey. Speak, revered sovereign !

PHILEMON. My sceptre almost drops from my hand ! . . . A trembling, like unto that which Virgil describes as having seized Æneas—when he heard the whistling of the winds, and the roaring of the waves and of the thunder—

ALMANSA. I begin to catch the tremor without really knowing the cause of it ! . . .

PHILEMON. Yes, IMMORTAL CLOVIO ! —thy hovering spirit will, I trust, in this narrative of ancient Book-Illuminations, forgive the omission of thy ILLUSTRIOUS NAME ! . . . I observe how you are struck with rapture at the bare mention only of that wonderful artist ; and, in such proportion, I can conceive will be your disappointment if you do not hear something of him worthy of his ' high name !'

observing, with the owner of an ancient Missal described at p. clx, ante—'pudet'—we may at least be suffered to exclaim, in the natural indulgence of sorrow, 'Væ! Væ!' Note, in conclusion: both the date of the MS., and the price at which it is estimated, partake somewhat of that amiable 'enthusiasm' which attaches itself to its late owner. For '1400 years old,' read, probably, '800 years:' and for '2000 guineas,' read somewhere about 400*l*. It should be noticed, on the authorities of Mabillon and Bandini, that Hebrew MSS., upon skins of leather, and written in uncial characters—with every apparent mark of antiquity—are scarcely found beyond the *xiii*th century. See Bandini's *Lettera sopra i Principj e Progressi della Bibl. Lavrenziana*, 1773, 12mo. p. 88, &c. Jewish calligraphists, even in modern times, have a singular aptitude in imitating ancient manuscripts—and I have seen some dozen of scrolls executed with a precision and splendor perfectly surprising. It were well if Jews *confined* their powers of 'imitation' to such objects!

LYSANDER. As far as regards chronological order, you are perfectly correct by postponing his name to the present moment; for he flourished about the middle of the Sixteenth Century.

PHILEMON. He did so:—and what Cabinets, of Popes, Monarchs, Princes, and Cardinals, have *not* been enriched by his matchless pencil! Let Vasari recount his wonders in foreign collections: but at home, and upon *British Ground*, the marvellous treasures, from Clovio's hand, in the well-known cabinets of Mr. TOWNELEY and Mr. GRENVILLE, forbid us to envy the possessions of our Continental Neighbours.

LORENZO. Of the late Mr. Towneley's Missal* I have heard extraordinary things related: but of Mr. Grenville's 'marvellous treasure' I have yet to learn the particulars.

PHILEMON. Briefly then must I inform you that the Giulio Clovio, in the possession of the Right Honourable Thomas Grenville,* was executed by that artist at the

* *the late Mr. John Towneley's Missal.*] The truly wonderful volume, here alluded to, was shewn to me by its late venerable possessor, some eight or ten years ago. It had been procured for him, from Italy, by his nephew, Mr. CHARLES TOWNELEY, whose name is synonymous with all that is exquisite and classical in ancient art. Mr. Peregrine Towneley, son of Mr. John Towneley, is the present owner of this extraordinary treasure. It is contained in a morocco case, with the arms of its late owner, enamelled, in the centre; and the volume is a large folio, containing illuminations from scriptural subjects. If I remember rightly, the 'Day of Judgment' had an overwhelming effect—for grandeur, variety, and even pathos. But Vasari, rich and fertile as he is in the 'Clovio' articles, does not notice this matchless volume, nor was he acquainted with the one about to be described.

† *the Giulio Clovio in the possession of the Right Honourable THOMAS GRENVILLE.*] I make no apology to the reader for the very long, and I would hope interesting, note which he is about to peruse, connected with the exquisite production here especially referred to. The history of its admission into the cabinet of Mr. Grenville is faithfully detailed by Philemon. The treasure itself (guarded by an appropriate velvet binding, contained within a blue-morocco case, the work of Charles Lewis) measures 9 inches by 5 and nearly six eighths; exclusively of a border, round each picture, in brown and gold, of the width of about six eighths of an inch.

express command of Philip II. of Spain. It consists of a series of paintings, from the engravings of MARTIN HEMSKIRK, which describe the political power—from the triumph

A ms. note by Mr. Grenville informs us that 'Clovio was born in 1498, and died in 1578. In 1556 MARTIN HEMSKIRK engraved and dedicated to Philip II. TWELVE PLATES from paintings of the victories of Charles V. Philip had tapestry made of these designs, and directed GIULIO CLOVIO, at that time in Italy, to paint them on vellum. Since that time they are supposed to have continued in the Royal Library at the Escorial, and appear to have retained the original richness of their colours.' Thus far Mr. Grenville. It shall now be my object to present the reader with a sort of *Descriptive Catalogue* of these 'rich paintings upon vellum:' for a more lovely and interesting (and at the same time generally unknown) treasure can scarcely enrich the cabinet of the most illustrious collector.

Each subject has a title or prefix, in the Spanish language, introduced within an arabesque border of consummate taste. These titles, and the compositions to which they relate, are thus brought under the reader's particular notice. Inscription within first device :

*L'Aguila muy triunphante y no vencida
De Carlos Quinto Emperador Romano,
Nos muestra que esta gente fue rendida
Y como huyo sus vñas Solimano.*

FIRST SUBJECT. In the centre, Charles V. seated between 2 pillars, a sword in his right hand, a ball in his left. He is clothed in an ultramarine colour body-armour, with crimson robe, and yellow sleeves: a helmet and crown are on his head. Beneath him, or rather between his legs, is the black *Austrian Eagle*, holding a ring within his beak; which ring makes fast a golden chord or chain, encircling the following characters, as having been subjected to the Emperor's sway. To the left of the Emperor (that is to the observer's left hand) are FRANCIS I. and POPE CLEMENT VIII. arrayed in their respective full-dresses: that of the former being military. Still more to the left, in the fore-ground of the picture, is the SULTAN SOLIMAN, with a flag in his right hand, and a bow in his left. He stands *without* the chain, and looks rather significantly at the Emperor, as if conscious of not having felt the full weight of his power. To the right of the Emperor, are the DUKE OF CLEVES, the DUKE OF SAXONY, and the LANDGRAVE OF HESSE, in quiet and submissive attitudes; well contrasted, in this particular, with the opposite characters—who are each distinguished for portly dignity even in their misfortunes. The Duke of Saxony, however, preserves composure in his misfortune: both himself and the Duke of Cleves are in armour; but the Landgrave of Hesse has a black furred-cloak, with reddish-orange sleeves and petticoat, and yellow stockings. Mr. WILKIE, an artist of whom praise were useless, and to whom I shewed the whole series of these lovely pictures, was exceedingly struck with this piece of composition and colouring. The figure of the

of his arms—of CHARLES V. Emperor of Germany, the Father of Philip: and the piece of art, here under description, hath this peculiar good fortune attending it; that both the actions, and the characters introduced, are *real*, and not *fictitious*; and that the latter exhibit, beyond all doubt, *Portraits* of those whom they are intended to represent.

principal personage is the least attractive; but the countenances of Soliman and the Duke of Cleves are touched with vast spirit and tenderness: that of the Duke, in particular, is singularly beautiful. The back-ground is green, reminding us of those of Holbein.

SECOND SUBJECT. BATTLE OF PAVIA: the prefix thus:

Claramente se muestra aqui pintado

Como en Pavia preso por hazaña

Francisco Rey de Francia, fue llevado

A las mas hondas partes de la España.

Three Austrian knights in complete armour, are surrounding Francis, and one of them is seizing the sword of the captured monarch; the upper part of whose countenance, full of ardor and expression, appears above his beaver. Both knights and horses are in complete armour and caparison, and the housings of Francis's horse give the enthusiastic observer a sort of earnest of that rich, brilliant, and minute workmanship, in this particular department of his art, in which Clovio may be said to be without a rival. There are bells to the crupper of the horse of the knight in the fore-ground; the flank and feet of which horse (as indeed are the feet and fetlock joints of the whole) are pencilled with a tenderness and truth that can only be appreciated by an inspection through a magnifying glass! A knight, pierced with a spear, and thrown from his horse, lies dead in the fore-ground. In the back-ground the pursuit of the vanquished is continued, and Pavia appears, by the side of a winding river, in the distance.

THIRD SUBJECT. SACKING OF ROME and DEATH OF BOURBON: prefix:

Aqui fue Borbon muerto, y derribado

Por los muros de Roma: pero entraron

Los soldados con animo efforcado,

Y ellos la ciudad toda saquearon.

The foreground is occupied by two large figures: the Duke de Bourbon is tumbling headlong, backwards, from a ladder fastened to a bastion; while a man, with an halbert in his hand, is advancing to break his fall. These figures are arrayed in a very gorgeous armour. The middle ground is filled by a group of enterprising soldiers, mounting ladders, admirably touched: while in the distance we observe the sacking and burning of the city. Throughout this composition there is probably too much of the Flemish taste of Hemskirk.

LORENZO. This is indeed delightful. But how came such a treasure in Cleveland Square?

PHILEMON. What will not British taste, spirit, and libe-

FOURTH SUBJECT. POPE CLEMENT THE VII. treating for his ransom in the castle of St. Angelo, 1527. The following is the prefix:

*Tomada Roma ya como diximos,
Clemente en esta torre fue cerrado,
Pero despues en fin fue, segun vimos,
Con mucha plata y oro libertado.*

The figures here are comparatively very small: the space of the composition being chiefly occupied by the buildings of Rome, and by the castle of St. Angelo. The Pope, with his hands crossed upon his breast, and a Cardinal at each side of him, appears to be suing in a very supplicatory manner for peace. A trumpeter is below, with his trumpet held up, from his mouth, as if listening to the terms of the Pope. Two soldiers, about 3 inches high, in gorgeously coloured dresses, are in the fore-ground. To the left, are some soldiers with cannon. But the most interesting part of the composition, are probably the statues of St. Peter and St. Paul—especially of the latter—beautifully and tenderly pencilled.

FIFTH SUBJECT. RAISING THE SIEGE OF VIENNA, 1529. Prefix:

*Venia Solimano poderoso,
Y auia puesto ya cerco a Viena
Pero huyó de aquí muy temeroso,
Por la virtud de Carlos el que impera.*

The fore-ground is occupied by Charles V. completely armed, on horseback, followed by Ferdinand, &c. This figure, but more especially the housings of the Emperor's horse, have scarcely their equal in the series: the variety, the richness, the truth, facility and vigor of touch and colouring, throughout the whole, are perfectly astonishing. Below, is a dead Turk, dismounted. Probably the colouring of his countenance is too pale; as his death seems to be but recent. A Turk, transfixed with a javelin, and apparently making the last vital struggle, as he is tumbling from his prostrate horse, is quite a masterpiece of physiognomical expression. The back-ground is occupied by the retreating army of Soliman; which, at a distance, encloses the Sultan in a ring, while a canopy is held over his head as he leisurely retreats. The city of Vienna is in the back-ground, to the left.

SIXTH SUBJECT. SPANISH EXPEDITION TO AMERICA, 1530. Prefix:

*Los Indios que hasta aquí de carne humana
Facian como fieros y indomados,
Con uirtud y con fuerça soberana
Los veys por Cesar ya domesticados.*

We have here a perfect contrast to every thing in the series. Human flesh is roasting, and human beings are being cut up, by the savage Americans. These

rality, effect ! And where are those shores, however remote, which forbid the foot of British enterprise to invade them ? To come to matter of fact. The lovely curiosity under

luckless beings are the Spaniards, who are continuing to be brought in, as prisoners, or dead men, for further similar cannibal purposes. The wild Americans occupy the fore-ground, and are coloured with admirable sobriety and truth. There is probably more artist-like knowledge and effect in this piece than in any other : yet the mangled and roasting limbs make one dwell but a comparatively short time upon such a picture.

SEVENTH SUBJECT. ENTRANCE OF CHARLES V. INTO TUNIS, 1535. Prefixed is as follows :

*A qui véas como huyó a quel Africano,
Quando Cesar triunphante y poderoso,
Leganó a Tunes con su fuerte mano,
Adonde entró con nombre victorioso.*

A very brilliant and finely composed picture. The victorious army are in the fore-ground ; and with the exception of the figures of Charles and Ferdinand, in profile, the whole have their backs turned to the observer. The trappings of the Emperor's horse are, as usual, magnificent : but the pink and light green caparison of a horse, to the left, strikes the eye immediately as being most exquisitely managed. There is such a mingling of fine and fresh colouring in this piece, added to the bustle of its composition, that it cannot fail to take strong hold of both the fancy and the judgment.

EIGHTH SUBJECT. SUBMISSION OF THE DUKE OF CLEVES TO CHARLES V. 1543. Prefix thus :

*De Cleves es el Duque, que vencido
Delante Cesar véas y arrodillado,
Pero despues d'en su poder venido,
Lo libértó, boluiendo le su estado.*

This composition exhibits the finest whole length portrait of Charles : who is sitting, laureated, upon a throne, with the Duke humbling himself on his knees before him. The brown and gold cloth, with which the throne is covered, is executed in a manner perfectly wonderful. The countenance of Charles is probably from the pencil of Titian. To the right (on looking at him) stands Ferdinand, in a pompous but spirited attitude, looking over his left shoulder, upon the prostrate Duke, with more haughtiness than is even observable in Charles—the fault of whose countenance may be, that it looks too much *out of the picture* : which makes one think it is copied from a portrait. The colouring of Ferdinand's swarthy countenance, with his black beard, is admirable. To the right of Charles, stands the DUKE OF ALVA, clothed in blue, orange, and yellow. These fierce and confident characters are finely contrasted to the tenderness of expression in the countenances of the Duke of Cleves and his standard-bearer ; each upon their knees. Groups of soldiers and tents fill the back-ground.

description had been religiously kept, from the face of heaven and of human beings, in the *Escorial*, ever since the period of its completion. Wellington delivered Spain; and

NINTH SUBJECT. COUNT EGMONT JOINS CHARLES WITH THE FLEMISH FORCES, 1546. Prefix:

*Sintieron de las alas el sonido
Que l'Aguila triumphante venia haziendo,
Langraue y el de Saxa, y al ruido,
Los véas atras boluer ambos huyendo.*

In the fore-ground, the Emperor appears mounted on horseback, talking to some soldiers. In the middle-ground is seen the imperial tent, from which the Emperor issues, and shakes hands with Count Egmont. His army is encircled by cannon, and the Protestant army is retreating, in the distance, in square battalia. Perhaps there is less force in this than in any other picture; owing to the figures being comparatively small. The devotion of the soldiers to their monarch is seen more particularly in the expressive countenances of three of those to whom Charles is addressing himself.

TENTH SUBJECT. BATTLE OF MUHLBERG, 1547. Surrender of Frederick Elector of Saxony. Prefix: (perhaps the most beautiful and striking prefix of the whole:)

*Vencido en la batalla véas presente,
El Duque de Saxonia y subiectado
Despues de auer perdido mucha gente
Sus armas, y sus fuerças, y su estado.*

At first sight there is something almost ludicrous in this composition; as the wounded Elector, with a huge gash in his cheek, is running in heavy armour to make his submission to Charles, who is surrounded by Ferdinand and the Duke of Alva, &c. The countenance of the captive is very woe-begone, and his figure perfectly Flemish. The colouring of the imperial group is as mellow and perfect as can be imagined.

ELEVENTH SUBJECT. SUBMISSION OF CERTAIN CITIES TO CHARLES V. 1547. Prefix:

*Vencido ya Langraue el atreuido
Preso el Duque de Saxa y su compañía
Han sus llaves a Cesar ofrecido
Las Ciudades de nombre de Alemana.*

Charles, in profile, is seated on his throne. The submissive cities of Hamburgh, Lubec, Brunswick, and Lunenberg—represented by their respective deputies, kneeling, with keys in their hands—are to the left. Parts of the grouping of these figures are stolen from the famous picture, by Raffaele, of Christ's charge to his Apostles; while, in the middle-ground, the upright figure of the Bishop of

the Royal Palace just mentioned having been robbed, by its *first* invaders, of the treasures which it contained, the robber, or robbers, both of the GIULIO CLOVIO and of the

Arras, in blue, looks like another character, from the same master, of which I cannot just now recollect the name. Other figures are in the back-ground: the whole very interesting.

TWELFTH SUBJECT. SURRENDER OF THE LANDGRAVE OF HESSE, 1547. Prefix:

*Aqui tu vées como d'esta victoria
Con el vuelo de l'Aguila tomado
Por Carlos, cuyo nombre al mundo es gloria,
Se ofrece el que era fiero muy domado.*

This is the last and probably the most rich and interesting composition of the whole. In the centre, seated upon his throne, is the EMPEROR CHARLES with the usual insignia of royalty. His countenance is perhaps a little too small, but it is most exquisitely touched and coloured. In the fore-ground, kneeling upon the first step of the throne, is the LANDGRAVE OF HESSE; covered with a rich robe of black velvet fringed with gold. The sobriety of this colouring balances and mellows, as it were, the general brilliance of the composition. To the right of the Emperor, stand a POPE'S LEGATE, the BISHOP OF ARRAS, and the BISHOP OF NAUNBOURG: the first in red, the second in blue and gold, and the third in brown and gold; the countenances admirably touched. Opposite, to the left of the Emperor, stand four figures, whose identity Mr. Grenville has not been able to ascertain; though he observes that De Thou says (vol. i. p. 264) 'there were also present the Arch Duke Maximilian, the Dukes of Savoy and Alva, the Elector of Brandenburg, Duke Maurice of Saxony, H. Ch. and Ph. of Brunswick, and Ambassadors of the Kings of Bohemia and Brunswick.' The first of these four figures, with a crown, is clad in a brown cloak, gold tunic, and purple stockings. He has a sceptre in his right hand, and both the expression and colouring of his countenance have scarcely their equal in the series. The other three figures have cloaks, and turbanned hats or caps, set with jewels; and look like Turkish characters. The one to the right, with a purple and ermined robe, exhibits a countenance of singularly forcible expression. There is probably little doubt but that the whole are portraits; and, if so, what a gratifying group do they present to the man of learning and the tasteful antiquary!

Such is the description (written with the subjects themselves 'sub oculis') that I have ventured to submit, of a volume, which, all things considered, certainly acknowledges NO SUPERIOR. A caustic critic might, however, observe that the colouring, especially of the figures in the middle and back grounds, is too strong and vivid; and that the figures, in the historical subjects, partake too much of the Flemish character: but for the latter, Clovio is by no means responsible. I will only further remark that a *third* Giulio Clovio, formerly in the possession of Mr. Jennings, is now in the collection of Mr. Webbe; and that there appears to have been an illuminated Missal, by the same hand, in Lord Oxford's collection,

CORREGIO, (of which latter you have heard such wonderful things) surrendered, upon the *Plains of Vittoria*, the lawless booty which he had acquired. The intermediate links of

which was sold at the sale of the Dutchess of Portland's library (no. 2952) for 169l. It is there described as 'superior to anything of the kind,' and 'in the highest state of preservation.' Yet a further word about Giulio Clovio. In the year 1733 was printed, in a handsome folio form, on one side of the leaf only, and without numerals, a curious volume entitled '*Thesaurus Artis Pictoriæ Ex Unius Julii Clovii Clari admodum Pictoris Operibus depromptus.*' The author was WILLIAM BONDE; who in the title-page thus describes himself: 'Gulielmus Bonde, Armiger, Collegii Anglorum Duaceni alumnus, et nepos præhonorabilis viri Thomæ Bonde, Equitis Aurati et Baroneti, qui fuit Thesaurarius et Contrarotulator Hospitii Illustrissimæ Dominæ Catherinæ Angliæ nuper Reginæ Dotariæ supradicti Regis [Johannis V.] optimi Amitæ admodum colendæ.' His work is divided into three parts: '*Libri, sive Sermones tres: 1. Idea. 2. Index. 3. Deliberativus.*' It consists of a description of a PSALTER executed by Clovio for John the III. king of Portugal, which Bonde is desirous should be purchased by John V.; and his work is a personal address to the latter monarch, giving a description of the Psalter, and enjoining him to become the purchaser.* Mr.

* Let me crave the reader's indulgence for this SUB-NOTE—exhibiting a specimen of Bonde's florid style of composition in his description of ST. MICHAEL, &c. in the *xivth* subject, in this Psalter. 'Proxime effingitur ANGELUS MICHAEL innumeros pæne perduelles et summæ Dei optimi Maximi Læssæ Majestatis reos angelos deturbans cælo præcipites. Hæc quidem tabula, supra quam potest, non dicam exprimi verbis, sed etiam mente cogitari, sublimè pingitur. Gustum sapit planè divinum, et immistâ formidini atq. horrori quâdam, nescio quâ, spectantium oculos animosq. afficit, immo obruit voluptate. Nimis grandia hæc non ego tenuitur moliar. Nimis enim, nimis bene intelligo, hæc strenuissimè exantlata divini Julii Clovii opera, in quibus cœlitum facta depingens non modo alios summos pictores sed seipsum superat, transgressa semel humanum modum, non facillè cujusquam, licet clarissimi oratoris, dictis adæquari posse.'

'Harum tamen rerum omnium plenas expressiones, in pagellâ quinque pollices longâ, et quatuor latâ, exhibit potens pictor, pro mirâ stupendæ suæ indolis fecunditate. Di bone! Quot, in picturâ, angeli dæmonibus? Quot tenebræ luminibus? Quot vitia virtutibus opponuntur?—' huic imagini tremenda angelorum prælia repræsentanti, figuram inesse nullam, nisi quæ gestit, movet, vivit, agit, pugnat, atque ita facit hæc omnia animosè, et gnaviter, &c. . . .

Nam, crede mihi, quemadmodum fervet opus belli, sic fervent, etiam pictoris colores, qui sunt plane ad aspectum formosè terribiles. Pingit Clovius (ut verius dicam de Clovio quam de Appelle Plinius) quæ pingi non possunt, fulgura, tonitrua, fulgetra: Hic enim videmus fulgureos mucrones cœlitum præpositos jugulis, hic cernimus pila pilis minantia, arma quidem profecto cælestia, non fabulatis cyclopum ignibus, non fabulosè divinâ ficti Vulcani manu, fabricata, sed, ex tonitru et fulgure æterno, verè facta. Part II. H h.

There is something rather diverting in the earnestness with which he entreats JOHN to purchase this treasure. 'Nihil rogo; nihil hortor, nihil suadeo: ab

the narrative need not be supplied. It came into the hands of Mr. Woodburn: and from this latter it glided, imperceptibly and naturally, as it were, into the rich cabinet where it is now enshrined.

Grenville properly remarks upon the 'extreme rarity' of Bonde's book, and of its containing 'many curious anecdotes of Clovio. In the *Third Part* Bonde notices a painter of his own time under the name of RICHARD GRAHAM, thus: 'Cognoscito, O Domine, quoniam non sine causâ queri videtur, cognoscito, Richardum istum imprimis Grahamium et nostratem, et jam modo viventem, *Londini*, talem esse et tantâ celebritate famæ pictorem, ut summi principesque hujus nationis viri, quibus probè notus est omnibus, consortium ejus amabile quippe vehementer et quotidie quærentibus, illum cognatione atque hospitio suo dignum existimaverint. Sed, ne videatur longior oratio mea, non ego hic multos commemorabo nobiles, quibus est in deliciis; tantum hoc, pace tuâ domine dicam, quod quidem maximum est, quodque gloriosissime faciet, sine ullâ aliâ præterea laude, ad æternam hujus Grahamii pictoris famam stabiliendam; vivit, O Rex illustrissime, jam modo cum domino de Burlington familiarissimè, et ita vivit, ut sit illi domino non solum jucundus, non solum dulcis gratusque comes, sed et charus admodum, et amicus; vivebat etiam cum patre æque ac filio; a domino de CARLETON colebatur, multos, jamdudum annos, a domino de ORRERY, nunc in immortalium numero ascripto, æstimabatur, amabatur. Totam hic Grahamius illustrissimam domum dominorum de BOYLE devinctam consuetudine tenuit et tenet, sed illum, ut innumeros alios, quos possem commemorare, præstanti doctrinâ et virtute viros præteream, summo afficit dominus BURLINGTONUS.* *Sign. D. 2.*

In the *First Part* we not only learn the price for which Clovio executed this Psalter, but the manner in which he worked, and his mode of paying the artists whom he employed under him. The passage, which is short, shall close our extracts: 'Nuntiatum est nobis et non sine monumentis fide dignis nuntiatum, atque a majoribus traditum, in perficiendo vel unum librum, octo, industrium hunc artificem, vel decem plus minus annos, se invicem consequentes, consump-
sisse. Adde, quod et alios homines pictores servos sibi semper habebat ad manum; nummos tamen Romanos, ille per se solus percipiebat, singulis annis, quadringentos. Fama refert etiam, non sine magnâ vel regis vel pictoris gloriâ, regem singulariter præclarum, huic singulariter præclaro pictori, pro uno libro,

oratoribus sic agi solet, sed vis sermonis tota mei, in vero, eam, de qua instituitur, rem deliberandi, genere consistit.' — 'nihil est quod dicam amplius; causa Clovii dicta est: Liber Clovianus, certè, a te nunc probabitur, redimetur, de exilio reducetur, et patriæ pristinæ dignitati restituetur.' Part III. O 2.

* Richard Graham re-published, in the beginning of the last century, Dryden's Translation of Du Fresnoy's *Art of Painting*; to which he added 'A short Account of the most Eminent Painters both ancient and modern.' The second edition of this publication bears the date of 1716; and is dedicated to the Earl of Burlington. Of his productions as a painter, I know nothing.

LISARDO. Oh brave Mr. Grenville! But the character of its art?—

PHILEMON. Ask if the rose, impearled with the morning-dew, be fresh, fair, and sweet? Ask if the hues of the carnation be tender—if the lily vie not with the Alpine snow in purity of colour—if the flaming streaks of the tulip, or the burning radiance of the sun-flower, diffuse not gaiety and splendour on each surrounding object — and the answer to these questions shall be the . . .

LISARDO. Well, well! We comprehend what you wish to impart. The Clovio of Mr. Grenville is a miracle of graphical perfection!

PHILEMON. Even so: and wishing it may 'live for aye' in the family in which it is now deposited, let us proceed to *Romances* and *Chronicles*: though indeed the day is now pretty far spent, and I must honestly confess that my powers of delivery begin to fail me.

LORENZO. Yet I regret that such a subject should be slightly handled. However, our very best thanks shall be due for the intelligence which you may impart: while our sense of obligation cannot fail to be expressed for the exertions already made.

PHILEMON. No more of this. For *Romances*, then, let me take you quietly into that vast and magnificent book-repository, ycleped the *Bodleian Library*; and let me there entreat you carefully to turn over the leaves of its chief jewel in the department of which we are discoursing—

duo millia nummum aureorum pensitasse. Quæ quidem summæ, si nostrâ hâc ætate persolvendæ forent, præmia omnino immensa putarentur. 1st Pt. Dii. rect.

I suspect that Bonde's book, of which only two copies are known in this country—Lord Spencer's and the present—was printed for private distribution only. And it is worth noticing that each of these copies formerly belonged to possessors of Giulio Clovios. The present was Mr. Jennings's, and Lord Spencer's was Mr. Towneley's copy.

mean the ROMAN D'ALEXANDRE!* I see the eyes of Lisardo begin to glisten.

LISARDO. As well they may—from the recollection of a

* *the ROMAN D'ALEXANDRE.*] This truly grand and resplendent volume, in French metre, may be considered the JUPITER ROMAUNT-PLANET of the Bodleian Library. Let the day be ever so dark—let the wind blow ever so coldly through the crevices of the mullions, or of the panes of glass, in that vast book-repository—you have here a luminary, whose rays, darting upwards, (like the light in Corregio's famous *Notte*) equally diffuse light and heat. These rays animated TOM WARTON, and they even warmed JOHN PRICE: and certainly, in one of the coldest of the early November days, these same rays caused the blood of the writer of this most strange note to glow as if the thermometer were at 72 in a northern aspect! I know not why I should wish to have lived in the middle of the *Fourteenth Century*—because it would most probably have followed that I should have been dead at the commencement of the *Nineteenth*—but assuredly I should like to have witnessed the ORIGINAL DIMENSIONS of this richly-garnished folio: such as it was when Master *Giles Strangeways* 'took pen in hand,' and wrote as followeth, three several times, in the fly-leaves of this Romance.

Thys ys Gyles
Strangeways boke.

Nor should I have objected to embrace it when it came into the hands of its second owner: who writeth thus, after the said Giles Strangeways:

Jasper Ffyloll ys own thys boke

Nor again would there have been much objection to have caught a glance at it when it owned 'Thōs Smyth' (see folio 215 of the MS.) for its *third* master! However, although this extraordinary book gives 'dreadful note' of its having lost much of its 'original brightness,' it is nevertheless, in its present state, such as I have above described it to be—the *Jupiter Planet* of the Romance MSS.

The illuminations may be said to be innumerable: having, generally, a diamond-pannelled back-ground, not uncommon in the xrvth century. As Warton and Ellis have disported themselves in the description of this fine book, and





glorious summer's morning devoted to the contemplation of that richly-garnished, genuine, and magnificent old folio!

PHILEMON. This description is not overcharged: for a more interesting and unsophisticated copy of an illuminated *Romance MS.* does not surely exist. But we must leave this venerable retreat—bewitching as are its multifarious contents!

LYSANDER. You are hardly over its threshold ere you give the signal for departure?

PHILEMON. Necessity is a cruel incentive; but you must submit—however attached to the *odds and ends* of the manuscript-lore in the regions of Bodley. I wave my sceptre; and we are off, at a tangent, for London! Can you resist to look more than once upon the minutely beautiful and curious gem here laid before you?*

as Strutt has enriched his pages with some of the ornaments, it shall be my object to study brevity and accuracy only: 'commingling' a few pleasing illustrations in the way of fac-similes. On the recto of fol. 50, is a whimsical illumination, thus entitled: '*Comment alixand fuit mys in vn vescel de boovre p̄ veoir les maueiles in le boovre.*' Alexander is, in fact, seated in a glass diving bell. On the recto of folio 58, in the bottom margin, among several pretty similar exhibitions, we observe the following juvenile group, not wholly divested of expression.



* See the OPPOSITE PLATE.

ALMANSA. It is perfect enchantment! From whence has such a treasure been taken?

On the recto of the ensuing leaf, fol. 59, are several representations of a tender cast of character. Take the following, *gentle-hearted* reader—from the same representations—and draw what inference seemeth best to thee!



Above, is an elaborate group of men, in complete armour, upon horseback, fighting. At folio 130 (mem. for BERNARDO!) is a man carrying hawks on a pole for sale. But almost every page is embellished with subjects taken from the manners, customs, sports, and pastimes of ancient life. Among these are numerous drolleries: as the following sufficiently indicates.



PHILEMON From a MS. of the *Gesta Romanorum** in the possession of the late Mr. Edwards. You observe in it a very *lock and key* to the whole history of the *Table Ronde*;

But where is the *date* of this wonderful volume? exclaims the cautious antiquary. Read as follows, truth-loving virtuoso; and, putting your hand upon your breast, exclaim with Cato that you are 'SATISFIED.' It appears on the recto of folio 208.

*Chi define li romans du boin roi Alixandre.
Et les veus du pauon. les accomplissemens.
Le Restor du pauon. et le pris. qui fu p[er] escript
Le xviii^e. ior de decembre. lan. m.ccc.xxxviii.*

In gold, below:

*Che liure fu perfais de le enluminure
Au xviii^e. jour. dauryl. Per iehan de
grise. Lan de grace. m.ccc.xliiii.*

Next follow 7 leaves of English metre: written in a less angular gothic character, and with paler ink. Then 2 blank leaves: the second of which has the autograph of Smith, before mentioned. On folio 218, from the beginning, we read as follows—beneath one of the most elaborate and beautifully executed illuminations, of shipping and architecture, &c. in the volume.

'Ci commence. li liures du graunt Caam qui parole de la graunt Ermeme. de perse. et des tartais et dynde. Et des granx merueille qui p[er] le monde sont.'

The initials and border-ornaments are in the same style with those in the preceding part of the volume; but the illumination just described is infinitely superior, in every respect, both to all the preceding and succeeding; and yet, of these succeeding, the *second* is certainly by the same hand: of the *third*, I have doubts—of the rest, none. On the reverse of fol. 271, from the beginning, we read thus:

*Explicit le liure noume du grant kaan de la
graunt cite de Tambatuc. dieux ayde amen.*

This invaluable volume cries aloud for a *russia surtout*! It has been most bunglingly bound in dismal calf; and has suffered cruelly from the 'trenchant' propensities of such bungling binder. Mr. Bandinell will, I am certain, speedily bespeak a casket worthy of the jewel to be enclosed in it.

* a MS. of the *GESTA ROMANORUM*.] I cannot do better than borrow the words of Mr. Evans, as they appear in the description of this MS. in the Catalogue of Mr. Edwards's Library, no. 162. '*Gesta Romanorum*, folio: a very beautiful Manuscript UPON VELLUM of one of the most ancient story-books extant. It was executed for Charles VI. of France. It is written in a very legible hand, and is ornamented with nine very large *miniature paintings*, and a profusion of richly painted capitals, and various figures in gold and colours, at the beginning of each story.' This interesting volume was purchased by Messrs.

and do pray, as a very elegant specimen of that eternally-recurring subject—the *Author presenting his Book*—examine how gracefully the author of the said MS. presents the produce of his labours to his Royal Patron CHARLES VI.



Longman and Co. for the reasonable sum of 46*l.*: not without an effort, on my part, to become the owner of it: as I was the last losing bidder. The illumination contained in the PLATE facing p. cxcix, will give the reader a pretty good

We are now about the opening of the Fifteenth Century; and having only time to allude to the *Gillions*, *Melusines*, and *Meliaduses*,* &c. &c. which, 'thick as autumnal leaves'

notion of the delicacy and minuteness of finish of some of these ornaments: in colours, it has an enchanting effect: and it really is, as Philemon has properly designated it, a sort of 'lock and key' to the 'Table-Ronde' History. The curious observer will instantly recognise the *same countenance*, both in the monarch receiving the book, in the SUBJOINED FAC-SIMILE, and in the figure standing over the entrance-gate in the copper-plate just referred to. That countenance is, unquestionably, the PORTRAIT OF CHARLES VI.

What a diverting, and even splendid volume, might my 'learned friend' Mr. Douce produce, from an examination of the more curious MSS. and early printed editions of the *GESTA ROMANORUM*?! When I say this, let it be supposed that his Essay upon the same subject, in his *Illustrations of Shakspeare*, &c. is considered by me as displaying a master-knowledge of the 'Gesta' in question. Yet, as Polypheme roars aloud, 'More, give me more!'

* *Gillions, Melusines, and Meliaduses.*] What a cluster of romaunt appellatives! and what harmonious alliteration have we here!? I am aware what these names imply, and what scope for black-letter lore a satisfactory disquisition concerning them would unfold. But my chronicle must be brief: as neither Du Fresnoy, (alias Gordon de Perce) Warton, nor Ellis, shall be consulted. Nevertheless, what here followeth may possibly be deserving of seven minutes close attention: First for GILLION DE TRASIGMES. The Duke of Devonshire possesses a beautifully illuminated vellum MS. of this Romance, in folio. We gather the title of it thus:

*Cy commence la table des Rubriques de cest present liure
appelle Gillion de trasigmes moult preu et vertueuz
cheuallier natif de la conte de haynau.*

The table occupies six leaves. After a blank leaf, we read one leaf of the prologue. The text of the work follows beneath a fine illumination of the interior of a church; a tomb, with three figures in the fore-ground; and a man reading, to three others, to the right—probably the exploits of the hero whose tomb this may be. Two monks, hooded, are to the left. The whole is within a rich border of fruits, flowers, and insects; having a bomb or mortar (frequently occurring) below. There are numerous highly ornamented CAPITAL INITIALS; as on the reverses of folios xlviij, xlix, lviii, and Cxxxvj, to say nothing of others: the larger ones have a freshness and brilliancy almost unrivalled. In regard to these larger subjects, we have an admirable *sea-fight* on the recto of folio xliij—within a grotesque border of fruits and flowers. At folio xl, reverse, we observe an *Attack of a Camp*—full of bustle and effect: but on the reverse of folio liij, there is a *Battle* which has scarcely its equal—being as fresh as if just executed. The reverse of folio C.xliij exhibits a *Tournament*, such as would put even my friend PALMERIN into an extacy of delight! The defeated champion is

bestrew the cabinets of the curious, I must hurry on, in a trice, as it were, towards the *close* of the same century: because, about the year 1460, there began to prevail that

dying: the conqueror bears the portrait of his mistress on his shield: the court are looking on. This interesting piece is rather slightly injured, otherwise it is delicious.

On the recto of folio C lxxxiiij is another *Battle*—equal to the preceding—or rather, if possible, fresher and clearer. It represents the tremendous conflict before Babylon, in which the two brothers of Trasigmes ‘furent prins de leurs haulz faiz.’ In the highly ornamented border are a monkey and a bear, the former applying the nose of a pair of bellows to the latter, much in the same way as Cervantes tells us a madman of Seville applied his hollow cane to the dogs! The borders are full of *capriccios* of this kind. On the reverse of folio cciiij, the hero of the romance is about to take leave of the Sultan, to return to his native country. This is a very interesting illumination; the expressions of sorrow and regret being rather powerfully represented. The preceding are, I believe, the whole of the larger illuminations. On the reverse of folio. cc.lxiiij, and last, the reader sighs to take leave of such a volume, thus:

*Cy fine l'istoire du trespreu et
vertueulz cheuallier, Gillion-
de trasigmes natif de haynau.*

There are 27 lines in a full page. The text, in faded ink, is a large coarse gothic:—and I apprehend this volume to have been executed somewhere about the year 1450. It is in the most desirable condition; in yellow morocco binding.

Next for MELUSINE. In a trice we are off for the octagonal-library at *Hafod*! There, about two years ago, was the following memorandum taken, of a beautiful and interesting vellum Manuscript of the romance under consideration. ‘It is executed in a small gothic character, exhibiting two different styles of writing; the first and most ancient style occupying two thirds of the volume. The borders are much elaborated, but the colours, generally speaking, are faded. The book is full of illuminations; many of them injured. At the bottom of the first page, in the centre of the border, is a shield, having a rampant lion on the sinister side, with mermaid supporters. At top, in two compartments, to the left, the author is writing his book; and to the right, presenting it on his knees to his Patron and Patroness, who are seated. The second illumination represents MELUSINE sitting in a shrubbery, within a garden; while a knight, to the left, just alighted from his horse, is paying obeisance to her: a squire, to the right, on horseback, is leading another horse. Many of these illuminations are singularly interesting; and the *fourth* of the *Count of Poitiers and Raymondun*, in a wood, contemplating the moon, is especially so. The 17th illumination, of the ‘Bishop blessing the nuptial bed in which Raymondun and Melusina are lying,’ has great simplicity. The original text, or oldest hand-

peculiar style of art which may be considered as furnishing the models for those *wood-cuts*, with which the publications of foreign printers in particular were so profusely embel-

writing, terminates with the 48th illumination. The remaining 36 leaves have no illumination. I apprehend the style of art to be Flemish, and the writing of the 15th century, perhaps 1450. The remaining 36 leaves are in a small, but loose and coarse character, and the vellum is very thick. The binding is old mulberry-colour velvet, with brass corners, in a modern back: in the centre of the sides, arms, two keys in saltier. And thus much for the *Hafod Memorandum* relating to Madame Melusine.

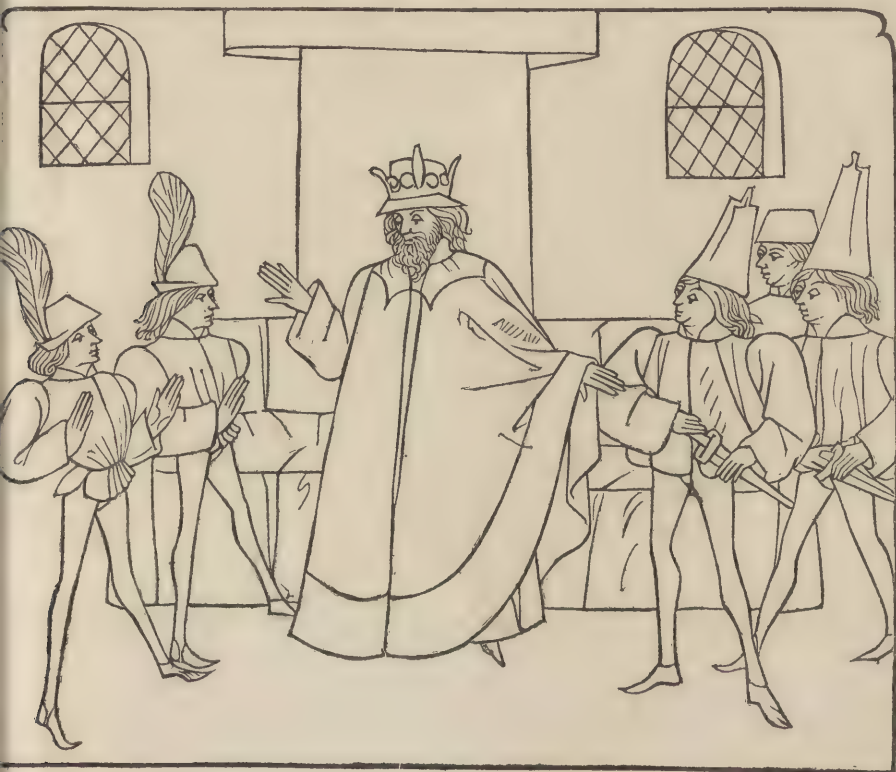
In the third place for MELIADUS. From the octagonal library of Hafod we jump back again to the metropolis; and sit ourselves down quietly in the delectable satin-wood book-cased library of Mr. Lang, of Portland Place. Of this library, rich and replete with 'romant-lore,' and more especially with old French poetry—some gentle word or two shall be spoken in the Tenth Day of this Decameron. At present, suffice it to observe that it contains a treasure of its kind; and no back *drawing-room*, I will venture to affirm, within the said Portland Place, displays furniture more worthy of the attention of a well-bred and well-educated visitor. But for the Meliadus—reposing within the fore-mentioned library. This was once in the Roxburghe collection; and is described in the catalogue of that library, no. 6096, as 'MS. très ancien sur velin avec 333 figures, et combats peintes du même format de chaque page!' It was sold for 37l. 16s.—but, before it reached its present possessor, it had received rather a plentiful sprinkling of *Cayenne-pepper*: as some dishes are considered to stand greatly in need of the same! The MS. in question is a large folio of 351 leaves: written in a close, and not inelegant gothic character, in double columns. The illuminations are uniformly at the bottoms of the margins; and although of various degrees of merit, they are, upon the whole, highly interesting.

These illuminations are of two characters, or modes of execution. Till towards the middle of the volume, they are comparatively small, with *daubed* rather than *coloured* backgrounds. Sometimes the figures are slightly coloured, with open backgrounds. About folio 150 commences the series of larger illuminations—sometimes slightly coloured, without backgrounds; sometimes with thickly daubed backgrounds; and very frequently, and of much superior merit, in a delicate india ink outline. Folios 149, 150, exhibit one of the more elaborately coloured specimens of these larger illuminations; which is divided into two compartments: the upper compartment being generally filled with ladies and gentlemen who express various emotions at the fortune of the battle which rages below. Sometimes these emotions have no mean power of expression. A small and very pleasing specimen of one of the outline decorations occurs on the recto of folio 163—of two knights fighting; one falling backwards apparently dead upon his horse. Among the more beautifully executed of these large outline embellishments are those from folio 258 to folio 275. Some of them richly merit

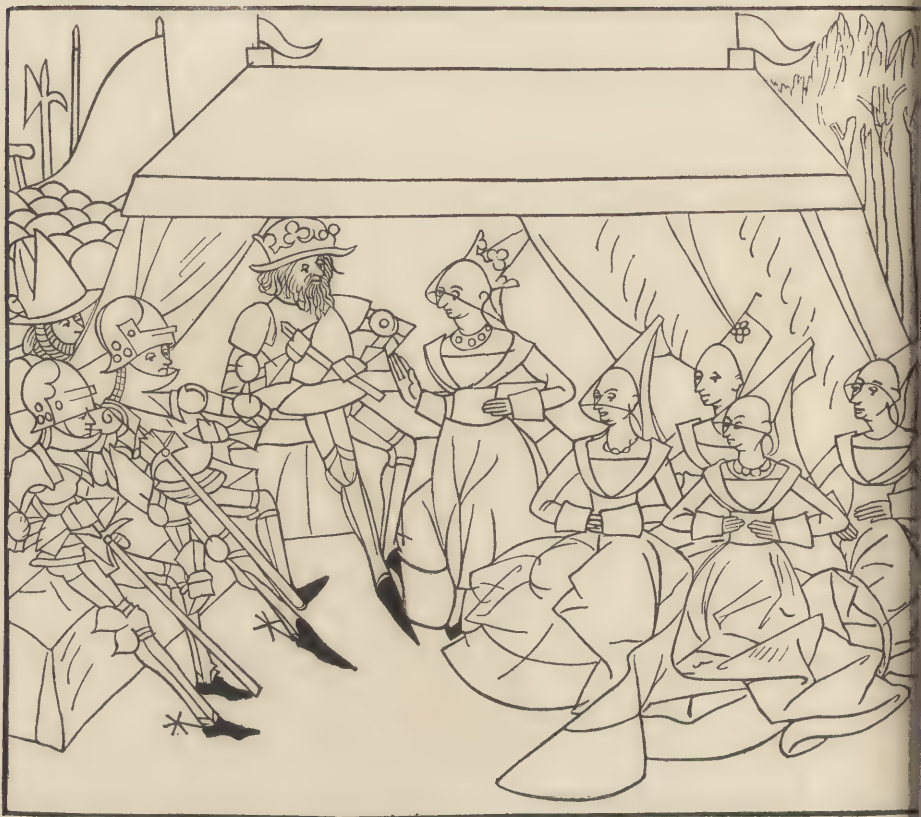
lished. The very choice cabinet of a neighbour has furnished me with a few specimens from a *Romance History of Thebes*, which I here place before you.



But let me rather exhibit, from the same volume, specimens of a more complete and striking resemblance to that style of wood-engraving to which I now particularly allude. The following are selected chiefly with a view to the display of costume.



publication; as the age of the MS. is probably towards the latter end of the xivth century. The latter illuminations are slightly yet most unskilfully coloured. A fine semi-gothic church, with a neat group of figures to the left, arrests our attention on the recto of folio 347. This is upon the whole a very singular and richly ornamented MS.: and the battle scenes, in outline, have very uncommon merit. My friend Mr. G. H. Freeling, the son-in-law of its present Owner, hath bestowed great pains upon its collation with another ancient manuscript of the same ROY MELIADUS, and with an old printed edition. The result has proved the intrinsic importance of *that*—to which it now behoves us to say *farewell!*



LORENZO. Undoubtedly these are curious if not elegant : and this *History of Thebes** may rank among the more singular romance-volumes of the day. Proceed ; but be not too brief.

* *this History of Thebes.*] The manuscript of the Romance in question is the property of my friend Mr. E. V. Utterson ; it being among the numerous curiosities, of this kind, which enrich his ' *Hermitage*' near Stanmore. It is a small folio, upon paper ; written in a large and inelegant gothic character, with the titles in red. The illuminations are exceedingly numerous ; the colouring being thin and washed upon the subjects. The lines of each figure are as strongly marked as above. There is occasionally a good deal of force and intelligence in these

PHILEMON. Yes—brief almost to obscurity—for think of what has been already accomplished!!

LISARDO. We will not be unconscionable. Yet a word for my favourite *Roman De La Rose*!...

decorations; and both the heads and countenances have very singular character. There can be no doubt of the identity of the artist who executed the whole. In regard to the illuminations, we cannot perhaps select a more *outrè* specimen than the following:



too revolting for female sensibility, but which may please the capricious taste of some delver into romaunt lore. It represents 'Medea in the act of destroying the two children of which Jason was the father.' The recto of the first leaf furnishes the following title:

*Chy commenche listore de thebes premierement
de cheluy qui le fonda et comment elle fu puis
destruite.*

The recto of the last leaf not only supplies us with the following colophon, from which we gather that the Romance treats of Troy as well as Thebes (in fact, the whole is something very like Caxton's *Recueil*) but with the interesting memorandum subjoined to it:

*Chy fine le tres exelente et noble
ystore de troyes escriptes par la main
Iaquotin de lesplut enlan de grace
mil quattre cens lxx pries pour luy*

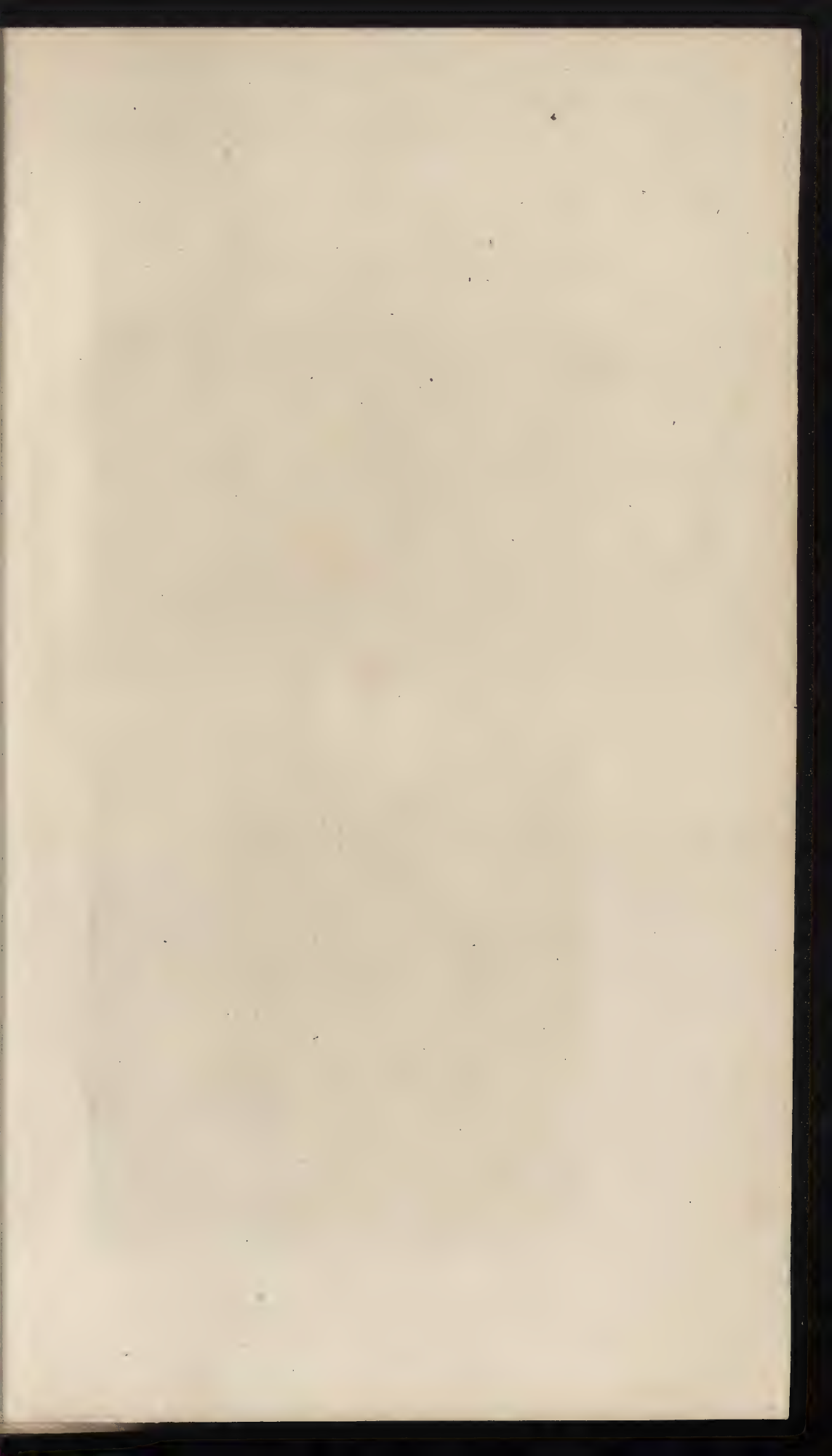
PHILEMON. I understand you : for I remember how you struggled to obtain possession of the charming volume, containing that romance, which now enriches the cabinet of MR. NORTH. But I must first make you acquainted with a more magnificent Manuscript, of the same Romance, in the *British Museum*.* The MS. to which I allude is a large

*Ce liure appartient a monseigneur le
souuerain Bailly de Flandres. par
achat quil en a fait de Maistre Vatos
Libraire demourant A lille.*

The entire transcription gives evidence of the Flemish education of the artist, MASTER JAQUOTIN — for whom ‘let us pray,’ as desired : that is, if we have no objection to the contrary. The subjoined memorandum shews who was the first vendor and who the first purchaser of this curious book. How many interesting hands have opened it ere it came into the Towneley collection (*Bibl. Towneley*, pt. i. no. 892) from which it was obtained by my right good friend—PALMERIN, shall we say?

* *a more magnificent MS. of the same Romance in the British Museum.*] Ponder well, gentle reader, upon what here first ensueth respecting this very precious gem—or, to borrow the metaphor of the above interlocutors, respecting this ‘dainty dish’ of cream. The editor of the first *Catalogue of the Harleian MSS.* 1762. (vol. i. p. 25, edit. Nares) thus discourseth thereupon. ‘This MS. [of the ROMAN DE LA ROSE] is so richly ornamented with a multitude of miniature paintings, executed in the most masterly manner, (each chapter of the book having prefixed to it a picture explanatory of the subject) that it is not to be exceeded by any known manuscript in this or any other library ; and is probably the copy which was presented to King Henry IV.—the blazon of his arms being introduced in the illuminations with which the first page is embellished.’ Mr. Nares, in his enlarged edition of the same Catalogue, vol. i. p. 35, calls the volume ‘a transcendent copy ;’ and he is perfectly right. But at vol. iii. p. 143, no. 4425, there will be found what may be considered a meagre description of a volume, of which such distinct and warm notice is taken in the preface. This latter account is as follows. ‘A truly beautiful copy of the *Romant de la Rose* ; finely written on vellum, and full of the most elaborate illuminations. It contains 183 leaves, numbered throughout by the original scribe.’ The arms, before noticed, are alluded to ; but their application to Henry IV. seems to be considered incorrect. Indeed there can be no doubt that the volume is of a much later date ; and from the Gothic Verard-like looking character of the writing, I should conceive it to be not earlier than 1480. The deficiencies, real or imaginary, in the foregoing descriptions, are endeavoured to be supplied by the following.

This magnificent and complete copy of the ROMAN DE LA ROSE is a folio of





Freeman sc.

Fac-Similes of Illuminations,
In a MS of the ROMAN DE LA ROSE in the British Museum.
(Harleian. MS. No. 2425.)

PRINTED BY LAURENCE

folio, replete with embellishments; and was held in such estimation as to be called the *Cream of the Harleian Collection*!

about 15 inches and three quarters in height, by 11 inches and a half in width. It is replete with illuminations, appertaining to the subject of the Romance, of almost every description. Some of these illuminations are large; being about 8 inches by 7; and others are small, as the ACCOMPANYING PLATE testifies. There are however much smaller pieces. The allegorical representations of *Avarice*, *Envy*, *Jealousy*, &c.—which follow the first large illumination, are pretty accurately executed—with the exception of the *heads*, which are too large. That of *Avarice* is the best; but, nota bene—*hypocrisy* is represented by a stately *Abbess*. Fie! The large illumination on the reverse of folio 6, of the text, is exceedingly pleasing: especially that part in which figures are reclining up on a grass plat, in the garden, near a fountain—where a man touches a guitar, and some ladies are singing. Sweet are such scenes as these; and Watteau's pencil, I dare wager a rose against a thorn, has slyly stolen a bit from many a similar representation! But for the MS. The border, which encircles this piece of Arcadian scenery, is in brown and gold, finely designed and coloured, but much rubbed: as are indeed too many of these border embellishments. On the reverse of fol. viij is another large illumination, representing a gay and gorgeous procession; in almost the finest possible state of preservation. The salutation of *Bel Acueil and his Love* (see the fac-simile of this subject from Mr. North's MS. of the same Romance, post) on the recto of folio xvij, is rather fine and striking. On the reverse of fol. xxiv there is a vastly pretty illumination of *Bel Acueil and his Beloved*, going into a garden of roses:

Comēnt bel acueil humblement
Offrit a lamant doucement
A passer pour veoir les Roses
Qu'il desiroit sur toutes choses.

The physiognomy of the man, however, is as repulsive as that of the lady is attractive. The heads of some 'lookers on' appear amidst the bushes in the background. On the reverse of fol. xxxiii, is another of these larger illuminations, representing the '*Castle of Jealousy*,' surrounded by a moat, and by hedges, as it were, of white and red roses; but chiefly of the former. Over the portcullis the word '*dangier*' is inscribed; and just before it, in the foreground, between the embrasures of the fortification, a turbaned head of a *Giant* appears, with a bunch of keys in his left hand. The whole has a magnificent and enchantment-like appearance! The group over the portal, where the imprisoned lady appears, has a striking effect: higher up, the windows are filled by armed men; and over these windows, suspended, are masses of stone, which drop down to fill up the apertures, like the closed port-holes of a ship. The topmost tier of windows is closed by these masses. The worthy *Bel Acueil*, at a distance, to

LISARDO. Can you indulge us with a sip of this cream?

PHILEMON. Fortunately it is in my power to gratify you

the left, looks in a most woful and helpless state. The whole is surrounded by a beautiful border of flowers and fruits, but not free from soil.

Let us now make acquaintance with the *Mendicant and Friar*, as exhibited in the *first subject* of the OPPOSITE PLATE. It occurs on the reverse of fol. xlj. The beggar has a black hat and cloak. His jacket or coat is dark green. His hose are bright orange colour. The priest has a black cowl: a deep blue surcoat: and the lining close upon his breast is crimson. His surcoat is edged with bright yellow. The houses are of a gray-brick tint. Beneath them are these lines:

Cy est le souffreteur deuant
Son vray amy en requerant
Qu'il lui ayde a son besoing
Et son auoir lui met au poing.

Note: at folio lxviiij we observe another beggar, of a most gigantic stature, and exhibiting very frightful symptoms of wretchedness—before a lady, who retreats, holding up her right hand, and apparently withholding alms. Such an *outré* figure is surely enough to extinguish every charitable spark in the gentlest bosom! The illumination of *Virginus pleading before Appius*, on the recto of folio xlviiij, is as admirable as it is fresh and brilliant. I would be understood as speaking chiefly of the two upright figures before the judge, to the left. Their attitudes are almost perfect. A figure with a *large hat* (perhaps our old friend *Bel Accueil*) is constantly recurring. Sometimes this hat is of dimensions too formidable even for the most strictly-educated Obadiah! On the reverse of folio lxj our broad-brim friend is well introduced; discoursing with a man, and harmonising well with the background. The same may be said of his appearance at fol. lxxxiiij, recto, where his right hand, in particular, is well managed. A pretty *architectural interior* appears at fol. lxxij, recto; but a little too black.

For what enthusiasts call a *gem*, examine, lover of delicate execution, the illumination which occurs on the reverse of fol. lxxxiiij; where we observe a tender-hearted knight, with a white-feathered hat, looped with gold to a bit of crimson drapery, sitting by the side of a lady, clothed in brown and gold, near a fountain. The grouping of this interesting *duo* is perfect. 'It ought to have been here represented to the reader, by means of Mr. Freeman's burin; but 'non omnia possumus omnes.' At fol. lxxxvij recto, Love puts on his wings and appears in this shape from thenceforth. On the recto of folio Cxxvij is the author in the character of a SCRIBE: as given with admirable effect at p. cxxviii, ante. The pencil of Mr. William Alexander executed the fac-simile; which however, it must be confessed, exhibits a somewhat younger and gentler physiognomy than the original. For *costume*, &c. this is a delicious morceau of illumination; and, from such a feeling, was consigned to the burin of Samuel Freeman. On the reverse of fol. Cxxj is an elegant and expressive figure of

with a pretty good taste of it. Look you! Are not these vastly pleasing specimens of their kind.*

Venus, beneath a canopy, rising and delivering a letter to a man kneeling before her. The head dress and countenance of the Goddess are, as they *ought* to be, the prettiest specimen of 'female loveliness' in the volume. We are now getting fast out of this Garden of Roses: but where is the BISHOP, exhibited in the *second subject* of the ANNEXED PLATE? exclaims the impatient reader! 'Softly and slow; they stumble who go fast'—says the Friar in Romeo and Juliet: and so says the very humble fabricator of this tough gossiping note. The Bishop does not make his appearance till we reach folio Clxij, where we read these verses—beneath the illumination of which the fac-simile has been just referred to.

Ce fort excommuniement
Met genes sur toute gent
Qui ne se veulent remuer
Pour ses pece continuer

From this we gather that 'the Bishop is excommunicating Love!': but, as the above interlocutors seem to intimate, without any chance of success. That Love, however, is 'laughing' at the Prelate, is a mere piece of saucy innuendo on the part of Lisardo: it being evident that the countenance of this winged figure is *turned from* the Spectator. Let us not therefore accuse 'Love' of such a breach of seriousness and good manners. The Bishop has a white and gold mitre: he is clothed in a purple and gold vestment; with white gloves, having a gold cross slightly indicated on his right-hand glove. The tunic, near his breast, with a broad border of gold and purple across it, is blue. The pulpit is wainscot, and so are the platform and tub-like seats in which the auditors sit. The head of Love is white; his wings are shaded with gold: his dress, crimson. The man to the left has a crimson cap with a blue dress: the one on the right has a cap of the same colour, with a lilac-tinted dress; but the piece of drapery turned over, is black. The background is stone colour. The original is unluckily rather injured. On the reverse of folio Clxxxij is the last illumination, representing Love in the garden, 'gathering the roses at his pleasure.' There are *three* red roses in particular, of a most magnificent growth, and beautiful execution, in the background. On the recto of the following and last leaf, we read the colophon, at the bottom of the first column, thus:

*Cest la fin du rommant de la rose
Ou tout lart damours est enclose*

And here let us shut a volume, embellished in a style of illumination, very much superior, for delicacy and strength, to any other known MS. of the Romance. The prevailing fault of the artist is, a disproportionate enlargement of the head in the generality of his figures. He was beyond all doubt a Flemish illuminator. The writing is almost repulsively coarse. But what a nosegay-like description may YET be given of this beauteous tome!!—(Thy 'close-ear,' gentle reader,

LORENZO. I admit they are extremely amusing and curious; but what can the *second* be intended to explain?

PHILEMON. Nothing less than the unavailing attempt of a Prelate to excommunicate *Love!*—the latter, you observe, being represented with wings, sitting below.

LISARDO. Thus ‘Love laughs’ at Bishops as well as at ‘Lock-Smiths!’—

PHILEMON. You must remember, however, that the whole of the heavy Romance under consideration is a dull *Allegory*—being descriptive of the difficulties and misfortunes which oftentimes mark the progress of the tender passion—but from which the happy circle, I am now addressing, are exempted—

LISARDO. Not altogether. . . .

PHILEMON. Well—pretty nearly so. A peep at another MS. of this Romance, and then farewell to the extravagant theme upon which we are discoursing!

LORENZO. You mentioned a *Roman de la Rose* in the possession of MR. NORTH?*

to what is about to be parenthetically imparted. The first of the foregoing notes of admiration is indicative of *Hope*, the second, of *Despair!*) This book gives cruel indication of binding *à la mode Française*. At folio xxxiii, the two latter numerals are *cut off!* No matter, says the hungry bibliopegist: ‘the nearer the bone the sweeter the meat!’ Ah, Monsieur DE ROMÉ, ‘what a bone-picker’ therefore wert THOU!

* *Roman De La Rose in the possession of MR. NORTH.*] The length of the preceding description of the magnificent manuscript of this Romance, in the British Museum, has necessarily trenched upon the limits assignable to that of the present very beautiful copy of it. Yet Mr. North will not complain of the lukewarmness of what is here imparted to the reader; and especially let him congratulate himself upon the possession of the Chronicle described at p. cxv, ante, and of the present Romance—two acquisitions, of a superior and interesting description, connected with the LIBRARY of the great FRANCIS I. Indeed, for neatness, calligraphy, and soundness of condition, and convenience of size, I know not whether the copy of the ‘Romance of the Rose,’ here particularly treated of, be not superior to every known copy. It is a small folio, written in

PHILEMON. I did so: and forthwith you shall be made pretty intimately acquainted with it. First, gaze with

a small and even elegant secretary-gothic character, in double columns. The first illumination contains the arms of France: the second, the FRONTISPIECE of which the ANNEXED PLATE is a fac-simile; and in which the countenance of Francis cannot fail to strike the curious observer. Mr. Evans, under whose book-hammer this gem was disposed of to Mr. North, (for 120*l*.) very properly designates it as 'ornamented with a profusion of the most rich and brilliant miniature paintings, worthy of the great sovereign for whom they were executed.' *Cat. of the Library of J. L. Gouldsmid, Esq. 1815, no. 729.*

Among these 'rich and brilliant' decorations, receive, gentle reader, what here ensueth—as illustrative of the subject slightly noticed at p. ccxi, ante: and which, for spirit and elegance, may possibly vie with the same kind of decoration in the copy just referred to. It is engraved by the worthy AUDINET, to whom I am indebted for its two companions.



pleasure at its CHARMING FRONTISPIECE *— which represents *Francis I.* surrounded by his courtiers, receiving the Romance in question from the hands of the Author. But what have we here—for the heart's delight of *Almansa* and *Belinda* !? The lady has placed her hand upon the door-ring, and has just entered the mansion. Her lover is but too happy in imprinting a kiss upon the iron ring, which has been pressed by the hands of his beloved !

* See the OPPOSITE PLATE.





Audinets sculp.

*Ence Simile of the Frontispiece of the Roman De La Rose.
In the possession of John North Esq.*

PRINTED BY LAHEE.

BELINDA. There is no denying the extreme delicacy and gallantry of this action ! But methinks the race of lovers has much degenerated of late.

ALMANSA. Fie ! Did Lysander never achieve such a deed ? . . .

LORENZO. We are descending to personalities.

LYSANDER. Is Belinda both forgetful and ungrateful ?

BELINDA. Nay, if you are serious—I desist. Proceed mighty Monarch of the Day !

PHILEMON. That Day is about to close—together with my first diurnal *reign*.

LYSANDER. Remember *Chronicles*—you know my attachment to them !

LISARDO. Not another *Romance* ?

PHILEMON. ‘Go to.’ The order of the discussion now requires the notice of *CHRONICLES* : yet Lysander must necessarily, I fear, be dissatisfied—for I shall only take you to the *British Museum*. There, in the first place, admire,

Of these ‘companions,’ that produced by Philemon breathes the very soul and quintessence of chivalrous gallantry. The countenance, the dress, the attitude, the action—are all indicative of that refined state of intellect, which, under the sovereignties of FRANCIS and HENRY IV. made Frenchmen worthy of the ‘fine soil’ in which it has pleased Providence to place them—‘redeant Saturnia Regna!’ To conclude : let Mr. North put as high a value as he pleases upon this ‘rose-’ discoursing Romance—and I will put a higher afterwards : let him consign it to a velvet receptacle in his choicest cabinet : and if the velvet be *British*, I will replace it with some of the most exquisite manufacture of *Genoa* !

The oldest illuminated copy of this once popular Romance, which I remember to have seen, is that in the possession of the Rev. I. M. Rice. It is a crompt folio, in old French binding, written in a gothic character, in double columns, with 38 lines to a full page. The illuminations are small ; measuring about 2 inches and one eighth in length, by one and a half in width ; within square borders, slightly sprigged at the corners. The back-grounds are diamond-wise, or in solid gold ; and I should conjecture the MS. to be of the middle of the xivth century. The first illumination, divided into four compartments, with a border of portraits round the entire page, is sufficiently interesting. This MS. was recently obtained from France.

as you ought, that choice old copy of the *Chronicles of St. Denis*;* but if you want richness of illumination and grandeur of calligraphy, if I may so speak, approach with a firm step, hopeful eye, and beating heart, those two magnificent tomes of an imperfect work, entitled *Les Chroniques d'Angleterre*—executed expressly for our Edward IV.† Regret,

* *Chronicles of St. Denis.*] These 'Chronicles' consist of 3 folio volumes, which were originally in the library of PETAU, and came into the British Museum from the collection of Sir Hans Sloane. They are thus described in Ascoug's Catalogue of the latter; vol. i. p. 344. 'La grande chronique de France appelée & connue sous le titre de chronique de St. Denis, qui commence par l'origine des François, descendus des Troyans, et est continuée jusque à la fin du Regne du Roi Charles VI. Manuscrit très beau & ancien, sec. xiv. en 3 grand volumes, sur vélin, orné d'un grand nombre de miniatures, diverses lettres grises, & vignettes; le tout peint en or & diverses couleurs, & lié très proprement en maroquin.' (*Ex Bibl. Al. Petavii.*) We have here an unusual specimen of art, in the *cameo-gris* method of illumination, (see a brief notice of a missal of this kind, at p. clxxvi, ante) exhibiting some very delicate and vigorously-touched figures and groups. The first illumination, in four compartments, is injured. That on fol. 31 (reverse) of vol. i. is among the cleverest: the remainder being much inferior. The opening of the 11d volume, with Philip Le Bel, exhibits a still abler specimen of art: the embracing of the two monarchs is very prettily imagined and touched. The illuminations at the end of the second volume, relating to the history of Charles V. are among the most perfect and interesting. Those in vol. 111. are few in number and meagre in execution. The text is a small gothic, in double columns.

* *Chronique D'Angleterre, executed for EDWARD IV.*] Of these magnificent 'Chronicles'—or, rather, of only two volumes (the *first* and *third*) remaining from the entire set, of seven volumes, the following is the meagre notice of 'David Casley, Deputy Librarian' to his Majesty George II.; at page 292 of his *Catalogue of the Royal MSS.* 'Croniques D'Angleterre, jusques a le temps du Ed. 2. avec belles Peinctures. Dedies a Ed. 5.' For 'Ed. 5' read 'Edward IV.' and for this 'meagre notice,' read what hereafter ensueth. The British Museum boasts of no nobler volumes than these. The basis of this Chronicle is a set in the Royal Library of France, in 6 volumes bound in 12. However, such as the present are, they merit a particular description, on the score of graphic embellishment. In the first place, their dimensions are of the colossal kind: being one foot and a half in height by about 14 inches wide. After a table of 12 leaves, the first illumination in the numerical order of the volumes (about 9 inches square) displays Edward IV. upon his throne, receiving a book from the chronicler, who is upon his knees. Three other figures are in the picture, but the space would have admitted of a half dozen.

as you may, such a mutilated monument of the book-loving splendour of our fourth Edward; but be grateful that so much is yet contained within these massive volumes for the gratification of the antiquary and man of taste.

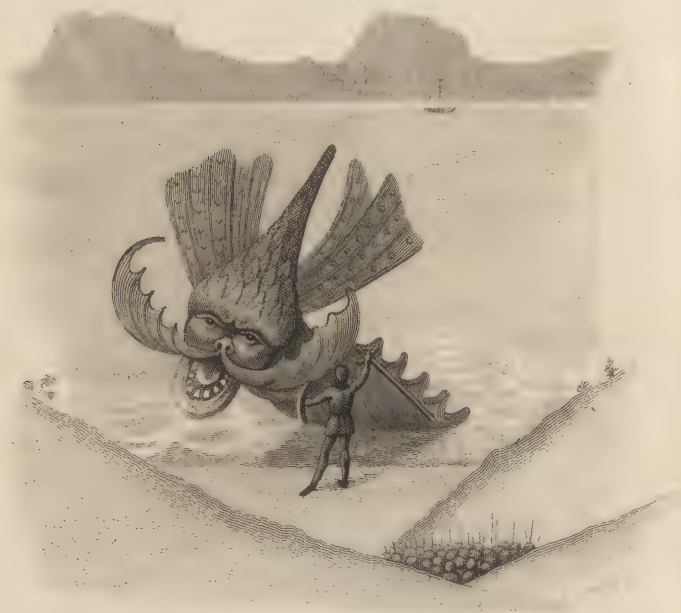
LORENZO. You have probably some specimen of the splendour of art which these volumes appear to contain?

PHILEMON. Not exactly of its *splendour*; but I happen to possess a droll specimen of the representation of *Mor-*

The arras of the room is dark crimson and gold. Strutt has engraved this illumination, but in a very indifferent manner, in his *Regal and Ecclesiastical Antiquities*, edit. 1773, pl. XLVI. The figures are about 3 inches and a half in height, and coloured perhaps somewhat too vividly. The illuminations, from 6 to 8 inches in size, are generally tenderly touched: the second, being chiefly a group of females, is very much so—but, as usual, too much space is left unoccupied by figures. On the xxvii chapter of the first book, occurs the *ensuing* representation of MORVINUS AND THE SEA-MONSTER. The story is in ‘*Lying Geoffrey*’—as our MODERN LELAND calls him.

The first chapter of the viii book contains a magnificent illumination of some richly-dressed ladies, accompanied by musicians: the back-ground, being very tenderly executed. The xxxvth chapter of the same book exhibits a singular and brilliant group of men clad in silver-tinted armour, touched in a bold and decisive manner. The general character of the illuminations is brilliancy and effect; and the condition of the volume is most desirable. The iiii and only other remaining volume in the Museum, is written and illuminated by an inferior artist: it is however in fine preservation, and abounds with architectural views and representations of castles, battles, sieges, and all ‘the pomp and circumstance of war.’ There are some striking borders in it; (yet not superior to those in the preceding volume) among which, that on the recto of folio lxii, having the *banner, arms*, and *white-rose* of Edward, makes a conspicuous appearance. There is also great sharpness and brilliancy on fol. ccxv, and a tolerably splendid banquet on the reverse of fol. ccxxxv—while on fol. cclvj, reverse, the colours are perfectly resplendent. Among the sieges, that on folio ccxliii may be distinguished for design and execution. The representation of the marriage of King John of Portugal with Philippina, daughter to the Duke of Lancaster, as exhibited at fol. cclxxv, is very striking. The last illumination, on the recto of folio cclxxx, with figures nearly 5 inches in length, is rather dismal; although at first, from its magnitude, it hath an ‘*air imposant*.’ The small illuminations are comparatively indifferent. The amputation of the figure v, at fol. cclxxv, is sufficient evidence—if no other were at hand—of the *shaving propensities* of an ancient binder of these glorious volumes!

vinus, King of Britain, attacked by a huge monster, which arose from the Irish Sea, and which afterwards swallowed him up.



LISARDO. Tremendously terrific! But this sea-monster will swallow a score of such diminutive champions at a gulp!

PHILEMON. We cannot wait to see the result. But while upon History, real or feigned, never suffer your researches at the British Museum to terminate without paying very marked attention to a *French translation of VALERIUS MAXIMUS*,* embellished from beginning to end, in two mar-

* *French translation of VALERIUS MAXIMUS.*] Slight but commendatory notices of two ms. copies of this translation, replete with the most elaborate illuminations, are found in the prefaces of Mr. Nares's *Cat. of the Harl. MSS.* vol. i. p. 27, 35. These MSS. are numbered 4372 and 4374. Our purpose is

vellous folio volumes; and replete with almost every curious and costly specimen of the art of illumination towards the close of the Fifteenth Century. Upon the whole, I am not sure that a more perfect and extraordinary specimen of Flemish art, of the period of which we are speaking, can be mentioned to exist . . . It is time to rise, and put our specimens away. The sun is rapidly declining; and I am languishing for cessation of speech, and enjoyment of the garden-breeze.

LORENZO. You are absolute. But does the British

to speak of the *latter*: which, in vol. iii. p. 139, of the same catalogue, is properly described as 'a still more splendid copy of the same work: with illuminations of the most exquisite neatness, not only large at the beginning of each book, but smaller to most of the chapters. This appears to have been executed for some private person, whose arms are emblazoned in the first illumination, and in some others. A finer work, according to the skill in painting then possessed, cannot easily be imagined.' Thus far Mr. Nares: who correctly supposes it 'to belong to the fifteenth century.' I should apprehend it to be of the latter end of the same century; or not earlier than 1470. The preceding eulogy is perfectly justified by the various and extraordinary exhibitions of the ART OF ILLUMINATION which these two ponderous folios display.

The illuminations are, many of them, full 15 inches in height by nearly 11 in width—divided into three or more compartments. The style is rather Flemish than French: the colours are as brilliant as if recently executed: the gold has preserved all its original brightness, and the marking or touch is as vigorous as the masses are resplendent. The grouping is full of life and action—occasionally, but rarely, betraying the stiffness of the Flemish school: yet a group of workmen, in the bottom compartment of the grand illumination of the viiith book, to the left, is both conceived and executed with a surprising power of drawing and colouring. I should have premised, however, that the first grand illumination is injured: particularly in the middle compartment. The group of women with distaffs, &c. in the bottom compartment of the large illumination to the ixth book, has absolutely a magical freshness of colour. The smaller illuminations possess equal merit, but are necessarily almost lost in the blaze of effulgence by which the larger ones are enveloped! Upon the whole, for variety, richness, and perfection of condition, these volumes cannot possibly be surpassed. Who the illuminator or illuminators were, is perhaps unknown; but it may be necessary to state, upon the authority above quoted, that the *Authors of the Version* were SIMON DE HESDIN and NICOLAS DE GONESSE.

Museum furnish nothing further deserving of particular notice?*

PHILEMON. Who shall presume to collect, or even make

* *does the British Museum furnish nothing else deserving of particular notice?* It must I think be taken for granted, either that Lorenzo never visited the British Museum, or never read a catalogue of its book-treasures; and yet, with a character of his 'stamp and complexion,' one or the other of these conclusions seems equally improbable. Let us conclude, therefore, that the above is a mere random-shot remark, thrown out to elicit further curious information from the 'Monarch of the Day.' It seems that 'the Monarch' is too fatigued for a reply; his robes are cumbersome, or his sceptre is weighty, or he is unused to so much parlance in one day. But if the lungs of PHILEMON be exhausted, what must be the relaxed state of the head and right hand of his ANNOTATOR? Nevertheless, 'come what come may'—the reader shall not turn his back upon the British Museum without a further specimen or two of its multifarious book-treasures. And now—having dispatched our *theological, historical, and poetical* branches of discussion—what say you, reader gay, to a smack of *alchemical* intelligence? Be present, spirits of Dee, Tradescant, and Ashmole!—whose 'brains,' I verily believe, would have 'turned,' had they seen the volume now about to be described. It is noticed at vol. i. p. 26, and vol. iii. p. 31, of the recent Catalogue of the Harl. MSS. and is numbered 3469.

On the recto of the first leaf, in Lord Oxford's hand-writing, we read as follows: '*This fine Book was given me by my . . . [erased] in 17 . . . [erased] It was bought of Mrs. PRIEMER who was niece to the Famous Mr. CYPRIANUS whose book it was.*' Below, in a different hand, it is thus observed: 'by a date marked upon the last miniature but five, This Book appears to have been painted in the year 1582.' In 1768 (in Wanley's hand writing) it had 48 leaves, and 22 illuminated paintings. It has them now.' Lord Oxford's autograph is on the recto of the first leaf of the text. The initial letters are flowered, in gold. The text is like that of the *Teurdanckhs*; and I suspect that the book, from that character, (which was discontinued about 1550) is of somewhat earlier date. More extraordinary things were surely never seen. The colouring is gorgeous but beautiful; although, occasionally, the touch is rather clumsy and heavy. But the larger figures—especially those at the ixth and xth illuminations, are forcibly executed; and at the ixth pleasingly monstrous—where we see a double-headed man, with radii, in black and gold drapery, with wings; bearing a circular shield of heaven and earth in his right hand. The xth is singularly curious, but not more so than the 6 following; where the smaller figures are surprisingly well grouped and touched. The rising sun, at the xixth and xxth illuminations, have an extraordinary effect. The borders are composed of fruits and flowers; and the smaller groups embrace almost all the trades, arts, pursuits, and occupations of mankind.

mention of, the contents of ocean's 'dark unfathomed caves?' The longest life, the most unrelaxed and vigorous state of nerves—a curiosity without limits, and a power of description

In spite of the character of the book, David and Bathsheba, with Esther and Ahasuerus are contrived to be introduced; but some of the basso-relievo imitations, especially those beneath the 1vth illumination, are quite master-pieces of art, and evidently by a different hand. Upon the whole, it is well observed of these extraordinary illuminations by the author of the Catalogue of the Harl. MSS. of 1762, that, 'the beauty of the colouring, the disposition of the figures, the elegance of their attitudes, and the propriety of composition, is scarcely to be equalled.' It remains only to add that the volume is a thin folio; but evidently cropt (will misery of this sort never cease to persecute the honest bibliomaniac?) in the right margin, or fore-edge.

So much for *Alchemy*. We will, as the LAST memorandum of the loveliness of ILLUMINATION, (selected from among the British Museum treasures) here notice a very different production. It is full of grace, beauty, and delightful caprice: and formerly enriched the Royal Collection. Casley (tasteless creature, I fear!) hath only this brief memorandum relating to it. '17. A. xxiii. Sentences selected by Sir Nic. Bacon, Knt., and sent to the Lady Lumley: finely painted,' p. 260. 'Finely painted' indeed they are: and much am I beholden to Mr. Henry Ellis for having placed so marvellously pretty an oblong volume—about 9 inches and a half, by six and a quarter—upon the Museum reading table for my inspection. There are, in the whole, only fifteen leaves; upon vellum. The autograph of 'Lumley' is on the paper fly-leaf. The general title is thus:

Syr. NICOLAS. BACON, KNYGHTE. TO. HIS. VERY
GOOD. LADYE. The. LADYE. LVMLEY. SENDETH. THIS

Bacon's arms and supporters are beneath. On the recto of the second leaf, at top:

Sentences Painted In the Lorde Keparis
Gallery at Gorhambvry: and Selected
By Him owt of Divers Avthors, and Sent
To the Good Ladye Lvmley At her Desire

The sentences, or moral adages, follow: with a title to the whole in Latin. They are executed in roman capitals of gold, upon scrolls of different colours, upon a background of green, red, or blue. The whole ornamented and relieved, with gold arabesque patterns, most delicately executed. Beyond all doubt this is a PERFECT GEM of its kind.

As a running but short commentary to the declamation of Philemon, respecting the book-treasures in the BRITISH MUSEUM—and more especially of the uses and purposes to which fac-similes of some of the GRAPHIC EMBELLISHMENTS therein, may be applied—receive, in conclusion, benevolent reader, what is observed respecting the same, by Hocker, the Editor of the Catalogue of the

equally strong and varied—all are inadequate to do justice to the ample stores contained in the NATIONAL REPOSITORY to which you allude! Much however as the public have been made acquainted with its principal treasures, I augur well, from the known sagacity and invincible diligence of those gentlemen to whose care such a Repository is now confided, that very many years will not elapse before we receive some specimen, or specimens, in the way of *graphic illustration*, of the beautiful, curious, extraordinary, or instructive exhibitions of ancient art which that Repository contains. The wealth of a nation is never better bestowed than in the diffusion of useful or elegant knowledge; and least of all should *that* knowledge be suffered to lie concealed, which, by calling forth, and embodying with new life, as it were, what our ANCESTORS have done, tends most effectually to perpetuate a meritorious remembrance of OURSELVES—and what is this, let me ask, but FAME and PATRIOTISM in their purest ‘shapes and substances?’ I have done. Information has dwindled into declamation; and it is natural that you should exhibit symptoms of ennui.—If you please, we will disport ourselves in the garden.

Harl. MSS. of 1762.—‘exclusive of their importance in other respects, a variety of MSS. is highly valuable on account of the many BEAUTIFUL ILLUMINATIONS, and EXCELLENT PAINTINGS wherewith they are embellished; those pictures being not only useful for illustrating the subject-matter of the books in which they are respectively placed, but furnishing excellent lessons and useful hints to painters; perpetuating the representations of the principal Personages, Buildings, Utensils, Habits, Armour, and Manners of the age in which they were painted; and very probably preserving some Pieces of eminent Painters, of whose works no other Remains are extant.’ Let every Member of either House HEAR!—and lend an ‘helping hand’ to carry into effect any resolutions which may have, for their object, the diffusion of that valuable knowledge which their own NATIONAL MUSEUM contains. They owe it to the gallant memories of COTTON, HARLEY, and SLOANE!

So saying, the Party rose—with even shouts of applause, and the most vehement assurances of not having experienced the least ‘ennui.’ Philemon collected carefully together his numerous specimens, with an air of conscious triumph that his friends had not been disappointed in the promises held out to them at the commencement of the day. On the morrow, the same circle surrounded him with increased expectations of delight: and it was full fifteen minutes ere the MONARCH could repress the first emotions of gratification, and collect his scattered thoughts, so as to address his audience in the following manner.



SECOND DAY.

ARGUMENT.

Ancient Missals and Breviaries. The Roman, Ambrosian, Mozarabic, and Vallombrosa Rituals. Ornaments of Printed-Books of Devotion. The Death-Dance. Allegorical, Pastoral, Grotesque, and Domestic subjects of Decoration. Of the most distinguished Printers of Missals, &c. Advice to Young Collectors.



Bartholomew Beham Sc^t. 1520.

Second Day.



N diverging from the pleasing topics which occupied our discourse of yesterday, we cannot be said to enter upon a discussion altogether foreign to what has been previously advanced. We may, on the contrary, observe that the whole seems to form only

links of one chain ; but that some of these links are wrought in metal of a baser character than others. The illuminator prepared the way for the imitative powers of the printer ; not that the latter always chose the identical subjects which graced the pages of the former ; for, to the best of my recollection, we have seldom, in specimens of pencil-illumination, those *Drolleries* and *Death-Dances* which appear to have delighted the printers of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Farewell then to the arabesque border—to clustered fruits and flowers—to groups of thoughtful or of frolicksome characters:—farewell to the deep and delicate glow which described the blush of the maiden, or

the lustre of the gem with which she adorned her braided hair! Farewell to the intricate, but not ungraceful *capriccios* of the pen and pencil of Francesco Veronesi—and to the embossed and blazing gold of Girolamo, which, like the shield of Achilles, lighted up all that was around it! Farewell to the splendor and high finishing of Clovio! Farewell these objects of gaiety and grace! but not unwelcome, therefore, to me, the curious and complicated workmanship of **EARLY PRINTED BOOKS OF DEVOTION!**

You smile at these apostrophes, and think it high time that I should descend from such an aerial station and tread on terra firma with yourselves. Let me however make one other preliminary observation; which is this. I saw the sceptical expression that indented the brow of Lisardo, when I observed that we should in vain look for ‘fruits and flowers’ and ‘arabesque borders’ in the Missals and Breviaries which issued from the earlier presses; but I by no means wished the remark to be considered as canonical, or as an ‘*ex cathedra*’ position. Generally speaking, the ancient printers of Missals introduced arabesque—but not of the purest kind: it was rather crowded and dove-tailed, like mosaic work, as I shall presently shew you: and ‘fruits and flowers,’ as you will also presently be convinced, were of uncommon occurrence. But they endeavoured to compensate by variety, for the want of pure taste, in their selections. Accordingly, we are oftentimes greeted with a profusion of decorations—of a monstrous and miscellaneous nature. I speak, at present, of the *borders* of a page, where grave or historical subjects were not introduced; and here, Lisardo, you may remember the amusement which was afforded you, the other day, on witnessing an ape seated upon a buffalo’s back, a serpent coiled within a griffin’s mouth, a demon leaping

out of a salamander's throat of fire; and men, women, and children, half human and half brute — with divers other similar exhibitions, which now it were tedious to specify.

I am yet far from wishing to be satirical, or to under-rate the real talents of the artists engaged in the publications here alluded to. On the contrary, their performances (as you will quickly learn) were at times equally elegant, singular, and successful; and subjects of sacred writ were, by such means, impressed upon the minds of youth with a very salutary effect. In reputation of another kind — in typographical skill — it may fairly be averred that all the talents of the BULMERS and BENSLEYS of the day could with difficulty produce such a series of vellum pages, (exhibiting ink of the most glossy lustre, press-work of the nicest execution, and ornaments of the most complicated nature,) as we frequently behold in the productions of the VERARDS, the PICOUCHETS, and KERVERS of former times. Whether it be that some important secret relating either to the ink,*

* *relating to the INK.*] I looked into Dr. Rees's edition of the Cyclopædia, (at this moment advancing rapidly to its *perihelion*,) with the hope, under the title of INK, of finding something curious or novel respecting the probable process of making PRINTING INK, in ancient times: and on being referred to the article PRINTING, for an account of RED INK, I there found only this solitary description — taken, as well as the entire article of Printing (proh pudor!), word for word, from our old friend Chambers; of whom the Doctor had been indeed a valuable coadjutor — 'For red ink (says Chambers) they use the same materials as for black; excepting only, that instead of lamp-black, they add a proper quantity of vermilion. Some hold that, by mixing and incorporating the bigness of a nut of fish-glue, or brandy, or the white of an egg, with the ink, the vermilion acquires a greater lustre.' Did the worthy Doctor never hear of one Antonius Musa Brasavolus, quoted by Petrus Maria Caneparius, in his prosing but not incurious quarto tome '*De Atramentis Cujuscunque Generis, Opus sane novum, hactenus à nemine promulgatum. Londini, 1660; 4to.*' The 4th chapter of the division of that work entitled '*Typographorum, Chalcographorumve Atramentum*' — treats of printing ink, of which a process is described as producing 'very black and adhesive ink.' There

or to the preparation of the vellum, then practised, and at present unknown, render modern efforts of less avail, I cannot take upon me to determine; but—

LISARDO. You forget the enormous expense——

PHILEMON. I was quickly coming to the consideration of that point; which is indeed a most material one. Labour, I presume, was then rewarded by reasonable wages; or talent, of the kind necessary to produce such publications, was in former times comparatively common. But here you compel me to draw an invidious and heart-rending inference. When I speak of the general prevalence of talent, necessary for the peculiar productions here alluded to, it must be understood that I allude exclusively to the talents of *foreign artists*—for, in our own country, three centuries ago, (with a sigh does the remark escape me!) there was a prodigious

is scarcely a coloured ink but what Caneparius describes, and sometimes with a sort of poetical phrensy. Hear him discourse of a new kind of vitriol ('Ad effingendum novum Vitrioli genus' which Mr. Astle might probably have consulted to advantage), 'Sacra numina testor (says Caneparius) neminem veterum legisse, ni memoria fallor, qui de his tractaverit; cum neque Dioscorides ullum egerit verbum, neque Galenus, non Ætius, non Paulus Ægineta, non Serapio, neque Avicennas, ac summam nemo hujus vel alterius sectæ notitiam horum attulit, quod sciam, quorum equidem inventionis gloria ætati nostræ tantum attribuenda est, tunc Italis, cum etiam Transmontanis: præterea nuper ex Transmarinis quidam Syrii advehunt ad nos quoddam Vitrioli factitii genus novum pulcherrimi coloris saphirini taxillorum forma, ceu chrisocollæ mineralis, quod Venetiis in plateis Divi Marci venundant pro medendis oculis equorum male affectis efficac. . . . etsi aliquis hujus magisterium occultare conatur, non patiar ego quin humano generi reddatur acceptum gratis ab Omnipotente Deo.' &c. p. 221.

Mr. Astle, however, very justly observes; 'Simple as the composition of ink may be thought, and really is, it is a fact well known, that we have at present none equal in beauty and colour to that used by the ancients . . . What occasions so great a disparity? Does it arise from our ignorance, or our want of materials? From neither, but from the negligence of the present race; as very little attention would soon demonstrate that we want neither skill nor ingredients to make ink, as good now, as at any former period.' *Origin and Progress of Writing*; p. 209. edit. 1803.

dearth and deficiency of graphic attainments. Nor must you be deceived by a colophon: for Missals, *professed* to be executed by our earlier printers, were in fact 'begun and concluded' in the offices of foreigners. Even Pynson too frequently shines in the borrowed plumage of Tailleux.* But of this hereafter. Let us however—to meet your observation—suppose that some spirited Collector, or a select committee of the Roxburghe Club,† should unite their tastes and purses, to put forth, from the SHAKESPEARE PRESS, an octavo volume of prayers from the Liturgy, decorated in a manner similar to what we observe in the devotional publications just alluded to—do you think the attempt would be successful? In other words, where are

* *Pynson too often shines in the borrowed plumage of Tailleux.*] The reader will find a few of the earlier and more magnificent Missals, published by Pynson towards the beginning of the Sixteenth Century, described in the second volume of the *Typog. Antiquities*, p. 424. On reconsidering Pynson's books, I rather attribute them to the press of TAILLEUX of Rouen; although Ames and Herbert seem to be of opinion that the Norman printer was only employed by Pynson for the execution of Law Tracts. There is, in the Auctarium of the Bodleian library, a very fine devotional volume, with the name of Pynson as the printer, of the date of 1529, in folio; but both in this copy, and in another of the same kind, in the library of St. John's College, Oxford, without date, (each from the Collection of Archbishop Laud), there is very strong evidence of their having been executed *abroad*; and, if so, most probably by Tailleux, who was Pynson's avowed assistant. The red ink, in these beautiful books, is much beyond what we see in other publications of our early printers; and the vellum is of very superior delicacy. If Pynson could have exhibited equal beauty in these two particulars, Wynkyn De Worde undoubtedly would have been equally successful; and yet whoever examines the *Book of Hawking, Hunting, Coat-Armour, and Fishing*, printed by the latter in 1496, upon vellum (in the possession of the Right Hon. Thomas Grenville), will find that most covetable volume considerably defective in regard to the red-ink and vellum. If Regnault printed many of the Church-Services for our later printers, Tailleux, in all probability, executed a few for our earlier ones.

† *the Roxburghe Club.*] Some account of this Club, and of the important event which gave rise to its establishment, will be disclosed in the EIGHTH DAY.

the ink and vellum which can match with what we see in the Missals of old? The doubtful success of such an experiment would render it extremely hazardous; even were it not attended with, what may be called, an immensity of expense. Welcome therefore, again, I exclaim, the rich and fanciful furniture which garnishes the texts of early printed books of Devotion! But I will now assume the task of the historian.

In tracing the progress of these publications, it must be understood that I do it rather with reference to that of the art of engraving, than with a view to be chronologically accurate. I need not tell you that certain celebrated Cathedrals adopted their own particular forms of service, to which the minor Cathedrals appear to have rather voluntarily conformed. Abroad, if my memory be not treacherous, the French or the Norman churches led the way to this uniformity of discipline; and after these, the churches of Catalonia in Spain.* In our own country, I believe, the Liturgies of

* ‘In after-ages Bishops agreed by consent to conform their Liturgy to the model of the metropolitical church of the province to which they belonged The rudiments of this discipline were first laid in the French churches; for in the council of Agde [Concil, Agathens. Can. 30. “Quia convenit ordinem Ecclesiæ ab omnibus æqualiter observari, studendum est ubique (sicut fit) et post Antiphonas, Collectiones per ordinem ab Episcopis vel Presbyteris dici,” &c.] a Canon was made about the year 506, that one and the same order should be equally observed in all churches of the province in all parts of divine service. And in the council of Epone [Concil. Epaunens. Can. 27.], of Vannes in Brittany in the province of Tours [of a still earlier date], and of Girone [An. 517, for the Spanish Churches], a decree was made that the same order of Mass, and custom in psalmody, and other ministrations, should be observed in all churches of the province, as was observed in the metropolitical church.’ Extracted from *Bingham’s Antiquities of the Christian Church*; vol. i. p. 587-8. Muratori only disgraces himself when he speaks of Bingham as ‘sectæ suæ pro viribus serviens, sed non semper veritati.’ *Opera*; vol. ix. edit. 1771, 4to. Bingham was a man of learning and moderation,

YORK, SALISBURY, and HEREFORD * Cathedrals were considered as the standard texts for the performance of divine service in other Cathedrals. Of these Liturgies, that

* *the Liturgies of York, Salisbury, and Hereford.*] We may consider these Liturgies rather according to the importance of the Churches to which they were attached, than to the antiquity of the several impressions of them. York, first in magnitude, and pre-eminently distinguished for its Cathedral (perhaps the noblest Gothic structure in the world), was however the latest of these three Cathedral Churches which put forth an impression of the MISSAL peculiar to itself. Her BREVIARY however was printed in 1493; consequently it was nearly as ancient as any printed Breviary or Missal for the use of British Churches. Maittaire specifies the parts of this Breviary, in his *Annal. Typog.* vol. i. p. 568. In regard to the Missal, Salisbury had preceded her full two and twenty years; and Hereford, at least fourteen years. Accordingly (as far as Bibliographers have as yet aided us), it was not till the year 1516 that the public saw a printed volume entitled ‘*Missale ad vsum celeberrime ecclesie Eboracensis, optimis caracteribus recenter impressum,*’ &c. Maittaire (*Index*, vol. ii. p. 74) has been only copied by Panzer (vol. vi. p. 492) in his description of this beautiful and rare volume: of which I remember to have seen a copy in the Gough Collection in the Bodleian library. In his *British Topography*, vol. ii. p. 425, Gough describes it as ‘with musical notes, and several fine wooden cuts;’ and in Mr. Bandinel’s Catalogue of the Gough Library (1814, 4to. p. 418) we have a transcript of a note by Dr. Ducarel (whose copy Gough afterwards purchased) in which it is thus observed: “Of this very scarce York Missal, in folio, there are known to be only three copies; viz. one at Cambridge, one in the library of James West, Esq. [See *Bibl. West*, no. 1886, which copy was purchased by Herbert, for 2*l.* 18*s.*] and this copy in the library of Dr. Ducarel, A. D. 1762.” Herbert, in his *Typog. Antiq.* vol. iii. p. 1487-8, has added little or nothing to Gough’s previous description; and his copy, from the mark annexed to it, (†) appears to have been somewhat imperfect. The reader may consult the *British Topography* (*Ibid.*) for an account of other Services peculiar to York Cathedral; but let him not, if he love the mysteries of ancient church-lore, refrain from reading, by lamp-light, and in some ‘lone watch-tower,’ the form of *bidding prayer*, and another of *cursing*, for the church of York—which served as covers to a set of madrigals, in the possession of the late Sir John Hawkins!

The CATHEDRAL CHURCH of SALISBURY supplies both curious and copious details in the history of its ancient form of Service. ‘No cathedral (says Gough) has preserved such a variety of service books for its Use as Sarum. This is another name for the *Ordinale*, or complete service of the church of Salisbury, instituted by Bishop Osmund 1077. It was also named the *Consuetudinary*; and in Knighton’s and Higden’s time (which was in the xivth century) it obtained almost all over England, Wales, and Ireland. The whole province of Canterbury adopted it;

of Salisbury was the most popular, and consequently Missals 'after the Use of Salisbury Cathedral' are, comparatively, of common occurrence.

and in right of it the Bishop of Salisbury was precentor in the college of Bishops whenever the Archbishop of Canterbury performed divine service. The Cathedrals of York, Lincoln, Hereford, Bangor, and Aberdeen, had their respective *Uses*; but the monks of Royston petitioned Fitz-James, Bishop of London, in the beginning of the xvth century, for leave to change that of Bangor for that of Sarum, in their offices; alleging that the former was imperfect in itself, and still more so in the performance, from their torn and worn out books, which they were unwilling to change except for a better form.' . . . 'The Use of Sarum not only regulated the form and order of celebrating the mass, but prescribed the rule and office for all the sacerdotal functions.' *Brit. Topography*; vol. ii. p. 319, &c. and authorities cited.

Thus much for the ancient influence or popularity of the Ritual of the Cathedral Church of Salisbury. In regard to a bibliographical history of the several impressions of the various forms of service, the reader must be contented chiefly with the authority just referred to: but the following may not be unworthy of his notice. The *DIRECTORIUM SACERDOTUM* is undoubtedly the earliest printed book which has any connection with the ancient church of Salisbury; and this was first printed by Caxton, probably before the year 1490—but certainly by Gerard de Leeu in the year 1488. See the recent edition of our *Typog. Antiq.* vol. i. p. 323-5. I doubt much whether any copy of Caxton's impression contained a frontispiece—as described by Herbert; who probably saw a copy with such decoration from a different impression. Pynson reprinted Caxton's text in 1498, as may be seen in vol. iv. p. 423, of the *Bibl. Spenceriana*; where, as well as in Ames, may be read the facetious note of the crabbed Rowe-Mores concerning this work of 'Directions for celebrating the Mass.' Gough notices an edition of the 'Directorium' as printed by Theodore Martin, at Alost, in 1487, 4to.; but I suspect that the copy of this work which he saw attached to an impression of St. Chrysostom's 'Three Books concerning Providence,' of the date of 1487, was of a more recent date; as Panzer, in describing this latter work, of the date of 1487 (see his *Annal. Typog.* vol. i. p. 3, no. 6), makes no mention of the 'Directorium.'

The *MISSAL* was the next work which engaged the attention of the press; and of this, according to Denis, the earliest impression was of the date of 1492—printed at Nuremberg, by George Stöchs: *Suppl. Maitt.* p. 330, no. 2728. Neither Maittaire, Gough, nor Herbert knew of this edition; and Denis, to whom Panzer exclusively refers, inserts it on the authority of a copy in the possession of a private friend. However this may be, it is quite certain that Joannes Hertzog de Landoia printed an edition of it in 1494, both in folio and octavo, at Venice. An impression of the latter form is in the Gough library. See also Maittaire, vol. i. p. 577. The *Summer Part* of the *SALISBURY BREVIARY* was executed in the

LORENZO. Do you mean to enter upon the Histories of *Foreign Rituals*?

PHILEMON. You ask me to enter upon a most elaborate

following year, at Venice, by the same printer, in duodecimo: Gough's *British Topography*, vol. ii. p. 326-7. The HYMNS, or 'Expositio Hymnorum secundum Vsum Sarum,' were first printed by Pynson in 1497: see the *Typog. Antiquities*, vol. ii. p. 412. The HOURS, or 'Hore presentes ad Vsum Sarum,' were first executed by Pigouchet for Vostre, in 1498, in 8vo; and Gough for once seems to feel something like an 'electrical spark' in book-description—when he observes that this volume has 'beautiful wood-cuts at the sides, representing New Testament histories, the dance of death, saints, virtues, vices, grotesques,' &c. &c. *Brit. Topog.* vol. ii. p. 327. In his note he feels still more warped upon the subject of early vellum books of devotion. I trust that his Spirit, if hovering within the 'confines' of any spot where the SECOND DAY of this Decameron shall be read carefully through, will not be displeased at the manner of here describing this brilliant and most interesting part of Bibliography. To return. The preceding impressions of the xvth century are quite sufficient to awaken the curiosity of the sharp-sighted collector to the multiplicity of impressions which would in all probability appear of so popular a form of Church Service as that of Salisbury Cathedral. I forbear therefore to enlarge the catalogue of such impressions; yet let me beg of the said collector to turn to no. 1887 of the *Bibl. West*, where he will find a copy of the Salisbury Missal, of the date of 1527 (which had belonged to Henry the VIII. and Dean Young), printed by Prevost for Byrckman, partly upon vellum—in folio—for which Bishop Burnet, 'after many years enquiry,' gave 17*l*. This copy was purchased at West's sale by the late Mr. Evans, bookseller, for 2*l*. 7*s*.; but another copy, 'entirely printed upon fine vellum,' reached the sum of 4*l*.

Yet a word, gentle reader, before we quit the subject of early impressions of the Salisbury Ritual. Our well beloved W. de Worde put forth the first edition of the HORÆ, in our own country, relating to the same Cathedral Service. It was in the year 1502, in quarto. A copy of this impression, upon vellum (now in the Gough library, and described at vol. ii. p. 107, of my edition of the *Typog. Antiquities*), contained, upon the margins thereof, certain written rhymes, in an ancient hand, of a strange and mysterious nature: to wit, *The Little Credo*; *The Spell of Edmonds Bury*; and the *White Pater Noster*. Again, therefore, trim the lamp: bolt out the blast: and while the 'watch-tower' rocks to the hurricane, read—but look not around—as follows:

'Peters Brother where lystest all night?
There as Christ y yod.
What hast in thy honde? heauen keys.
What hast in thy tother?
Broade booke leaues.

and puzzling undertaking: but as you seem to expect something of the kind, 'something (and very little only) of the kind' you shall have. Remember, I am a mere

Open heauen gates,
Shutt hell yeates
Euerie childe creepe christ ouer
White Benedictus be in this howse
Euerye night.
Within & without. This howse round about
St. Peter att the one door
St. Paule att the other
St. Michael in the middle
Fyer in the flatt
Chancell-op shatt
Euerie naugers bore
An Angell before.

White Pater Noster. Amen.

'But soft,' the winds are laid: the clouds disperse and the full-orbed moon sheds her lustre upon the tranquilised ocean. *The Little Credo* be my comfort then!—

'I mett with our lady in a greene way
With a stocke and a locke I say
Shée sighed full soare for her deare sonne
Which was nayled through hande
And foote to his brayne panne
Well is the man that this creede canne
His fellowe to teache
To heauen he shall reache.

An observation or two respecting the earliest printed *HEREFORD MISSAL*, and the reader shall take leave of this unconscionable note. Like all the first editions of similar works, this Ritual was first printed abroad; and its scarcity is extreme. The 'labour and skill' of those ancient and worthy Rouen printers, Messrs. Olivier and Manditier, supported by the 'spirit and purse' of Master John Ricard, 'a merchant,' produced this scarce volume at Rouen in 1502. Hearne had a copy of it, upon vellum; the gift of his friend Charles Eyston; and he declares that he never saw another vellum copy. *Camdeni Annales*. vol. i. præf. p. xxvii. note, ed. 1717. What became of it upon Hearne's death, does not appear. It is not to be found in the catalogue of his library (p. 27, 39), which was sold in 1736. Gough (*Brit. Topog.* vol. i. p. 412) has only a brief reference to Hearne, and appears to have never seen it. Ames took his description of it from a perfect copy belonging to a Dr. Hez[ekiah] Bedford: the Bodleian copy being imperfect. See the recent edition of our *Typog. Antiq.* vol. iii. p. 5. There is no copy of it in the British Museum; and De Bure, Bauer, Vogt, and Brunet

novice in these studies; and my information must necessarily be crude. As the City and the Metropolitan Church of Rome have always towered above other foreign Cities and Churches, so it should seem that the Romish Church-Service, or Liturgy, AFTER THE USE OF THE ROMISH CHURCH, has always claimed precedence in rank, if not in antiquity.* This point is now at rest; but formerly there

will be in vain consulted for a description of it. The Offices, or Services attached to the *Use of Hereford*, appear to have been few; as I do not remember to have met with any other printed ritual belonging to this cathedral. Of the Services of LINCOLN and BANGOR CATHEDRALS, no printed volume has as yet come to my knowledge.

* *The Romish Church—precedence in rank, if not in antiquity.*] Let us take the latter point first into consideration. In the preface to the 1xth volume of the *Opere del Præposito Lodovico Antonio Muratori*, Arezzo, 1771, 4to. it is observed that Blanchinius (under the patronage of Pope Benedict XIV.) in compiling his ecclesiastical annals of Odoricus Raynaldus, sent a few ancient copies of the Gregorian Sacrament to Muratori, 'that the Catholic church might derive some benefit therefrom.' After expressing his doubt and diffidence of doing justice to such a subject, and thinking no one comparable to Menardus (τῷ μακαρίτῳ) for such a task, Muratori tells the reader that he only proposes to give him an account of the Three Roman Sacraments, or Sacramental Rituals; namely, the LEONINE, the GELASIAN (copies of which were becoming scarce), and the GREGORIAN: the latter, from the most ancient of all the MSS. of that kind: namely, from one of the 8th century: of which a specimen is given. 'In these three Services (says Muratori) the whole Roman Liturgy is included; and to unite them I thought would not be ungrateful to a number of readers.' In the Benedictin edition of the Works of St. Gregory the Great [*Sancti Gregorii Papæ I. Cognomento Magni Opera Omnia. Paris, 1705, Folio*] it is said, on the authority of Diaconus (lib. ii. cap. 17), to which Walafridus Strabo (*de Reb. Eccl. cap. 22.*) assents, that St. Gregory was not the original author of the text, but Pope Gelasius I. St. Gregory reduced it only to a better form. Mabillon, as quoted by Muratori (vol. x. p. 611), says—'Libelli antiquitatem probant Rubricæ (ut vocant) quæ in Libro Sacramentorum Gregorii M. leguntur pro hebdomade sancta, totidem versibus heic expressæ. Unde Gregorium ex hoc libello in suum Sacramentarium prædictas transtulisse Rubricas veri simillimum est. Præterea, totus pontificiæ missæ ritus, in eodem ordine præscriptus, Gregorii ætatem meo judicio sapit.' Martene, in his valuable work entitled *De Antiquis Ecclesiæ Ritibus* (Rotomagi, 1700, 4to. vol. i. p. 44) speaks of a MS. of the Roman Liturgy 'of the date of 300:' which, however, is questionable: and Muratori

were some pretty tough contests in adjusting it: and I cannot help applauding, in my heart, those struggles which the followers of the AMBROSIAN, GALIC, and MOZARABIC

allows that, 'in the oldest copies of the Gelasian and Gregorian Liturgies, there are not to be found all the rites or ceremonies which characterise the modern Roman Ritual.

From vol. iii. p. 649, of the *Opera Gregorii M.*, it seems determined that St. Gregory rather compiled, than composed, the Sacraments and the Liber Antiphonarius: yet he is allowed to have been the composer of the Gregorian chant, or the Antiphona, which consists in alternate singing—or was anciently termed the ἀντίφωνον ὑμνωδίαν 'Institutum à nostro Gregorio cantandi methodum per Occidentem propagarunt sanctissimi Patris alumni,' &c. Diaconus makes mention of a famous Chorister or Singer, in the Gregorian choir, of the name of MABAN; but it is due to the illustrious memory of one ROMANUS, that he restored the chant, on the eve of its corruption. *Id. Opus*, vol. iii. p. 650. Read that popular author Gussanvillæus—who is most learned upon the science of the Antiphona. Our Hawkins and Burney are not less erudite; but from Masson's *Essay on Cathedral Music*, prefixed to his 'Collection of Anthems,' we have an account of ancient Cathedral music which may probably here suffice as a specimen of the mysteries of that science. 'When the *genealogy of Christ* was set to music and sung, while the bass was holding forth the *existence of Abraham*, the tenor, in defiance of nature and chronology, was *begetting Isaac*; the counter-tenor *begetting Jacob*, and the treble *begetting Joseph and all his brethren.*' This method however of singing—probably called 'cantus fractus et divisus'—did not escape censure even in its own time. *Fosbrooke's Economy of Monastic Life*; p. 8. With this, not I trust inharmonious digression, I conclude the enquiry into the ANTIQUITY OF THE ROMAN RITUAL.

As to its RANK; it necessarily claimed precedence over that of every other Church. Hugo Menardus, the modest, melancholy, and instructive Menardus (whose edition of the Roman Liturgy, in 1642, with notes and observations, is preferable to every one which preceded it), gravely tells us that 'the Romish Church is the mother of every other church, and which every one should imitate, and be subject to.' See his preface. He published from a MS. at least as old as the 9th century, and gave a plate of St. Gregory, from the Codex Remensis, which the Benedictine editors copied at p. 559 of the IIIrd volume of the works of that Saint. Mabillon as solemnly asserts—'quemadmodum a Romana Ecclesia fidei suæ originem repetunt pleræque, ne dicam Omnes, Occidentis ecclesiæ: sic etiam ab eadem modum ac formam divini cultus derivari par est.' *Museum Italicum*, vol. ii. p. i. And Renaudot with equal decision affirms:—'In Latina Ecclesia, præcipuum locum obtinet CANON ROMANUS, qui, quòd à Gelasio Papa primum, deinde à Gregorio magno, in eam quam nunc habet formam redactus est GREGORIANUS vulgò appellatur. Quamvis Ecclesia Romana reliquarum prima,

Rituals made for the independence of their particular Liturgies; and the latter, with complete success.

It would be neither pleasant nor profitable to describe these,

ab Apostolorum principe fundata, summam habeat dignitatem et auctoritatem, jus etiam singulare in Ecclesias Occidentis semper habuerit, nunquam tamen primis sæculis Canonis Eucharistiæ celebrandæ sui, formam aliis Ecclesiis ita præscripsit, ut multis antiqua sua consuetudo, suique ritus non conservarentur.' *Diss. De Liturg. Orient. Orig. et Antiquit.* vol. i. cap. ii. p. viii. 1740. Let us conclude with Muratori, who thus guardedly observes: 'Id autem curæ Romanis Pontificibus semper fuit, ut quantum possent, reliquas Occidentis Ecclesias adducerent ad amplectendam Romanæ Ecclesiæ Liturgiam, et mores ab ea dissonos in sacris peragendis exuerent.' *Antiquit. Ital. Mediæ Ævi*, vol. iv. col. 834.

Let those of my readers who wish to drink deeper draughts of the ancient Romish-church lore, begin quietly with Amalarius (who wrote 'of Ecclesiastical Offices' in the year 820), Florus Magister, Rhabanus Maurus, Walafridus Strabo, Berno, and Micrologus ['qui sub humili nomine latere voluit,' says Mabillon of the latter—*Mus. Ital.* vol. ii. p. iij], in our earlier annals—pause awhile ere they attack Durandus of the xiiith century—who wrote a short treatise entitled '*Rationale Divinorum Officiorum*' (consisting of forty thousand three hundred and twenty lines in close gothic print, as appears from the first impression of it in 1459)—then go briskly to work with Pamelius, Cassander, Claudius de Sanctes, and Roccha, in the xvth century—and, in the two following centuries, with Cassalius, Goar, Albaspineus, Leo Allatius, Morinus, and Menardus: and (more instructive than either of their predecessors) conclude with Bona, Thomasius, Georgius, Mabillon, the Benedictine Editors, and Muratori.

It is however extremely probable that the curious Collector would like to have an edition of the Roman Liturgy in the theological department of his library. Let such Collector, therefore, look sharply and sedulously after the 'curious' edition of it given by Matthias Flacius Illyricus, in 1557, 8vo. from the press of Mylius at Strasbourg. He may first whet his appetite by the pleasingly-rambling account of it in Bayle, (*Dict.* vol. ii. p. 839, note D) and then go directly to De Bure (*Bibliogr. Instruct.* vol. i. p. 170, no. 200) and Vogt: *Catalog. Libror. Rarior.* p. 589-90: edit. 1793. Brunet is necessarily concise. *Manuel du Libraire*; vol. i. p. 506, edit. 1814. The title is thus: 'Missa Latina, quæ olim ante Romanam circa septingentesimum Domini annum in usu fuit bona fide ex vetusto authenticoque Codice descripta, &c. à Matthia Flacio Illyrico.' See also Colomieu's *Bibl. Choisie*, p. 8. Now for a brief chronicle relating thereto. Flacius was a learned man and a Lutheran. He published this work (with a curious preface by Beatus Rhenanus, which must not be missing) under an idea of shewing the discrepancies between the Roman and the Gallican texts. As his principles were previously known, Pope Sixtus V. and Philip II. of Spain immediately forbade its perusal. Some undaunted Catholic, however, when the first

not wholly bloodless, controversies; but I should remark that Pepin and Charlemagne were the chief instruments of the compliance of the Gallican Church with the forms of worship used in that of Rome.* Their own country seems

terror of the prohibition had a little subsided, plucked up courage to take a peep into the leaves of this heretical book; when, behold! he found the contents of it directly hostile to the Lutherans, and proportionably favourable to the tenets of the Church of Rome. What a cry and clatter then was here! The tocsin sounded; and the aforesaid Pope Sixtus V. and Philip II. King of Spain, began to encourage the timid, and command the bold, to approach the supposed fire-brand of Luther—and to take it into their bosoms as imparting the genuine heat of Catholicism! This tale will readily account for the rarity of the book. Martene, however, opposes the opinion of Mabillon (in his *Museum Italicum*), who thought that the text of Flacius's impression partook of that of the Gothic or Mozarabic ritual. The former, on the contrary, thinks it is after that of the Salisbary Missal. *De Antiquis Ecclesie Ritibus*; vol. i. p. 481.

* compliance of the Gallican Church with the forms of worship used in that of Rome.] The amalgamation, as it were, of the ancient Gallican and Frankish churches with that of Rome, took place in the ninth century: the previous exertions of Pepin and Charlemagne having rendered such union almost inevitable. The Franks and Gauls, however, had not originally the same Ritual. The old Frankish Liturgy differed in many places from the Roman, and partook of the Gallic and Spanish. The Gauls, in fact, appear to have used the old Gothic text (of which specimens are given in the VIth volume of the *Bibl. Vet. Patrum*) before the introduction of the Romish by Pepin and Charlemagne. The famous Petavius possessed an extraordinary volume of old Rituals, executed in capital letters; and of these, there was one of the ancient Frankish form—written, in the opinion of Morinus, before the year 560—‘which venerable and magnificent MS. (adds Morinus) travelled from Gaul into Sweden.’ In other words, upon the authority of Muratori, it was purchased by Christina, on the death of Petavius, and deposited by her in the Royal Library at Stockholm. This interesting old volume contained the Gothic, Frankish, and Gallican Liturgies. Mabillon published the *SACRAMENTARIUM GALLICANUM*, at the end of the first volume of his *Museum Italicum* (see p. 273, &c.) from an old MS. of the eighth century, in the dilapidated library of the Monastery Bobiensis. Muratori speaks feelingly of this MS. and monastic library, ‘Venerandam omnino antiquitatem præferebat. Quum tot alii Msti Codices e Gallia & Scotia deveci in eam Bibliothecam fuerint inlati, ut patet ex ejusdem vetustissimo Catalogo, quem publici juris feci in Tomo III. *Antiquit. Ital.* Dissert. XLIII. veri videtur simile, hoc etiam Sacramentarium ex aliqua Galliarum Ecclesia fuisse in Italiam advectum.’ *Opera*, vol. x. p. 199, &c. 609, edit. 1771, 4to. The varieties, antiquities, and customs of several Gallican Churches, may be seen in Moleon's amusing but rare book;

to have quietly agreed to the compromise; but the Ritual of St. Ambrose (as I have just observed) was protected either by the zeal of his followers, or by a miracle from heaven.* If any man was ever entitled to the affectionate

entitled *Voyage Liturgique de France*, 1718, 1757, 8vo.; to which Gough has been considerably indebted. *Brit. Topog.* vol. ii. p. 320.

* *protected either by the zeal of his followers, or by a miracle from heaven.*] Grant me all thy patience, kind-hearted reader, while, for thy edification or amusement, I strive to develop the history of the AMBROSIAN MISSAL. Some Antiquaries there are, who, in their love of the 'olden time,' scruple not to push truth from her 'stool;' and to set up, in her place, an unseemly Baal of absurdity and fiction. However, I must write what has been 'afore written.' It should seem, from Josephus Vicecomes (*de Ritibus Missæ*, lib. ii.), from Cardinal Bona (*Rerum Liturgicar.* lib. i. c. x.), from old Radulphus (An. 1390—in *libro de Canonum observantia*), and from Pamelius (who may be said to have given the first critical edition of the Ambrosian Missal in the year 1571), that, before the time of St. Ambrose, there existed a particular service, or form of prayer, in the Milanese church; and that there was a particular place of worship for Christians, where the Sacrament and other sacred rites were performed. What (say these writers) St. Ambrose may have changed, or added, does not appear certain; unless that we are assured, from Paulinus, in his *Life of this Saint*, and from St. Austin, in the 9th book of his *Confessions*, that the *Antiphona*, the *Hymns*, and the *Psalms*, were ordered by him to be sung or chanted according to the manner of the East. However, there are many things which lead one to believe that the more important parts of this Ritual—at present used in the Milanese church—existed before the time of St. Ambrose, or were consolidated or compiled by him. Muratori is of opinion that a few minor or immaterial parts of this service were changed, or reduced, in subsequent times: thereby differing from Mabillon, who contends for the identity of the present Ambrosian Ritual with what it was formerly—excepting the necessary addition of a few Festivals. The authority of Puricellius (who has so well written of Milanese antiquities) is quoted against Mabillon; and Puricellius allows of a few subsequent additions or changes. Mr. Butler, in his *Lives of the Saints* (vol. xi. p. 145, edit. 1816), seems to have attentively considered the weight of the preceding authorities, and to have inclined to the opinion that this Ritual 'certainly received a new lustre from our Saint's care, but is proved from his writings to have been older.' Perhaps (continues he) 'St. Barnabas, or more probably St. Marocles was the first author.' *Le Brun's Explic. des Cérém. de la Messe*; and Sormanni's *L'Origine Apostolica della Chiesa Milanese, e del Rito della Stessa*, 1755, are referred to by Mr. Butler.

On the other hand, there are those who contend for St. Ambrose being the exclusive author of the entire Ritual. Of this number is Walafrius Strabo, who wrote in the ninth century. But we shall do well to attend to the safer

devotion of his countrymen, surely that man was St. Ambrose. His conduct to the Emperor Theodosius has endeared his memory to the brave; and his compositions,

distinctions of Albertinus and Dallæus; the former of whom (*De Sacrament. Euchar.* lib. ii. p. 509) says that the works 'De Mysteriis' and 'De Sacramentis' were composed in the seventh century; and the latter (*De Confirm.* c. 8) thinks they are compositions of the eighth century. The Benedictine Editors (*Sancti Ambrosii Opera*, Paris, 1686, 1690, folio, 2 vols.) consider Ambrose as the author of the Mysteries, and conclude the Sacraments to have been written three centuries afterwards. But St. Austin affirms that Ambrose himself wrote the Book of Sacraments. Præf. vol. ii. *Ambrosii Opera* (*De Sacramentis*.) Another strange thing occurs. Bullinger calls these two works 'stupid;' and the editors of the *Cociana Censura* (Helmst. Ann. 1655) observe that 'they contain many things which are false, ridiculous, and even heretical, and in contradiction to the doctrine of St. Ambrose himself,' vol. ii. col. 341. Even Albertinus (say the Benedictine editors) thinks the author of these works used a different version from that which the Saint adopted! Who shall decide? Yet one thing is certain, says Muratori; 'It is beyond all doubt that the author of these two books was not subject to the Metropolitan Church of Rome; and it is equally clear that his residence was not far distant from that city, since we find in these works occasional coincidences with the ceremonies used in the Romish Missal.'

In the second place let us say a few words about the History of the *Independence of the Ambrosian Missal*. It has been more than once observed that Pepin and Charlemagne used their utmost endeavours to model all the Western Liturgies after that of Rome. Landulphus senior (whose History of Milan has been incorporated in the ivth volume of Muratori's *Script. Rer. Ital.*) says that it was ordained, in a Council at Rome, under Hadrian I., that Charlemagne should make a survey of all the Latin Liturgies, and destroy such as wholly differed from the Roman, and reduce all the liturgical texts to that of the Papal Metropolis. Landulphus then goes on to narrate that Charlemagne carried off all the books of the Ambrosian Liturgy EXCEPT ONE MISSAL—which was saved by a miracle—thus proving that Liturgy to be sanctified by the Deity. Birolodus, Durandus, Gualvaneus, Boninus Mombricitus, and other early Milanese writers, adopt the authority of Landulphus, and testify the miraculous preservation of this missal 'in tot turbines.' Muratori, however, in the preface to the reprint of Landulphus's history, thinks that ancient writer rather prone to gossiping and fabling, as many things are asserted by him palpably contrary to chronological accuracy. Yet, adds the courteous Priest, 'certè qui prodigium illud aut falsum prorsus suspicetur, aut ei fidem accomodare nolit, is me contradicentem minime dicebit.' *Antiquit. Italicæ Medii Ævi*, vol. iv. col. 834-840. Muratori goes on to observe, that, 'when the Popes were determined to make all the Gallican Liturgies conform to their own, it was natural enough that they should seize so inviting an opportunity of leaving no means untried to compel the *Ambrosian Ritual*, both in

at once remarkable for their elegance and chastity, render his character sacred in the estimation of the scholar. As to the preservation of the Gothic Ritual, the tutelary saintship

its dogmas and in its rites, to observe a similar conformity.' But the man 'who had devoted his life and his abilities to the service of the church; who considered wealth as the object of his contempt; who had renounced his private patrimony; and had sold, without hesitation, the consecrated plate for the redemption of captives'—(Gibbon, vol. v. p. 39, 8vo. edit. 1807) such a man was most likely to make an indelible impression upon the memories of his ecclesiastical disciples and successors; and accordingly the Milanese clergy resolutely and successfully opposed the Papal mandate. Indeed we are informed by Branda de Castellione (on the authorities of Corio and Oldoinus) that, as late as the year 1440, an attempt to renew this unpopular measure was completely frustrated by the enthusiastic adherents to the Ambrosian Missal: since which time, the votaries of St. Ambrose have been left in undisturbed possession of their favorite Ritual.

After such an account of the origin and independence of the Ambrosian Liturgy, the reader would hardly forgive me if I omitted to notice the earlier and rarer impressions of it. Both the AMBROSIAN MISSAL and the AMBROSIAN BREVIARY were published in the same year; namely, in 1475; and Zarotus, in whose office at Milan the former was executed, is supposed to have the honour of being the FIRST PRINTER OF MISSALS: an honour, however, which Ulric Han may almost dispute with him—as the latter executed the Roman Missal, at Rome, in the same year, only one month later. Panzer, vol. ii. p. 458. Saxius is full of information upon this Milan production: see his *Hist. Lit. Typog. Mediol.* p. LXXIX, col. CLXI: p. DLXII: and his account of it justifies Muratori in noticing the discrepancies which appear even between the editions of 1499, 1522, and 1594!—without going up to those of 1482, and 1475, of which that learned historian was evidently ignorant. Brunet mentions a copy of this first impression of the Ambrosian Missal, in the Royal Library at Paris, UPON VELLUM. *Manuel du Libraire*; vol. ii. p. 369. The Breviary was printed by Valdarfer, at Milan, in the same year, in 4to.; and Saxius shews how it differs from the modern texts of it. Of course it would be an elegant book when from the press of Valdarfer: see the *Hist. Lit. Typog. Mediol.* col. CLXII, p. DLXIII. I cannot however dismiss the very interesting subject of this Ritual (which Elzevir ought to have printed as a pocket companion for both Protestant and Roman Catholic) without noticing the peculiar character of parts of its composition—which justify Philemon in the above eulogy upon the talents of St. Ambrose. That great man called in the aid of poetry to his devotional exercises, and made hymns 'to the Glory of the Trinity.' In his tract against Auxentius, (*ad calcem Epist.* 32) he fearlessly exclaims: 'I am accused of deceiving and alluring the people by the poetry of my hymns: and I do not altogether deny the charge. For what can be more powerful and alluring than the confession of the Trinity, as it is daily sung by

of Isidore, and the miraculous conversion of its once formidable antagonist, Alphonsus the Sixth, protected that form of church-service from the domineering influence of the Metropolitan power of Rome: and Cardinal Ximenes,

the mouths of all the people?' These hymns are even noticed in the early Chronicle of Prosper (An. 386) 'as the first that were sung in the Church in Latin metre.' *St. Austin* [*Confess.* lib. ix. c. 7.] frequently makes mention of them; and says 'they were sung as the psalms then were, alternately, verse for verse, by the people, to alleviate the tediousness of their sorrow:' and from this example (adds Bingham) the custom of alternate hymnody or psalmody spread almost all over the Western Church. The Evening hymn is particularly mentioned by *St. Austin* (*Ibid.* cap. 12.)

'Deus Creator omnium Polique rector
Vestiens diem decore lumine
Noctem soporis gratia.
Artus solutos ut quies reddat laboris usui,
Mentes fessas allevet
Luctusque solvat anxios.'

Antiquities of the Christian Church; vol. i. p. 606-7.

'Most of the hymns which occur in the daily, or ferial office in the Latin church seem to be *St. Ambrose's*. This holy Doctor is said to have first introduced into the West the custom of singing hymns in the church. Those which he made are so composed, that the sense ends at the fourth verse, that they may be sung by two choruses.' *Butler*; *Lives of the Saints*, vol. xi. p. 124, (note (b)).

Well therefore might the old Bishop of Brescia, *Gaudensius*, speak thus of the Holy *St. Ambrose*—in his oration on the day of his own ordination: 'Obsecro communem patrem *Ambrosium* ut post exiguum rorem sermonis mei, ipse irriget corda vestra divinarum mysteriis litterarum. Loquetur enim Spiritu sancto quo plenus est, et flumina de ventre ejus fluent aquæ vivæ, et tamquam *Petri Apostoli* successor, ipse erit os universorum circumstantium Sacerdotum.' *Scti Ambrosii Opera*; Paris, 1686, vol. i. præf. sign. i iij, recto, note. Listen to the eulogy of *St. Jerom*—upon his work '*Concerning Widows*!' 'Quod si cui asperum et reprehensione dignum videtur, tantam nos inter virginitatem et nuptias fecisse distantiam, quanta inter frumentum et hordeum est, legat sancti *Ambrosii de Viduis* librum, et inveniet illum inter cetera quæ de virginitate et nuptiis disputavit, etiam hoc dixisse.' *Eunodius*, Bishop of Padua, in the sixth century, thus eulogises *St. Ambrose*, in his *Carm. Hymn.* lib. i.

'In carne carnis nihil agit
Regina mens in corpore.
Confregit omne lubricum
Sic vixit ille non sibi,
Sed totus auctori Deo.'

whom Lorenzana emphatically calls ‘*christianus et politicus heros*,’ by his splendid impressions of the Mozarabic Missal and Breviary, gave at once popularity and stability to the Gothico-Spanish Liturgy.*

Nor has our Adhelm made a very unhappy pun upon the name of the Holy Father—in this distich—from his poem *De Laudibus Virginum* :

‘*Spiritus et castæ servavit fœdera carnis,
Quî nomen gerit Ambrosiæ de nectare ductum.*’

But it is time to have done with St. AMBROSE : ‘*clarum et venerabile nomen* !’

* Cardinal Ximenes gave at once popularity and stability to the Gothico-Spanish Liturgy.] Having already gone over much of the ground on which this interesting subject has been agitated, I shall here borrow but a part of my former labours ; and subjoin what appears to be only absolutely necessary for the further information of the reader. ‘In the xith century Alphonsus VI. having expelled the Moorish Arabs from Toledo, wished to substitute the Roman ritual, or the Missal according to PAPAL AUTHORITY, upon the ruins of that of the Goths, or of the Mozarabic Missal. The heads of the clergy, on the part of the latter, insisted upon the purity of their own ritual, founded on ancient usage, and sanctioned by the authority of their favourite St. Isidore. A single personal combat was resolved upon to prove the superiority of the respective Missals ; on which the champion of Isidore was victorious. King Alphonsus continuing incredulous or dissatisfied, had recourse to a very different expedient. He ordered a fast to be observed and a fire to be lighted ; when, after solemn prayers, the Mozarabic and Roman Missals were thrown into the flames ; but the former only escaped combustion. A miracle from heaven now seemed to attest the superiority of the work under description ; and the followers of the Gothic ritual were left in undisturbed possession of their ancient form of worship.’ *Bibl. Spenceriana*, vol. i. p. 135-144 : where, in the extracts from that rare author Gomez (*Gomecius De Rebus Gestis a Francisco Ximeno Cisnerio*, 1569, folio), and from a variety of bibliographical writers, the subject may, without presumption, be said to be nearly exhausted. In a ‘*Collection of Offices or Forms of Prayer, in Cases Ordinary and Extraordinary*,’ published in 1658, 8vo. (unquestionably by Jeremy Taylor) it is observed, at the end of the preface, that the MOZARABIC OFFICE ‘is used to this very day in six parishes in *Toledo*, and in the Cathedral Church itself, in the Chappel of Frier Francis Ximenez ; and at *Salamanca*, upon certain days, in the chappel of Doctor Talabricensis.’

In the year 1775, Lorenzana, Archbishop of Toledo, put forth a revised and corrected text of the Breviary, as it was first published under the care of Ximenes. In the preface to that rather splendid folio volume, we are told, amongst other things, that the original authors of the Mozarabic Ritual were Osius, Leander, Fulgentius, Isidore, and others, including Ildephonsus. This, it must be confessed,

LYSANDER. Will you indulge us with an observation or two upon *Eastern or Greek Liturgies*—as the remarks just made apply exclusively to the forms of worship used in the Western Churches?

PHILEMON. I must repeat what I have before observed; that, in these matters, I am a mere novice—and especially upon the subject which Lysander seems willing to start. No, my good friends; consult *RENAUDOT* and the *Bibliotheca Patrum*, and set your hearts at rest upon Greek Liturgies.*

is pushing matters to a pretty remote antiquity. However, Leander and Isidore (the latter of whom sat in the IVth council of Toledo) were brothers, and both were caressed by Gregory the Great. Hence the *general* uniformity of the Gothic and Roman rituals; for both, in the opinion of St. Austin, partake of the ancient Italic version. Lorenzana thus observes: ‘*Ecclesia Romana, omnium Mater et Magistra, summopere insudavit, ut sacra liturgia per univesum orbem eodem Ritu celebraretur; & sic una esset omnium fidelium oratio: veruntamen Missalia, & Breviaria antiqua non abolevit; imò tamquam in Sacrarie Psalterium secundum veterem versionem Italam ab Augustino, & aliis Patribus prælaudatam retinet; in Vaticana Capella præcinit, ejusque Codices in Bibliotheca tamquam in scrinio pectoris recondit.*’ Præf. p. i. It seems allowed however, by the same editor, that Gregory the VIIth pushed hard to set aside the Gothic, and to substitute the pure Roman, text; but without success; and the same authority is inclined to think that this Gothic or Mozarabic text [that is, Arabic mixed with Gothic] was tolerably entire till the time of Ximenes; who rather added to, than altered it.

For Lorenzana himself, he appears to have executed his task with equal diligence and erudition. He consulted a number of MSS. some of them full 800 years old, and others not less than 500—(‘ante triste natale Lutheri, Calvini,’ &c. he feelingly remarks!) Among these MSS. were eight Gothic, containing Rituals or Ceremonies; and Bibles of the time of Mahomet, preserved in the Gothic library, and given to the Spanish Church in the year 988. The critical researches of Sabatier and Blanchinius, in particular, have been fully consulted by Lorenzana, and corrected or confirmed by the readings of two hundred MSS. in the Vatican and other libraries of Italy and Germany. Reverting to the original impressions of the Missal and Breviary in 1500, and 1502, by Cardinal Ximenes, I shall only further remark that the copy of each, in Lord Spencer’s library, are the only known copies in this country; and that the former was thought ‘the scarcest book in the whole Harleian Collection.’

* *Renaudot and the Bibliotheca Patrum—upon Greek Liturgies.*] The work of Renaudot was however preceded by the *Rituale Græcorum* of Goar, in 1647, folio.

LISARDO. Before you proceed further, pray inform us of the antiquity and meaning of the word *MISSAL*; and what

Both works are necessary to the ecclesiastical antiquary; but Philemon's advice requires some qualification in regard to the *Bibliotheca Patrum*: for thus speaks Renaudot of this latter publication—'Omnes illæ (Liturgiæ) de quibus huc usque dictum est, Armenicâ exceptâ, in Bibliothecam Patrum translatae sunt. Verùm in illa collectione ita versatus est Margarinus Bigneus, ut in Græcis Iacobi, Basilii, Chrysostomi et Marci, edita jam exemplaria typis describi curaverit: absque ulla cum Græcis codicibus comparatione, notis nullis, nulla multorum errorum quæ in textum vel in versiones irrepserant, emendatione. Nec aliter in eo opere versatus est, quam fecisset diligens typographus, nisi quod de suo pluribus locis lectores admonuit, ut caute legerent, ea ipsa verba quæ sanctissimæ Ecclesiæ Doctores ad altaria pronuntiaverant, nullo florentissimarum Ecclesiarum scandalo.' Renaudot: '*Dissert. De Lit. Orient. Orig. et Antiq.* 1715, 4to. pref. to 1st vol.

'Orientalium porro Liturgiarum, longe major neglectus fuit: compactæ sunt enim, ut diximus, cum aliis, in Bibl. Patrum, vix lectæ à Theologis, aut adductæ in testimonium ad fidem Eucharistiæ adversus Protestantes vindicandam; nævos multiplices quibus versiones obscurabantur, nemo animadvertit, et in ultima tandem amplissima Lugdunensi editione, quales ab initio prodierant, recusæ sunt.' *Ib.*

The Western Liturgies were embodied, or consigned to writing, before the Eastern. Bingham seems decisive upon this point; and Renaudot observes—'unde si non certò, saltem verisimiliter omnino concluditur, ante Basilii tempora, Liturgias Græcas literis non fuisse consignatas.' præf. p. ix. The Eastern Liturgies, in the opinion of Renaudot, may make the Western Churches blush for their childish, or extraordinary, differences: 'Lutherana, Helvetica, Genevensis, Anglicana, Scotica, ut alias prætereamus, etsi multoties refictæ, omnino differunt, non modò in orationibus, aut ceremoniis quæ integrâ fide et disciplinâ aliter se habere possunt, sed in præcipuis partibus . . . Et sanè communis Liturgiæ lex inter eos esse nulla potest, qui de materia, de forma, de ritibus Apostolicæ Liturgiæ non consentiunt, fassi nescire se quo pane Christus usus fuerit, quo vino: quibus verbis Apostoli utrumque benedixerint: an verba Christi necessaria sint: quæ varietas, sacri ritus formam, funditus evertit.' p. iv. I shall here subjoin, for the gratification of the curious, the *form of Sacrament*, or Administration of the Lord's Supper, as translated by Renaudot from the most ancient Greek service: that of St. Basil. On a comparison, however, with our own ceremony, scarcely any difference will be discovered:

Sacerdos. Accipit panem in manus suas sanctas, puras et immaculatas, beatas & vivificantes, & aspexit in cælum, ad te, ô Deus, Patrem suum & omnium Dominum (*Tunc accipiet oblationem super manus suas, auferetque velum desuper disco.*)

Populus. Amen.

Sacerdos levabit oculos dicens. Et gratias egit. †

Populus. Amen.

Sacerdos. Et benedixit eum.

we are to understand by Missals, Breviaries, Offices, and Hours?

PHILEMON. What I know shall be readily imparted.

Populus. Amen.

Sacerdos digito ter oblationem suam signabit in modum crucis. Et sanctificavit eum. Populus. Amen.

Sacerdos (franget oblationem in tres partes, quas ita ad se invicem adjunget ut quodammodo divise non sint. Quæ dum faciet, digitos intra discum detergit, ne quid ex oblatiis adhæreat, & dicet.) Et fregit eum, deditque sanctis discipulis & Apostolis suis, dicens: Accipite, manducate ex hoc omnes. Hoc est enim corpus meum, quod pro vobis frangitur, et pro multis datur, in remissionem peccatorum: hoc facite in mei memoriam.

Populus. Amen.

Sacerdos (tenens calicem manu sua, dicet.) Similiter etiam calicem post cœnam aqua & vino miscuit, (calicem ter cruce signabit, et dicet.) Gratias egit. †

Populus. Amen.

Sacerdos. Benedixit eum. †

Populus. Amen.

Sacerdos. Sanctificavit eum. †

Populus. Amen.

Sacerdos. Gustavit, & dedit discipulis suis et Apostolis sanctis dicens, Accipite bibite ex eo omnes, Hic est enim sanguis meus novi Testamenti qui effunditur pro vobis, et pro multis in remissionem peccatorum: hoc facite in mei memoriam. (Sacerdos calicem in crucis formam movebit, ita tamen ut non agitet.)

Populus dicet. Amen, hoc ita est.

Sacerdos. Quotiescunque manducabitis ex hoc pane, et bibetis ex hoc calice, mortem meam annuntiabitis, & resurrectionem meam confitebimini, meique memores eritis donec veniam.

Populus. Mortem tuam annuntiamus Domine, & resurrectionem tuam confitemur. Vol. i.

The prayer of St. Basil for the regular 'Inundation of the Nile'—calling on God 'to fill the waters of the river this year, and to bless them'—and especially the prayer for the 'seed-time' or 'spring-season,' are beautiful and touching. Vol. i. p. 14. I cannot dismiss the able work of Renaudot without apprising the reader that it was the intention of the author to have published these Eastern Liturgies in their vernacular tongues; but the death of Colbert (under whose auspices such intention was to have been carried into effect) prevented the completion of this admirable design. About two months before his decease, that great man had ordered 'Syriac, Arabic, and other types to be cut:' but in his tomb, 'over which all the Muses mourned,' the plan was doomed to perish. The Library of Colbert was singularly valuable in Oriental MSS. which, with the whole of his MS. Collection, now enrich the Royal Library at Paris: *Essai Historique sur la Bibliothèque du Roi, Paris, 1782, 12mo. p. 198-205.*

Of the meaning of the word Missal, or *Missa*, as used by the oldest authority, St. Ambrose:—whether it were a *dismissal* of those who came to be instructed in religious ceremonies, or a commemoration of the *Sacrifice of our Saviour*—ecclesiastical antiquaries are not strictly agreed. I incline however to the latter opinion; and leave yourselves, by the assistance of Du Fresne and Charpentier, to settle this important question.* The *Breviary* should seem

* *Du Fresne and Charpentier—settle this important point.*] These distinguished Lexicographers, however, do not settle 'this important point' quite so decidedly as Philemon may imagine. Let us first hear our favourite St. Ambrose; for the authorities cited by Du Fresne and Charpentier, previous to the time of that Father, are thought, by several critics, to be spurious: however Pius and Cornelius (upon the authority of Coustant's *App. Epist. Rom. Pont.* vol. i. p. 17), who lived in the second and third centuries, support the inference of the word 'Missa' denoting *sacrifice*. St. Ambrose, in one of his Letters to his Sister, noticing his being compelled to appear before the Roman Emperor, thus writes: 'Sequenti die, erat autem Dominica, post lectiones atque tractatum, dimissis catechumenis, symbolum aliquibus competentibus, in baptisteriis tradebam basilicæ. Illic nuntiatum est mihi comperto quod ad Portianam basilicam de palatio decanos misissent, et vela suspenderent, populi partem eo pergere. Ego tamen mansi in munere, missam facere cœpi.' *Ambrosii Opera*; Paris edit. 1686, vol. ii. col. 853. Here the reader will be pleased to note well, that the 'readings were finished' and the 'catechumens dismissed'—before St. Ambrose began the ceremony called 'missa:' and the Benedictin editors observe upon the expression 'missam facere cœpi'—'non de missione competentium, sed de sacrificio ipso dictum videtur.' Du Fresne, who leans to an opposite interpretation, has not fairly quoted this passage: for he makes it *connected* with a subsequent one—beginning 'dum offero, raptum cognovi Castalum quemdam,'—whereas this latter is a distinct, and an incipient passage—according to the Benedictin editors. Charpentier is silent upon its etymology. In support of St. Ambrose considering the word *Missa* as synonymous with *Sacrifice*, it may be remarked, according to Baronius and others, that the Hebrew word *Missah* expressly denotes *Sacrifice*: and so Cæsarius, in his xiith Homily, would appear to understand it:—'Si diligenter attenderitis, cognoscetis quod non tunc fuerint Missæ quando divinæ lectiones in Ecclesia recitantur: sed quando munera offeruntur, & corpus vel sanguis Domini consecratur.' Yet the said Cæsarius seems a little at issue with himself respecting the legitimate construction of this word; for in his Rules to the Monks, he appears to consider 'Missa' as connected with certain *Readings*: 'Ab una Missa legat frater folia tria, et orate. Omni Dominica 6 Missas facite. Prima Missa semper resurrectio legatur,

to have been at first confined to Rubrics; afterwards it became a more compendious Missal, containing the whole office of the Mass, and all services except the forms of marriage. Neither Du Fresne nor Charpentier notice this

dum resurrectio legitur, nullus sedeat . . . Perfectis Missis dicite matutinos.' That the words 'Mass' and 'Sacrifice' were considered synonymous by the Roman Catholic divines of the xvth century, is too well known to be here elaborately discussed. In Stapleton's Works they have every where the same meaning; and Richard Smythe, a learned Catholic of Oxford, published a work expressly entitled '*A defence of the Sacrifice of the Masse*,' in 1546, 8vo. printed by Middleton—and of which a copy is in the well-stored library of Mr. Heber.

A third, and a very general impression has obtained, that the word *Missa* denotes *Dismission*. Cassianus, according to Du Fresne and Charpentier, is very pointed upon this head. In his *Cænob. Instit.* lib. ii. c. 7, he observes, '*missa est dismissio Fratrum peracto officio*'—in chapter 8: '*Missa fieri dicitur, cum populus ab Ecclesia dimittitur, peracto officio, his verbis, quæ adhuc obtinent: "Ite, Missa est," id est, Missio vobis indicatum.*' Du Fresne himself seems inclined to consider this word as denoting '*Missa Catechumenorum*:' 'ea scilicet parte sacræ Liturgiæ in qua finitâ concione, et Epistolæ ac Evangelii lectione, Catechumeni exire jubebantur, Diacono dicente, "*Ite, Missa est*"—i. e. *excedite.*' The reader may consult Martene *De Antiquis Ecclesiæ Ritibus*, vol. i. p. 57, upon the meaning of the word 'catechumen,' from the 7th Canon of the 1st Constantinopolitan Council—'*Primo die (says this Canon) ipsos christianos facimus, secundo catechumenos, tertio exorcizamus . . . Et curamus ut longo tempore versentur in ecclesiis & audient Scripturas, & tum eos baptizamus.*' The famous Alcuin had a very whimsical notion about the meaning of the word *Missa*—from *Mittendo*—'*quod nos mittat ad Deum!*' Upon the whole, it seems to me that Philemon has good ground for the bias of his own mind upon this particular subject. The nature of the volume now called *Missal*, may be gathered from Gough: '*The Missal was the ritual, containing the rites, directions to the Priests, prayers used in the administrations of the Sacraments, blessing of holy water, and the whole service used in processions.*' *Brit. Topog.* vol. ii. p. 320. This, however, from Lyndewode. Our good old Bishop Jewel discourseth thus upon the Mass itself: '*How be it, Gentle Reader, if thou wilt know the often Alterations, and Changes of the Masse, reade, I beseeche thee, Platyna, and Polydore Vergil, touchinge the same: There shalt thou finde, howe, and by whome, and vpon what occasion, and in what processe of time, al the partes of the Masse were peece, and set togeather: and that in the space of seuen hundred whole yeeres scarcely, and with mutche adoo, it was made up at laste, and brought to somme perfection.*' *Defence of the Apologie of the Church of Englande*, &c. 1567, fol. p. 194: and see the First Article, of '*Private Mass*,' in Jewel's *Replie vnto Mr. Hardinges Answere*, 1566, folio.

latter word;* but Gough and Fosbrooke supply me with the foregoing intelligence. From the latter, in particular, we gather that the Breviary consisted of eight services; namely, *Mattins, Lauds, Prime, Thirds, Sixths, Nones, Vespers*, ———

BELINDA. Hold, I entreat —

PHILEMON. I have named only seven: there yet remains the eighth: the *Completorium* or *Complin*—which was of two kinds: the first was celebrated at twilight, or about six in the evening—the second, or *Lucernarium*, probably at the tolling of the curfew. The *Offices* and *Hours* seem synonymous to each other. They contain forms of prayer both for public and private exigencies, passages from scripture, portions of the psalms, and other similar compositions; and our favourite Jeremy Taylor, in the time of the commonwealth (when religious ceremonies of all kinds were pretty generally dispensed with), put forth a protestant volume under the title of ‘*A Collection of Offices*’; the preface of which, if I remember rightly, is equally distinguished for its learning and liberality.† The *Hours* generally

* Although neither Du Fresne, Du Cange, nor Charpentier notice the word *Breviary*, yet Adelung, in his *Compendium of the Gloss. Med. et Inf. Æt.* (with additions, 1772, 8vo. 6 vol.), has introduced it at page 796: quoting, amongst other authorities, that of JOAN. DE JANUA, author of the *Catholicon*: which says of it—‘ubi reponuntur vel reportantur brevia, vel ubi aliquid continetur abbreviamentum: unde quidam liber in quo est totum officium diurnum et nocturnum dicitur *Breviary*, liber Ecclesiasticum officium compendio complectens.’

† distinguished for its learning and liberality.] ‘I cannot say but many of our Prayers are also in the *Romane Offices*. But so they are also in the Scripture, so also is the Lord’s prayer; and if they were not, yet the allegation is very inartificial, and the charge peevish and unreasonable, unless there were nothing good in the *Romane* books, or that it were unlawful to pray a good prayer which they had once stained with red letters.’ Preface; *sign.* a. 2. The following is in a fine style—defending the propriety of our public form of worship. ‘I shall only crave leave that I may remember *Jerusalem* and call to minde the pleasures of the temple, the order of her services, the beauty of her buildings, the sweetness

begin with an extract from the first versé of the first chapter of St. John; and consist of prayers, of sentences, suffrages, vigils, and psalms. The Ladies may look at leisure into Gough and Fosbrooke; * but Lysander and Lisardo may consult Durandus and Lyndewode. There

of her songs, the decency of her ministrations, the assiduity and oeconomy of her Priests and Levites, the daily sacrifice, and that eternal fire of devotion that went not out by day nor by night; these were the pleasures of our peace, and there is a remanent felicity in the very memory of those spiritual delights which we then enjoyed as antepasts of heaven, and consignations to an immortality of joyes.'...—
'And such is THE LITURGY OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.' Preface; sign. A 4.
The title of this volume is given in the note at p. 21 ante.

* into Gough and Fosbrooke.] The work of Gough is well known, and has been sufficiently quoted: but '*The Economy of Monastic Life (as it existed in England) A Poem,*' by Mr. T. D. Fosbrooke, in quarto (without date), and dedicated to that truly eminent physician and physiologist Dr. EDWARD JENNER, has not met with the same popularity; for reasons, which it seems difficult at present to assign. That poem was the fruit of extensive, and, in many instances, of successful research. The information contained in the introduction and notes is at once copious and curious. The stanza is in the Spencerian measure, and the style is rather in imitation of that of Thomson's *Castle of Indolence*. I select, almost at random, perhaps a tolerably fair specimen, from page 45—describing the close of day of the monastic life:

'Last came the trusty man of watch and ward,
A massy key from his bent elbow hung;
Of goers all he kept a keen regard,
Or questioned them with peremptory tongue;
At prime and eve his larum bell he rung,
If to his lodge enquiring strangers went,
His turning window† on its hinge he flung,
And, if he so could tell his mind's intent,
Would talk by alphabet of arms and fingers bent.§

'At cease of bell, ere yet the rites began,
By massy bolts the latticed doors were bound,||
The speeding chantor through the office ran;
And now the choir turned to the east around,
Or bowed at name of JESU to the ground;

† *Spens. Faerie Qu.* b. ii. c. ix. st. 25.

‡ 'Fenestra versatilis.' *Monast. Angl.* vol. ii. p. 758.

§ *Id.* p. 714. All monks were, if possible, to converse by signs.

|| *Concil.* vol. ii. p. 249. *Vis. not. Selb.* it. 5.

is no end to the varieties of form in which these manuals of devotion were executed; and you may probably recollect a very pigmy production of this kind, of the seventeenth century, not above an *inch in length*, which is contained in the British Museum, among the MSS. of Sir Hans Sloane. What a whimsical and diminutive curiosity! We will now resume, if you please, the subject of graphic embellishment.

I am not aware of any printed Missal which exhibits an engraving, in wood, or metal, before the year 1480: five years after the production of the first printed Missal for the use of the Metropolitan or Romish Church. These engravings consisted at first either of a large one of the Crucifixion,*

The prying Dean would sum the gathered band,
And truant monk, if frequent truant found,
With purs'd-up brow and angry waving hand,
To scanty fare, and jail (of fearful thought!) command.||

' For some there were, when blew the tassel'd horn,
And all the bosky vallies shook for dread,
On the hill tops who met the Youth of Morn,
As from the waves he reared his glorious head;
O'er gossy heaths on fleeting palfreys sped;
With profane hunters not ashamed to hoot,
Haply if roused from her rush-woven bed,
Upsprung the fearful game with flying foot,
And all the chace began a musical pursuit.'¶ p. 45-6.

* a large engraving of the Crucifixion.] This engraving is always placed before that part of the Roman Catholic service which begins with ' Te igitur clementissime

|| Confinement in some *ergastulum*, with exclusion from the common table, chapter, and dormitory. *Lynd. Prov. Par. edit. fol. 71.*

¶ The religious were very fond of hunting. *Chaucer's Monk's Prol. Monast. Anglic. vol. ii. Ecc. Coll. pp. 155, 168.* Lyndewode: ' De Clerico Venatore.' The preceding references are used by Mr. Fosbrooke; whose poem, with improvements and additions, is to be incorporated in the reprint of his *British Monachism*; a work, of which the fire at Mr. Nichols's, in Red Lion Passage, had destroyed nearly one half the impression. Let me here quietly refer the reader to the *Bibliomania*, p. 200: where he will find the terrible denunciations of the Institutes of Otho and Octhobone against ' a Clerk who is a Hunter.'

or of a smaller one of the particular arms of the See; or both subjects were united in the same volume. The earliest printed *Ritual of Baptism, of the Church of Mentz*, is of the date just mentioned, and exhibits a portrait of St. Martin, with other embellishments: but these embellishments, as were almost the whole of them, are from wood. The first printed Missal of the *Cathedral Church of Wurtzburg*, of the date of 1481, exhibits, however, the interesting and well-executed decoration of the arms of that See, &c. printed from *copper*.* Still these engravings, whether upon

Pater;’ and is usually of the dimensions of the entire page. The Bamberg Missal of 1481 contains this print, and it is probably of earlier occurrence. See the *Bibl. Spencer*. vol. i. p. 133-5: vol. iii. p. 146.

* *the arms of that See, &c. printed from copper.*] ‘I know of no book (says Heineken), printed in Germany, which contains a copper-plate impression before the year 1481; in which year the Wurtzburg Missal was executed.’ *Idée Générale*, &c. p. 233. Gough (*Brit. Topog.* vol. ii. 324) briefly cites the same authority; supposing (erroneously) that this print ‘is the first instance of engraving upon copper;’ but the English antiquary had either forgotten, or was unacquainted with, the *Monte Sancto di Dio* of 1477; the *Ptolemy* of 1478; and the *Dante* of the same date of the Wurtzburg Missal. See *Bibl. Spencer*. vol. iv. pp. 108, 130, 538. It seems pretty certain that neither Heineken nor Gough had examined, or perhaps had not seen, a copy of the Wurtzburg Missal: which has enriched the Bodleian library since the time of Laud, and which, although now placed in the rare printed books in the ‘Auctarium,’ had formerly been considered a Manuscript, and deposited as such. I well remember, two summers ago, the gratification which Sir Henry Englefield expressed at the sight of this precious volume! He happened to be travelling through Oxford when I made the following memorandum relating to it.

The work commences with a ‘proheme,’ or perhaps ‘privilege’ by the Bishop of Wurtzburg, Rudolfus; of which the following may be considered a sufficient compendium: ‘Rudolfus—Epūs herbn. et francie orientalis Dux. Kilianus de Bibra decretorum doctor præpositus. Wilhelmus de limpurg Baro pincerna hereditarius decanus. Totūque capitulū ecclesie herbn. omnibus et singulis—omnes horarū canonicarū—coll—eccl. paroch. et capell. Civitatis et Diocesis nostrarum herbn libros—quos partim vetustate ruptos partim pene irreformatos—libros huiusmodi de nouo per certos impressoriæ artis magistros peritos, &c. imprimi & impressari—missales libros quos partim pari modo antiquitate collapsos quosdam vero membranarum caligine caducos et nonnullos a nostræ maioris eccl. herbn. &c. omnimode discrepare comperimus. Ad iam dicte nostre

wood or copper, were few and solitary; confined chiefly to the subjects just noticed. Bold therefore was that genius, and still more adventurous that publisher, who struck out the design, and gave it to the world at large, of fixing metal types within wooden borders of elaborate ornaments, either gay or grave, and of locking up the same within the mechanism of the press, and thus multiplying copies as well for cabinets as for cathedrals! Here, therefore, was gained

maioris herbn. ecclesie ordinarium rubricarum debitam consonantiam per huius artis impressorie opificem peritum videlicet Jeorium Ryser quem usque ad prememorati operis debitum complementum in nostra ciuitate herbn. comorari conduximus. et sub nostra paterna tuitione et protectione recepimus ita et taliter imprimi et impressari — Propterea decreuimus et ita ordinauimus vt huiusmodi artis impressorie magister prementionatus opus talismodi de Anno domini millesimo quadringentesimo octogesimo primo octaua die mensis nouembris pleniter et omnimode integrum et perfectum habere debeat. quo opere expleto debeat et teneatur ex eo cuilibet librum quemlibet habere exposcenti pro quatuor florenis renensis. tradere et assignare — Et ut igitur de huiusmodi librorum impressura indulgentiisque nostris Episcopaliibus vt prefertur per nos datis cunctis plenior pateat fides iussimus annuimus vt commemoratus Jeorius Ryser artis impressorie magister huiusmodi missales libros vt predictur imprimendos nostrorum pontificatus et Capituli insigniis decoraret. Datum in Ciuitate nostra herbiopolensi. Anno domini millesimo quadringentesimo octogesimo primo octaua die mensis nouembris.’

It is just possible that the book may not have been *printed* quite so early as is the date of this privilege. However, it is most probable that both the printing and the copper-plate impression were executed before March 1482: for the ornaments are placed immediately beneath the privilege. This plate consists of an engraving, in the line manner, both of the *Arms of the Bishop* and of the *Chapter*; and is, in the copy under description, struck off with singular success; exhibiting the richness of some of Hollar's most delicate efforts. There was doubtless another copper-plate (of the *Crucifixion*) facing the part mentioned in the last note; which is here evidently cut out. It will be observed that the printing is by JEORIVS RYSER; and my friend Mr. H. Cotton (of Christ-Church), who has furnished me with a transcript of the *entire* privilege, adds, that the volume contains 378 leaves. There are a few illuminations, which are by no means discreditable to the book; and on the reverse of the first leaf there is a ms. memorandum, of the date of 1486, by John Benosth, Vicar of St. Bartholomew, in Wurtzburg, which informs us that the said Vicar bought this copy at his own expense, and bequeathed it to the said church, ‘to remain there for ever for the salvation of his soul.’

in mechanical skill, and in the gratification of supplying hundreds or thousands with beautifully wrought specimens of the printed text of Scripture, what was lost in grandeur of style, or in the higher departments of embellishment: and the printer might have circulated a *thousand* copies of his HORÆ, while the illuminator was patiently decorating *one*. Utility therefore compensated for diminution of beauty and symmetry: and many are the pounds sterling, Lisardo, which I am confident you would have given, could you have witnessed the FIRST PRINTED SHEET which was '*pulled*' in the manner just described:—could you have seen designer, printer, and publisher, each lost in the embraces of the other, and expressing their astonishment by more extravagant gesticulations of joy than were displayed by Columbus and his followers when they first descried the shores of the western world!

I am not prepared to say at what exact period the first specimen of this decorative printing appeared; but I should much doubt whether there be any thing of the kind anterior to the date of 1484. And although a great number of the Missals or Horæ, which were thus printed, had been executed by Flemish artists, and most probably therefore in Flanders, yet *France* and *Paris* are the Country and the Metropolis in which these beautiful productions first appeared. In introducing them, or rather in giving you notions of their leading characteristics, I am doubtful whether to adopt the plan of considering them according to their respective printers, or according to the particular turn of art which prevails in them: but, on second thoughts, the latter method seems to be the preferable one. As humour is made to succeed pathos in dramatic exhibitions, so prepare for a grave and moral strain before you suffer your thoughts to

wander upon subjects of merriment. Prepare for the introduction of the KING of TERRORS!

Open yonder octavo Missal, dear Lysander—that Missal for which you scrupled not to give the best part of twenty pounds—and let us view the touching emblems of mortality contained in it.* You observe that neither age nor sex are

* *touching emblems of mortality contained in it.*] The Missal, above alluded to by Philemon, is of the date of 1498, and was printed by Verard in octavo. There are, however, numerous Missals, or volumes of *Hore*, some of an earlier, others of a later date, which equally illustrate the subject under consideration. The following fac-similes, from the Missal here mentioned, display the characters selected by Philemon in the text

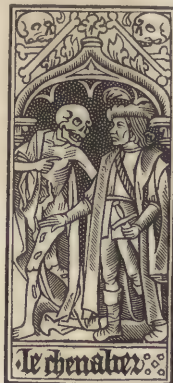


spared from the ravages of Death : neither the innocence of childhood, the beauty of virginity, nor the vigour of manhood. See, here, the Bride is summoned by the grim and ghastly Monarch, just as she leaves the portals of the church in which she has sworn eternal constancy to her husband : the curious garment—the enchased gem—the eye of rapture, and the heart of hope, avail nothing ! There, however, this hymenæal calamity is spared ; but the misfortune is inflicted

The *Archbishop* is here made to expostulate with great formality and earnestness ; but Death is inexorable.



The *Bishop* and the *Knight* meet with an equally merciless reception at the hands of this stern Summoner.



upon the offspring of it! or, severer lot to endure, upon the Consort—by ‘perils in the sea,’ or ‘upon land’—by the dagger of the assassin, or the bullet of the enemy:—such as, of late, inexorable Tyrant, thou hast ordained to make havoc in that field of glory which has consecrated alike the memories of the living and the dead!* But I see I am only

There is something very quaint and satirical in placing *The Fool* beneath the legs of a human skeleton—which usually occurs at the beginning of the Calendars. The following is from a volume printed by Vostre in 1502,



* consecrated alike the memories of the living and the dead.]

‘ For ne’er was field so sternly fought,
And ne’er was conquest dearer bought.
Here, piled in common slaughter, sleep
Those whom affection long shall weep.

breaking open those fountains of grief which had been supposed to have exhausted their waters: and I forbear— Yet who shall deny the force of the sarcasm—who not admit the cutting severity of the reproof upon midnight revelries

Here rests the Sire, that ne'er shall strain
His orphans to his heart again ;
The Son, whom, on his native shore,
The Parent's voice shall bless no more ;
The Bridegroom, who has hardly press'd
His blushing Consort to his breast ;
The Husband, whom through many a year,
Long love and mutual faith endear.
Thou can'st not name one tender tie
But here dissolv'd its reliques lie !

- - - - -
With no enquiry vain pursue
The cause, but think on Waterloo !'

Scott's Field of Waterloo, p. 36.

These are heart-touching lines and worthy of the Bard who produced them. They likewise afford an illustration, at once melancholy and powerful, of that—perhaps matchless—DANCE OF DEATH which has immortalised THE PLAINS OF WATERLOO! There is a previous passage in Mr. Scott's poem which may also be considered an apposite illustration, but which I choose to give in its present place for the sake of the 'auncient rhyme' which follows it:

- - - - -
'DEATH hover'd o'er the maddening rout,
And, in the thrilling battle-shout,
Sent for the bloody banquet out
A summons of his own.
Through rolling smoke the Demon's eye
Could well each destined guest espy,
Well could his ear in ecstasy
Distinguish every tone
That fill'd the chorus of the fray—
From cannon roar and trumpet-bray,
From charging squadrons' wild hurra,
From the wild clang that mark'd their way,—
Down to the dying groan,
And the last sob of life's decay
When breath was all but flown.
Feast on, stern foe of mortal life,
Feast on!'

and gaieties—when we are told (as we have been for the last three centuries) that all these subjects only exhibit the DANCE OF DEATH?!

Learned men are divided in their hypotheses respecting the *Origin* of this tragical Dance*—that is, respecting the

Let us now oppose this *public* banqueting of Death, to a *private* repast of the same voracious Gourmand upon the body of our favourite Edward VI. There is a good deal of the finishing of the Dutch school in this picture.

‘ Amen quod death, and with his percing dart,
He strake in twayne the kinges yet praying hart,
But Lord how glad the goast was of the stroke,
For when it sawe the prison gate was broke,
Fast furth it flewe, and vp to heaven went
To rest with God in ioyes that never stent :
The soulles body about the bed did sprall,
While they about it on the King did call,
Adawing him as if he wer in swoound :
But all for nought, he had his deadly wound.
And when the blud, that went to helpe the hart,
Had sweltred it, and left eche other part,
Than waxt his face and landes all pale and wan,
And when the bludles partes to coole began,
To heavenward his handes and iyes he cast,
Downe fell his iawes, his hart stringes all to brast,
And still he lay, for lively heat was past.’

The Funerall of King Edward the Sixt, 1560, 4to. B iijj, rect.

A copy of this rare volume is in the collection of the Right Hon. T. Grenville.

* *the origin of this tragical Dance.*] ‘ One of the most antient representations of this “Dance,” still existing, is that at Basil in Switzerland, in the church-yard formerly belonging to the convent of Dominicans, which is said to have been painted at the instance of the fathers and prelates assisting at the grand council at Basil, in 1431, in memory of a plague which happened soon afterwards, and during its continuance. The name of the painter, is unknown,’ &c. ‘ *The Dance of Death, painted by H. Holbein and engraved by W. Hollar,*’ (1794) 8vo. p. 4. From the same authority we learn—that ‘ It has been frequently supposed that the Basil painting was the first of the kind, but this is extremely doubtful, from the knowledge we have of many others of apparently equal antiquity. Many of the bridges in Germany and Switzerland were ornamented in this manner, a specimen of which is still to be seen at Lucerne ; and it is probable that almost every church of eminence was decorated with a Dance of Death. In the cloisters

earliest representation of it as a subject of art. Of its earliest appearance by means of the pencil, I am unable to speak with even any tolerable degree of certainty; but of its first appearance in a *printed book*—and that book a devotional one—I can venture upon a suggestion probably not very

of St. Innocent's Church at Paris, in those belonging to the old Cathedral of St. Paul at London, and in St. Mary's Church at Berlin, these paintings were to be seen. At Klingenthal, a convent in the Little Basil, are the remains of a *Dance of Death*, differently designed from that at the Dominicans, and thought to be more antient. The figures remaining till very lately in Hungerford's chapel, in the cathedral at Salisbury, and known by the title of *Death and the Young Man*, were undoubtedly part of Death's Dance, as might be further insisted on from the fragment of another compartment which was close to them. In the church at Hexham in Northumberland, are the remains of a Death's Dance; and at Fescamps, in Normandy, it is carved in stone, between the pillars of a church; the figures are about 18 inches high. Even fragments of painted glass, whereon this subject has been depicted, with old English verses over the figures, may contribute to shew how very common it has been in our own country. P. C. Hilscher, in a tract printed at Dresden, in 1705, has taken notice of other Dances of Death at Dresden, Annaberg, Leipzig, and Berne. Dr. Nugent has described one in St. Mary's Church, at Lubeck, which he states to have been painted in 1463, p. 6-8.

If the *author* of this singular representation (the graphic *Æsop* of his day) be unknown, the *motive* which led to its execution seems to be sufficiently manifest: namely, that of impressing upon the minds of 'all sorts and conditions of men,' the certain approach of death and the frailty of sublunary grandeur. In this conclusion I differ from the ingenious and learned author of the amusing book just quoted; who inclines to think that, 'in the dark ages of monkish bigotry and superstition, the deluded people, terrified into a belief that the fear of Death was acceptable to the great author of their existence, had placed one of their principal gratifications in contemplating it amidst ideas the most horrid and disgusting: hence the frequent descriptions of mortality in all its shapes amongst their writers, and the representations of this kind in their books of religious offices, and the paintings and sculptures of their ecclesiastical buildings,' p. 2-3. I submit, that, if the object of this Death's Dance were to terrify a 'deluded people,' the representations of it would be devoted to subjects exclusively applicable to the lower classes; but when we see Popes, Emperors, Kings, and all the dignified orders in Society, made the subjects of this Dance, the design of the artist, and of those who copied him, was rather of a *general* nature—shewing (as above intimated) that *all classes* of society were to receive the intrusive visits of Death—for such artist could not think to frighten Popes, Archbishops, and Bishops, by these representations.

wide of the truth. If my memory be not treacherous, I remember to have seen an octavo volume of *Horæ*, printed by Verard somewhere about the year 1489, in which, with other miscellaneous subjects, this *Dance of Death* was introduced: but the preceding, I should conceive, is the very earliest date attributable to its appearance in print. Of the numerous, perhaps I ought to have said, innumerable editions which succeeded —* it were in vain to attempt to

* *numerous, perhaps innumerable editions which succeeded.*] I have no hesitation in believing (however that belief may differ from the opinions of very competent judges) that EDITIONS OF THE DANCE OF DEATH (that is to say, small volumes, in which were wooden cuts accompanied by text, exclusively devoted to the subject under description) were *unknown* till the time of HOLBEIN. Whether that great artist painted one, two, or three, series of the same subject, in fresco or in oil, at Basil, or at Whitehall, is immaterial to the point: all I contend for, is, that we are indebted to Hans Holbein for these beautiful and instructive manuals of morality. There is abundance of intrinsic evidence that the cuts, forming these manuals, originated from the genius of Holbein. The author of the tasteful edition before quoted, seems doubtful whether he designed them *upon the wood* for the engraver—but he is clearly of opinion that he did not *absolutely engrave them*; from their superiority to a set of cuts which bear that artist's name expressly upon them—introduced, however, probably to shew that Holbein only made the designs upon wood. I incline to the same opinion; and also think that the set of 'small drawings by Holbein, sketched with a pen, and slightly shaded with Indian ink;—formerly in the Crozat collection, and lately in that of Prince Gallitzin, (the Russian ambassador at the Court of Vienna—but now in the Emperor of Russia's collection) at whose house they were seen by Mr. Coxe the traveller, may have been the originals, or ancient copies of the originals, from which the earliest editions were published. That Hans Holbein *invented* the Dance of Death, is scarcely deserving of refutation.

I now come to some of the earlier editions of this interesting work. My friend Mr. W. Y. Ottley possesses (in his very fine collection of ancient prints) a very great treasure in this way. On consulting the *Manuel des Curieux et des Amateurs de l'Art* by Huber and Rost, 1797, 8vo. vol. i. p. 155, &c. it is thus observed: 'pour apprécier tout le mérite de ces petites estampes, il faut avoir sous les yeux les premières épreuves, imprimées seulement d'un côté. En effet, un de nos amateurs de Leipzig, M. Otto, possède de cette suite 21. pièces qui ont ces qualités, et qui sont d'une exécution très-délicate.' Judge therefore, print-learned reader, of the felicity of my friend in possessing FORTY IMPRESSIONS of this description! the 27th only ('the Astrologer') being wanting to render the series

give a catalogue. Perhaps not much credit is to be attached to any criticism which pretends to affix, with nicety and certainty, the *School of Art* in which these representations had

complete. I consider this set, therefore, as unique. There is a short title, in German, above the cuts; and there were probably the usual verses, or descriptions, beneath: the latter being wanting in Mr. Ottley's series. It is also quite evident that the titles, at top, are executed *at the press*. From hence we conclude that they were intended for an edition of the work. The mention of this set is material in adjusting the probable time of the earliest impression of the work. Mr. Ottley thinks, and I concur with him in opinion, that these impressions (41 in number) were executed at *Basil*; before any edition appeared at *Lyons*;—that is, before the same cuts were taken to Lyons for the purpose of publication there. If so, they were executed before the year 1538: the earliest date which has yet been found to any impression. The reader has here a most faithful copy of the cut; entitled *Die Edelfraw*—from which he may judge of the spirit and beauty of the entire set.



Jansen, indeed, does not hesitate to say that there was an edition published at *Basil* in 1530; containing a sentence, in German, from the Bible, above each cut; and, beneath each cut, some German verses. It must however be observed that Jansen does not favour us with the title of this edition. *De l'Origine de la Gravure*; 1808. vol. i. p. 120-1, note. Having submitted this point, the list of succeeding early editions is made out with tolerable accuracy.

their origin, either as paintings, or as decorations for Missals; but I incline to think that they are generally the productions of German, or Flemish artists. Indeed it is worthy of remark,

1538. *Lyons*, small 4to. 'Simulachres et historiees faces de la mort, &c. 41 prints. French descriptions. In the collection of Mr. Douce. Beautiful impressions.
1542. *Lugd.* 12mo. 'Imagines de morte.' Latin descriptions. 41 prints.
1545. *Ibid.* 12mo. 'Imagines mortis.' The same. In Mr. Douce's Collection.
1547. *Ibid.* 12mo. 'Les images de la mort.' French descriptions: contains 12 additional prints: namely, 8 of the Dance of Death, and 4 of boys: in the whole, 53 prints. In Mr. Douce's Collection.
1547. *Ibid.* 12mo. 'Imagines mortis.' Contains the same number of prints. In the same Collection.
1549. *Ibid.* 12mo. 'Simolachri, historie, e figure de la morte:' containing an address from the printer, in which he complains of some attempts having been made, in other countries, to imitate the cuts in his book, and he informs the reader that he had caused many more cuts to be added to this edition than had appeared in any other. All this however is downright 'flourish and falsehood;' as the cuts are precisely the same in number as in the two previous editions. The descriptions are in Latin and Italian.
1554. *Basil*, 12mo. 'Icones Mortis.' The same number of cuts. Descriptions in Latin. In the collection of Mr. Douce.
1555. *Cologne*, 'Imagines Mortis,' 12mo. This edition (containing the 'Declamatio de Morte' of Erasmus) and the reimpressions of it in 1557, 1566, and 1573, are copies of that of 1545. They contain wood-cuts by an eminent but unknown artist, whose mark is an italic-capital A, curved at the top: a mark, which is also to be found in some of the emblems of Sambucus and Lejeune, in some initial letters in Grafton's Chronicle, and in other cuts executed during the sixteenth century. It must be added that almost the same variations from the original cuts are to be found in those of this edition, in De Mechel's prints, and in Hollar's etchings. The cuts, in the one before us, are a quarter of an inch wider, but of the same height as those in the original impression. A copy is in the rich collection of Mr. Douce.
1562. *Lyons*, 12mo. 'Les images de la mort, auxquelles sont adjoustees dix sept figures.' There are however but 5 additional figures to this edition, the other 12 being only what had already appeared. Of these 5 cuts, of which 3 are groups of boys, Mr. Ottley thinks that only two of them are from the design of Holbein.

It should be added that, in the XVIth century, the subject of the *Dance of Death* was introduced into innumerable works as ornaments to *capital initials*. Mr. Douce possesses an alphabet of initial letters, of this subject, which, 'for

that no traces of them are to be found in Italy, as far as I have been able to ascertain. The subject was undoubtedly a very fit one for decorating books of devotion. The cloistered cell, or the richly-furnished cabinet—scenes, in which volumes

humour and excellence of design are even superior to the celebrated series; and with respect to execution, especially when their minuteness is considered (being less than an inch square), absolutely wonderful.' Their composition is entirely different from that of any of the others, and one of them is sufficiently remarkable for its indelicacy. They appear to have been done at *Basil*: for Mr. Douce saw, in the public library there, a *sheet*, on which three alphabets were printed: the one just described; another of boys at play, and a third a dance of peasants. The same distinguished antiquary does not think it improbable that Holbein might have furnished the design of the Dance of Death for these initials. They appear (in Mr. D's opinion) to have been struck off as proofs or patterns for booksellers; and we know that they were actually used by Cephalæus at Strasbourg, and by Cratander at Basil.

1581. 'Todtentanz durch alle stendt der menschen, &c. furgebildet mit Figuren, *St. Gallen*,' 4to. This publication is rather in *imitation* of the preceding.
 'Rudolf Meyers Todten-Dantz. Erganzet und herausgegeben durch Conrad Meyern; Maaler in Zurich, Im jahr, 1650,' 4to. This impression consists of 60 copper-plate engravings, of which 56 are numbered. Beneath each, four German verses are engraved. It is a very rare volume.
1649. 'Todten-Tanz, wie derselbe in der loeblichen und weit berühmten stadt Basel, als in spiegel menschlicher Beschaffenheit, ganz künstlich gemalet und zu sehen ist,' &c. Frankfurt au Maym,' 4to. Wurden, 1696 and 1725. This set contains 44 cuts, of which 42 have German text at top and at bottom.
1651. In this year first appeared the cuts of HOLLAR upon this subject; with borders designed by Abraham à Diepenbeke, and afterwards without the borders. These cuts are close copies of those in the impression of 1555; but are not fac-similes of any single existing model.
1682. 'Theatrum Mortis Humanæ,' by J. Weichard. These engravings are within borders of fruit, flowers, and animals; executed with uncommon elegance.
1736. 'Todtentanz, von Salomon von Ruszing, in dreyszig kupfern, in Nurnberg,' 8vo. These cuts contain German descriptions.
1780. In this year Chretien de Mechel, an artist and printseller at Basil, published 45 engravings of a Death's-Dance, as part of the works of Holbein, of which he intended to give a series. These are taken from the indian-ink drawings mentioned at p. 39, ante. Mr. Douce and Mr. Ottley each possess a copy of this work. If however these drawings were copied from the forementioned celebrated cuts, they must have been done after the year 1547; as eight of them did not appear till that time.

of this description were usually deposited, by the side of the ivory-carved crucifix—were well calculated to give an intenser feeling to reflections kindled by such representations. We are told that Homer was the beloved author of Alexander the Great, and that the conqueror of the world felt his happiness divided between subjecting countries and perusing the feats of Achilles: moreover, that the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*

1785. 'Freund Heinz Erscheinungen in Holbeins Manier, von I. R. Schellenberg. *Winterthur*,' 8vo. This publication contains only 25 copper-cuts, executed in a most admirable style, representing the modern costume. All these German editions are rather imitations than copies of the original of Holbein. Jansen, sur *l'Origine de la Gravure*; vol. i. p. 122-3.

(1794.) 'The Dance of Death; painted by H. Holbein, and engraved by W. Hollar. 8vo. (without date, but in 1794.) To this elegant volume is prefixed an interesting Essay 'On the Dance of Death,' from which much of the preceding information has been derived. It exhibits also impressions from *Hollar's own plates*; which appear to have been but little used, and which were, till the present edition, preserved 'in a noble family.' In this publication, they are 'presented to the public without the least alteration.' This impression also contains 'The Daunce of Machabree: wherein is lively expressed and shewed The State of Manne, and how he is called at uncertayne tymes by Death, &c.' By Lydgate: with a copper-plate of the procession of the various ranks in society conducted by death, and with the text of Lydgate printed in the black letter. In respect to the plates of Hollar (of the Dance of Death), I own they disappoint me. It was a subject which that incomparable Artist never possessed the peculiar talent of rendering justice to. Small figures, with a great proportion of light and shade, gradually softened down to either extreme—possessing, what painters call, 'breadth and mellowness of effect'—are not what we must expect to see successfully represented by the burin of Hollar. His small figures, as little more than etchings, are quite his own, and incomparable: but—I am wandering. The impressions in the edition under description are almost uniformly thick or foggy: and much of that rich and sparkling manner—of that curious detail—of those sharp and efficient touches, which characterise the original impressions—(see the facsimile at p. 40 ante) will be in vain looked for in the specimens before us. Brunet only briefly notices the edition of 1538, and the one under description; of which latter he says there were several copies printed UPON VELLUM. *Manuel du Libraire*, vol. ii. p. 121. One of this kind, called 'a beautiful unique copy, with the plates exquisitely painted,' was sold by Mr. Christie in 1804 (no. 265) for 17*l.* 17*s.*

were placed every evening beneath his pillow: whether to give a sort of martial inspiration to his dreams, I shall not stop to enquire—but it may safely be affirmed that many an impression of *Hours* and *Offices*, which are now opened by

My old friends, Freytag, Gerdes, Vogt, and Bauer have rather deserted me on the present occasion. Gerdes merely notices the Lyons editions of 1538, and 1547; and Bauer contents himself with an exclusive reference to Gerdes. *Florilegium Hist. Crit. Libr. Rarior.* edit. 1763, p. 171-2: *Bibl. Libror. Rar.* vol. i. pt. ii. p. 133. The curious are probably in possession of the eight plates upon this subject which were engraved in 1541 by the delicate burin of ALDEGREVER. These are far from being servile copies of Holbein; but the ensuing fac-simile, from the original of HANS SEBALD BEHAM, executed about the same period, may I think, be placed upon a footing with the most successful illustration of the subject yet published. . . . And with this pleasing variety let us bid farewell to the Dance of Death.



rude hands, and gazed upon by vulgar eyes, have been consigned to the pillows of obdurate Abbesses and obedient Nuns—have been pressed to the heart of the Devotee, and have received as well the tears as the kisses of the Novice !

ALMANSA. You have excited in me a wonderful inclination to extend my series of volumes of this description. I have hitherto contented myself only with a duodecimo printed by Kerver, and with a thin folio executed by Regnault ; but I own, while I assent to the general truth of your positions, I cannot dissemble my grief, or rather indignation, on frequently finding subjects of the greatest gravity mingled with those, of which no ‘obedient nun,’ or ‘melting novice,’ (to borrow your own phrase) ought to have had a glimpse.

BELINDA. This, you see, is the privilege of the marriage-state. My amiable Sister, when we formerly talked of the symptoms of the Bibliomania, was not only ignorant of these things, but, if in possession of such knowledge, she would not have dared to avow it.

PHILEMON. The remark is undoubtedly just. The inconsistency, mentioned by Almansa, shall have its due share of notice and reprehension ; but it must be introduced with a proper regard to the delicacy and good-breeding of the circle which I have the honour of addressing. Away, therefore, now, with tears and sobs, and unavailing sighs and regrets ! away with the death-cold corpse, and muffled mourner ! and let us view subjects of an equally interesting, but of a less painful character. Pursuing what may be said to be the natural train of ideas, I must beg your attention to scriptural subjects of a grave and touching nature, which we also see introduced within these interesting volumes : either by way of a border-ornament, or in the centre of the page. The LIFE of CHRIST would necessarily form the leading subject

for such representations. Accordingly, there is no end to selections from this fruitful source: either allegorically, or as direct personal references. Not however but that the OLD TESTAMENT occasionally furnished subjects for the artist's talents; and among these, few appear to have produced so many embellishments as the *Life of David*. See how the Monarch of Israel is here represented (in a folio volume of *Horæ*, printed by Regnault, of the date of 1536*) as choosing one of the three evils to be inflicted upon his people!



* *Horæ*, printed by Regnault, of the date of 1536.] The above fac-similes are

A more graceful expression attends the delineation of the *Sacrifice of Asa*. Indeed it may be remarked that this subject is generally treated in a sober and appropriate manner by the ancient artists engaged in the decoration of Missals.



But let us revert to the graphic illustrations of the *New Testament*; and adopting something of system in our plan, let us select a subject which preceded the birth of our Saviour, and which seems to have usually called forth all the

executed from a remarkably-beautiful copy of this edition, obtained from Messrs. Longman, Hurst, and Co. and now in the collection of Earl Spencer.

richness of the artist's fancy in the representations of it. You will immediately anticipate the subject to which I allude—the *Salutation*. It is rarely that we behold it more elaborately exhibited than in this Missal, printed for Cousin in 1519, folio.*



* Missal printed for Cousin in 1519.] The above is taken from a Salisbury

Next follows *the Nativity*: and I choose to select the

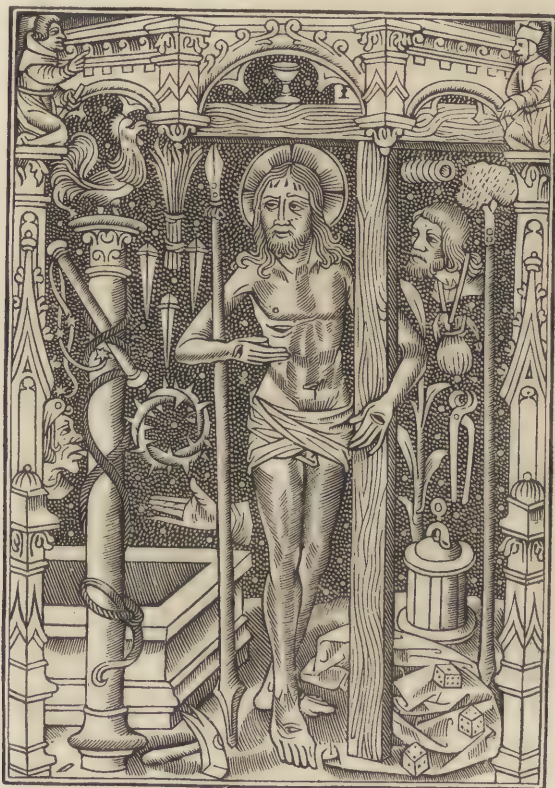


ensuing specimen of its representation, because it is, of all those which I happen to have seen, the most singularly rude and simple. The style of art is evidently different from what you have just witnessed, although there be no difference in its age:—for, to revert to my former position, I choose rather to class the subjects, than to submit a completely chronological series of engravings. Bear this simple, but not uninteresting

specimen in mind, when you happen to be getting into exstacy before the *Notte of Correggio*! They form almost

Missal printed by Olivier 'at the expense of Jacques Cousin, in 1519; folio (B. vj. rev. second set of signatures): from a copy in the possession of J. and A. Arch. The same manner of representation, with rather an improvement in the drawing, appears in a beautiful octavo volume of *Horæ secundum Vsum Trecent.* in Earl Spencer's Collection, of the date of 1506: (sign. d iij, rev.) executed by Hopyl at the expense of Vostre.

the extremes of human art.* I remarked that some of these representations were allegorical. Take the two following; and observe how they are meant to call your attention to all the circumstances of ignominy and cruelty which marked the *sufferings of Christ*. Prints of this character are very common in old books of devotion; but I think few, if any, are more *circumstantial* than what is here represented—



* the extremes of human art.] The above subject is taken from an edition of the '*Hore diuine virginis Marie, secundum vsum Romanum: cum aliis multis folio sequenti notatis, una cum figuris Apocalypsis et destructionis Hierusalem, et multis figuris Biblie insertis*,' 8vo. At the end: '*Parisius, nouiter impressum opera Germani Hardouyn, &c.* See sign. C vij, recto. As the Calendar begins with

taken from a beautiful octavo volume of *Horæ* printed by Kerver in 1512; and was preceded and succeeded by representations still more crowded with the symbols of our Saviour's suffering.* Nearly the same implements of torture (if you will allow the phrase) appear in all these early woodcuts; but Regnault, in the volume before mentioned, has perhaps thrown more expression into the figure of Christ—as you may here behold.



the date of 1518, it is probable that the edition was printed in 1519, or 1520. This book is executed in a roman type, which is somewhat uncommon. The copy from which the above fac-simile was taken, is printed UPON VELLUM, and is now in the possession of Messrs. J. and A. Arch; from the Towneley Collection.

* more crowded with the symbols of our Saviour's suffering.] The ingenuity of

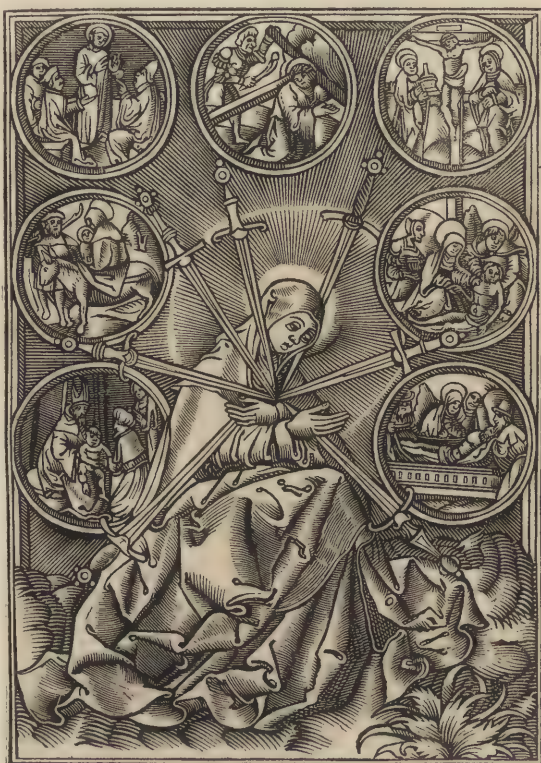
Allegorical representations were indeed very favourite subjects for the exercise of the artist's pencil. But the limits of our discussion will not permit me to offer any thing

the early printers converted these 'circumstances' into a subject for heraldic embellishment; and Regnault is, I believe, the first who had the hardihood to subjoin the following 'Arms of the Redeemer' to one of his devotional volumes. I presume such a subject was familiar to the older painters, and was probably a favourite ornament of sculpture in ancient churches. I throw this out, however, as a mere suggestion.



From this representation, our REYNES took the hint of impressing such a subject upon the outside covers of the books from his press. See the *Typog. Antiq.* vol. iii. p. 266.

more than what is here intended to give us a notion of the SEVEN SORROWS OF THE BLESSED VIRGIN.* There is some ingenuity in the conception.



You will immediately perceive that these subjects are made of importance, or are considered as material decorations, in the pages where they occur. I will now submit a few further subjects connected with the Life of Christ,

* At folio LXXVI of Peypus's curious manual of devotion, entitled '*Hortulus Anime*' (1519, 8vo.), this subject is represented with *only five* swords with their points towards the Virgin; although the subject be '*De Septem Doloribus*.'

which are not so prominently or so pompously illustrated in the engravings. Take the two following, among innumerable similar specimens, which appear in a large folio missal of the middle of the sixteenth century.



There is great simplicity in the first, and great spirit in the second, of these: nor am I prepared to mention the extent of obligation, binding upon many subsequent artists of deservedly high reputation, for the valuable hints which

various of these early pieces may have afforded them. At any rate, the merit of putting the crosses of the thieves transversely, is due, as much to the artist who designed the bottom print, as to Rubens, in his magnificent picture of the same subject.* A smaller volume of devotion, adapted to expositions of the Gospels for the several Sundays throughout the year, and printed, as I conceive, nearly at the same time with the foregoing missal, presents us with the following well executed representation of the *Cleansing of the Lepers*.†



Of a similar character, and taken from *Osiander's Harmony of the Gospels*, of about the same date, are the two very interesting specimens which here follow. I need hardly tell you that the subject of the first is meant to represent our Saviour's dividing the bad from the good, at the latter day,

* See *Typog. Antiq.* vol. i. p. 195; vol. ii. p. 79.

† I cannot suffer the curious reader to take leave of the above interesting manual of devotion, without making him acquainted with a beautiful cut, on a separate leaf, (in my copy of it) which evidently belongs to the same volume. Perhaps

‘as a shepherd divides the goats from the sheep.’ The second is a representation of the ‘wicked servant,’ who would not forgive his fellow servant as he had been forgiven by his master.



the subjoined initials may imply those of the name of the printer of the book, rather than of the artist who engraved the cuts. I do not remember to have ever seen our Saviour ‘in gremio Patris’ thus represented in any other publication. There is both delicacy and richness in the execution of it.





If I were to touch upon the various *Manuals of Devotion*, exhibiting curious or interesting cuts of favourite Saints and Martyrs, there would be scarcely any limits to the discussion. Let me however notice an octavo volume, printed by Peypus at Nuremberg, in 1519, at the cost and charges of that gallant ancient typographer, Koberger, and called '*Hortulus Anime*,' or '*the Little Garden of the Soul*'—which merits attention and commendation.

At fol. cxiii, reverse, of this interesting volume, the well known story in the life of *St. Francis* of his receiving the *stigmata*, or five wounds of our Lord, is thus whimsically delineated; and although the figures of the Saint and his companion be both well drawn, yet the whole forms what may be considered rather a burlesque of



the sublime style displayed, in representations of the same subject, by some of the great masters of Italy.

Observe with what energy the favourite subject of *St. Christopher* is here represented : although the infant Saviour is rarely made to exhibit such marks of impatience.



That everlasting subject, *the painting of the Virgin by St. Luke*, is thus executed in the same curious manual. It must be allowed that both the conception and execution of it are sufficiently homely ; but I make no doubt that the figure here intended for St. Luke was drawn from the life.

Upon the whole, there is a natural air about it not altogether unpleasing. Lysander and Lisardo may consult the bibliographical pages of Lambecius, Bandini, and Montfaucon, while Almansa and Belinda will be content to examine the first volume of Doctor Clarke's Travels; where the same subject is more than once represented.



At fol. cvii. is the following graceful, but rather feminine figure of *St. Stephen the Martyr*. You observe that the implements of his destruction are carried in his lap.



As our old friend Caxton printed the *Life of St. Catherine of Senis*, let us not object to turn our eyes, for one moment, towards that studious Dame; who is here decorated in rather a courtly style.*



* decorated in rather a courtly style.] The verses subjoined to the representation may amuse the monastic antiquary. They are printed prose-wise in the original.

De Sancta Catherina virgine et martyre.

Gaude virgo Catherina :
 quam refecit lux diuina :
 ter quaternis noctibus.
 Gaude quod tua doctrina :
 Philosophos a ruina :
 traxit et erroribus.
 Gaude quia meruisti : *
 confortari voce Christi :
 per preces diuinitus.
 Gaude quia conuertisti :
 sponsam regis et yidisti :
 rotas fractas celitus.

Gaude sero coronata :
 et in Sina venerata :
 olei stillamine,
 Esto nobis aduocata :
 apud deum virgo grata
 in nostro certamine.

Amē. Ora, &c.

Fol. cxxiiii.

My friend Mr. Ottley possesses a good sound copy of this interesting little volume ; which is described by Bartsch in his *Peintre Graveur*, vol. vii. p. 323 ; and in which HANS SPRINGINKLEE is justly said to be the engraver of those cuts bearing the above initials, H. S. K.

The foregoing are all taken from engravings introduced in the *body* of the text. Let me now shew you a few which are worked within the *borders*.* The ensuing are of the date of 1498, and represent in a sufficiently neat manner the *Parable of the Prodigal Son*.



* worked within the borders.] The above representations are taken from the side-borders of a volume of 'Heures a l'usage de Rome—acheuez le xvi jour de Septem-

Towards the close of the xvth century they began to represent scriptural subjects which filled the entire side of a page; and this page, sometimes, of no ordinary dimensions. Of these subjects, few were so popular as that of *St. John in the Cauldron of Boiling Oil*: which also frequently furnished the title-page of a devotional volume.* I shall however only call your attention to an elaborate representation of this subject, which was inserted in a Missal printed by Kerver in the year 1498; and of which Lord Spencer possesses a beautiful copy printed UPON VELLUM.

bre. Lan Mil CCCC. iiii. xx. et xviii. pour Simon vostre. libraire demourant a Paris a la rue neuue nostre dame a lymage saint Iehan euangeliste.' See sign. *f viij*, and *g i*. From a copy, PRINTED UPON VELLUM, in the possession of Mr. Bell, bookseller, of Oundle. Let me here subjoin an embellishment forming a *bottom* border in a volume of *Horæ* printed by Regnault in 1533, 4to. and repeated more than once in the book. (Our champion *St. George* is also made a bottom-border in the same volume, but it has nothing worthy of being again brought forth to public notice.)



* furnished the title-page of a devotional volume.] It does so in Regnault's *Horæ*, of the date of 1536, noticed at p. 46, ante: but the same cut had appeared in the impression mentioned in the preceding note; where it seems to have suffered less from use. St. John is there in the cauldron, with a man using the bellows, and another stirring the fire—occupying the fore-ground. Behind the cauldron, a man is pouring the boiling oil upon the Saint. Two others, to the left, are looking upwards—towards a large group of characters leaning over a wall, and viewing the Martyr. These form the back-ground. A very clean impression of this curious cut (which it has not been my good fortune yet to see) would display a vast deal of character and expression in this group. At the bottom, in the left corner, is the monogram B.V.: denoting the (at present unknown) name

I believe there are few specimens of this subject which are more strikingly executed.



of the engraver. The size of the cut is five inches and a half, by three and seven eighths. Beneath, are the following English verses; which, however, evidently belong to a different subject:

Hovv saynt iohan dyde vvyryte in vvyldernessee
 The apocalyps and of tokens vvondrous.
 Vvhiche in the ayre he herde and savve expresse
 Vvith myracles terrybles and monstuous. *Fo. j. sign. A j.*

We are now to touch upon subjects of a somewhat different, yet not greatly-unconnected, character. I mean, those which represent important points of doctrine, or celebrated miracles. Of the former, the following are illustrations; and each, as you observe, is a representation of *the Trinity*. The ensuing cut occurs both in the little volume of Peypus, and in the folio impression of Regnault, each before mentioned; with an interval of about seven years.

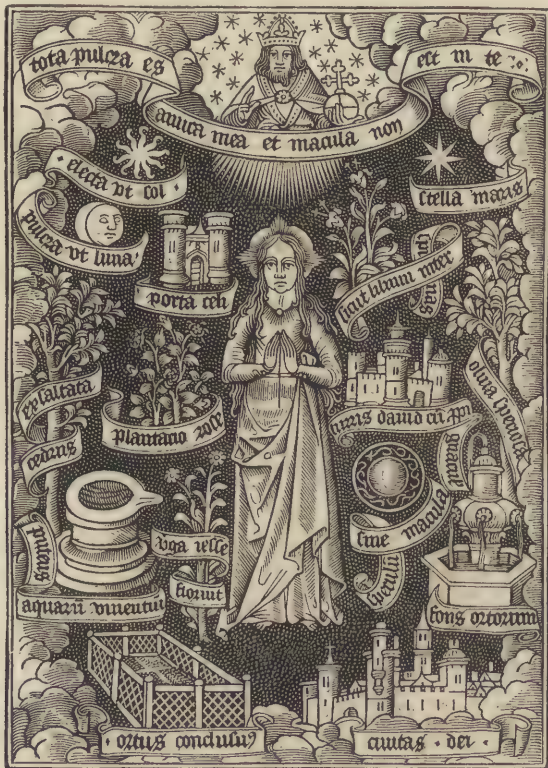


There is a sort of Gothic severity or simplicity about this print which by no means displeases me. It gains in mystery what it loses in splendor—compared with the favorite exhibition which you are now to contemplate. This, indeed, seems to be the *ne plus ultra* of intricate and curious embellishment; and was a most popular representation of the glorious subject which it professed to display.



Next to the representation of the Trinity, the *Assumption of the Virgin* was the darling subject for graphic embellishment: but in no exhibition of that subject have I yet viewed so many sparkling accompaniments as in the one to which your eyes must now be turned. It is full of conceit and singularity; but nevertheless it has a pleasing and imposing air.

The dotted, or *stellated* back-ground (give it the grandest epithet you can !) has, you perceive, a very rich and striking effect upon the vellum on which it is impressed. It belongs to the same volume containing the representation of St. John in the cauldron of boiling oil.



Of representations of *Miracles*, I will direct your attention only to *one*; but that one is so full, brilliant, and successful—it shews so much of taste and of ease, both in design and execution, that it contains a volume of intelligence within itself. It represents the miraculous *appearance* of our Saviour to St. Gregory, when at the altar; as you will find related in the legend of that Saint.

The upper part of it is crowded with allegorical accompaniments; similar to what you have before seen.*



* *similar to what you have before seen.*] Look for a few moments at p. 51, ante; and then, curious reader, contemplate, for twice the same number of

I make no doubt you have frequently witnessed, in Manuals of Devotion, the head of Christ represented upon

moments, the subjoined illustration of the subject above introduced. The heads of Judas Iscariot and Pontius Pilate have not only here a very singular effect, but are executed with great attention to propriety of character. It is rarely that both heads appear in such a subject. Upon comparison with the preceding cut of the same kind, the present has quite the air of the German school. Indeed the previous one is worthy of an Italian pencil.



the napkin, or *sudarium*. This napkin is sometimes supported by St. Peter and St. Paul, but more usually by St. Veronica; to whose life I must refer you. The following is a very able representation of this head, supported by the latter.*



The preceding is taken from the volume of Peypus mentioned at page 57, ante. The previous fac-simile (at p. 67) is taken from 'Missale ad Vs. Insig. Eccl. Sarisburiensis nunc recens typis elegantioribus exaratum, &c. Parisiis Apud Guliel. Merlin in ponte Teloneorum, ad hominis silvestris signum, e regione horologii Palatij. 1555.' Folio. The subject itself is endless in old prints and old paintings; but I cannot help here noticing a very fine painting, by Domenichino, in the possession of Earl Spencer, at Althorp, which represents the *Head of the Virgin* seen upon the drapery of the high altar—as if approving of the piety of the Saint. This picture hangs at the top of the dining room of that ancient and hospitable mansion; and in winter is lighted by a patent lamp, placed below—oftentimes withdrawing the attention of the *dilettante* guest from the bounteous prospect immediately before him!

* Beneath, we read thus: 'Oratio ante faciem Christi dicenda, alias ante

The present may be a fit opportunity to notice those vulgarities, or improprieties of decoration, which seem to have so laudably excited the indignation of Almansa. They will afford a striking, and even risible, contrast to the magnificent specimens you have just seen: for absurd and unaccountable enough it is, to view the trumpery or grossness occasionally foisted into the text of many a lovely impression of *Horæ*! We have been all accustomed, from early youth, to exhibitions of the *Bath of Bathsheba*.^{*} Whether in the form of a capital-initial, or as a distinct and

Veronicam.' See Peypus's '*Hortulus Anime*,' fol. xxxvii, reverse. What is here subjoined is taken from a fragment, in my possession, and is meant to represent St. Peter and St. Paul as supporters of the napkin.



The curious are, I dare say, aware of that whimsical and extraordinary print, executed by Mellan, a French artist, which exhibits a similar head of Christ, as large as life, entirely executed in circular lines, and upon which the engraver commenced his task by attacking the centre of the tip of the nose. This effort may be classed among the '*Nugæ operosæ*'—the 'laborious triflings' of human nature. A little clean printed *WEIR* is worth a huge tapestry of such heads!

^{*} *The Bath of Bathsheba*.] It would occupy a summer's week to look over the prints, in the hundreds of Breviaries, Offices, and Hours, which contain representations of this popular subject; and which differ not less in the size, than in

obtrusive ornament, this fair dame is generally sure to arrest our attention, with her royal lover in the back-ground,

the manner, of its treatment. Sometimes this fair 'Musidora' is introduced in the place of a capital initial; but she is more generally represented within the initial itself: as we find in the Collection of the Epistles of Erasmus, from the press of Froben, of the date 1521. I may venture to say that there is something of delicacy and prettiness in this cut.



She is not unfrequently elevated up one floor, where the bath is conveyed; and in that situation she is made to catch the attention of the Monarch. Mr. Douce has various specimens in his rich cabinet of early-printed volumes of devotion, which illustrate the subject in this point of view. Sometimes, however, (though comparatively of rare occurrence) the Bath is situated, with a proper regard to female delicacy, in a sequestered spot; and the water, instead of being contained in what looks very like a wash-hand bason, is confined within a square excavation of the ground, surrounded by marble pavement;—thus:



who is usually represented leaning over the ballustrades of a balcony, or out of window. That the fair Bathsheba should be surrounded, while bathing, by *her female* attendants, is

See the *Hortulus Anime*, 1519, 8vo. fol. LVII, reverse. Simon Vostre, who was fond of voluptuous ornaments, and loved 'a certain joyous air' to be diffused over his books, has surrounded the fair Bathsheba with female attendants holding fruits, perfumed water, and a mirror. There is a sort of oriental luxury about the following representation — which, however, is not free from the 'wash-hand basin' criticism.



This cut forms the lower part of a larger one (on sign. k v, reverse) of a very beautiful octavo volume, thus entitled—in the colophon: 'Hore beate marie virginis secundum .vsum Trecen. totaliter ad lōgum, cū multis additiōibus: Parisiis per wolffgangū hopiliū ipresse Impēsis honesti viri Simonis vostre, in vico nouq.nostre dnē, ad intersignū sancti Johānis euangeliste cōmorantis, &c. 1506.' 'Pro direttore te rogo funde preces.' It is printed in a large handsome lower-case gothic type, with bright red introduced. Vostre's device forms the frontis-

both natural and proper; but whimsical indeed was that artist who designed her 'unbonnetted' and 'unclothed,' in the act of receiving an epistle from King David by the hands of

piece. (This edition has been already noticed : see p. 49, note.) How superior is the ensuing representation of the 'fair Bathsheba?'—taken from a small volume of scriptural subjects, in quarto, without date, but which we also see in Coverdale's Bible of 1535.



I have presumed (at page 69, ante) to make a small digression from engraving to painting, respecting the subject of the *Miracle of Saint Gregory*—so frequently exhibited in the ancient missals, &c. Let me here again obtain the reader's forgiveness in making a similar digression, connected with the *present subject*; of not less general occurrence. My friend Mr. Ottley possesses a fine painting by REMBRANDT, of this celebrated female bather, as large as life. She is sitting, cross-legged, in the act of having her feet wiped by an old female attendant, (the head and hands of whom only appear at the bottom of the canvass, to the left) and her eyes and her mind are intent upon the letter which she has just received from the Monarch. The expression, conveyed in this act of meditation, is quite extraordinary: enough to exercise the ingenuity of an ordinary compiler of Picture-Catalogues, through at least three pages and a half: but I will only repeat that this expression is 'quite extraordinary.' The back-ground of this powerful picture is occupied by the rich brocade or garments of Bathsheba: enveloped almost in darkness: while the naked figure of the bather receives a full portion of light, and produces a fine breadth of effect. Does the retentive reader call to mind the strange manner in which 'the divine Raffaele' has treated this subject?—as may be seen in the set of prints, from his fresco paintings, for the Bible.

a *male* messenger. The fate of Actæon should have rewarded such ill-timed intrusion !



Some there are who think these loose and (to say the least) *unappropriate* decorations evince the innocence of the age in which they appeared ; but I rather incline to the opinion that, when such ornaments are introduced, they are inserted from a kind of saucy or roguish feeling of the printer. Undoubtedly they are at once misplaced and indefensible.

It is now necessary to remark to you, that in almost all

the specimens which you have seen, and which I believe are contained within the pages of the generality of early printed Missals, nearly the same *style of art* prevails: that is, the same manner of grouping and of design, of handling and of finishing, and of distribution or proportion of light and shade. You see very little *outline*: very little left for the tasteful imagination to supply: very little selection of what may be called *classical*. Perhaps a clumsy or over-charged outline required a redundancy, as it were, of light and shade to conceal its defects. But such a taste was by no means without exception; as you will presently learn. Here then, my friends, allow me to express my unqualified admiration of those publications of the sacred text, adapted to the purposes of the Mass, which owe, I believe, their earliest introduction to the immortal press of the GIUNTI. The nurse of ten thousand useful and elegant arts, the central mart of European commerce, the city both of Jenson and of Titian, it was reserved for *Venice* to give a different turn, and to adopt a purer style, in the decorations of Missals and Breviaries. Approach, and open this magnificent folio volume; for which we are indebted to the spirit and enterprise of the Giunti. It is the *MISSAL OF THE VALLEY OF SHADES*!

ALMANSA. What an imposing introduction—and what a romantic title!

PHILEMON. Not more so than is the history of the Founder of the Ritual:* for know that, in the middle of

* *the history of the Founder of the Ritual.*] This singular history has been frequently written in prose, and a part of it once in poetry. Villegas, in his *Flos Sanctorum*, has not failed to notice it; and appears to have supplied Mr. Southey with the principal outline of a very interesting little poem entitled 'St. Gualberto:' see the '*Minor Poems of Robert Southey*,' vol. iii. p. 224-242. The date of this poem is 1799. Since that period, Mr. Southey has (I dare conjecture) made himself more particularly acquainted with the 'life, character, and behaviour' of

the eleventh century, lived one GIOVANNI GUALBERTO, a Florentine; of a respectable, if not noble, family. It chanced that, walking in his favourite solitude, near Florence, he saw

St. GUALBERTO, from the account of him in the '*Acta Sanctorum*; Julii, tom. iii. p. 311-458: 1723. Folio.

That account is supplied from various manuscript authorities of ancient dates. Andreas, 'Abbas Strumensis,' disciple of Gualberto, 'who built several monasteries, and died in a small tower which he had erected in a thick wood of oaks and beeches,' wrote the life of his master not long before his own decease; towards the end of the xith century. A second biography of Gualberto, from the pen of Atto, abbot of the Vallombrosa monastery, and afterwards Bishop of Pistoia, was composed in the middle of the xiiith century. Benigno Casenate, according to Casari, wrote a life of our Saint in the middle of the xivth century, and a catalogue of all the abbots of the Vallombrosa monastery up to the year 1373. Andreas Jannensis, or de Sancto Ambrosio, a Benedictin monk (whom Mabillon has strangely mistaken for Andreas, the first biographer), wrote a more extended life of Gualberto, with corrections, at the beginning of the xvth century. These authorities, with the aid of Zacconius and Damiani, form the bulk of the matter contained within the pages of the *Acta Sanctorum* just referred to. I presume to give a summary of the leading particulars of this 'matter:' but those who prefer walking quietly and quickly over the lawn, with Philemon, need not partake of the wearisome journey of a partly-latinised, and somewhat lengthy detail. The Spirit of THE SAINT be my succour during this journey!

And first, of the family of Gualberto: living in the middle of the xith century. That family, we are told, was a noble one. His mother's name was Willa, or Camilla: but a doubt is expressed whether the name of his father was WALBERTO or GUALBERTO. Be it either. The one is readily linked to the other by a 'quasi' or 'scilicet.' Secondly, of the murdered man: whether he were the brother, the father, or one of the neighbours, of Gualberto? 'Vir quidam, ut dicitur, potentiorum se hominem interfecit, à cuius etiam filio, more seculi, non legibus Evangelii, multas bellorum molestias pertulit: Paterni scilicet ultor interitùs, & strages anhelabat hominum, & frequentium reportabat manubias rapinarum. Inter has igitur homicida deprehensus angustias, imperiale decrevit adire fastigium, si quod forte tot calamitatibus posset reperire solatium. Quo comperto paterni sanguinis ultor insequitur, sive ut repente gladiis opprimat, impiger comitatur. In Teutonicis vero artibus tunc Imperator agebat.' Upon this statement, I shall only observe that Andreas, the most ancient biographer of the Saint, says it was 'a neighbour:' Ludovicus Zacconius (who wrote an abridgment of the Lives of the Saints, in Italian, 1612, 4to.) thought it was 'the father.' But I concur strongly with the first venerable authority; and disbelieve the murdered man to have been the father. Fourthly, whether the assassin and Gualberto were each aided by a set of friends? Let us again listen to the solemn

a contest between two men ; which, on his nearer approach, proved to be his brother yielding to the superiority of an antagonist who had inflicted upon him a mortal wound. Gualberto vowed revenge. In a few days (having properly armed himself, and having resolved to explore the most

narrative of the Latin historian : premising, however, that ancient Andreas (p. 342) says, that both Gualberto and the assassin were alone : and that the latter threw himself from his horse, upon the ground, in the posture below described. ‘ Cum itaque procedens modeste, quasi securus incederet, subsequens autem celerius properaret, tandem contigit, ut sibimet invicem propinquantibus, in mutuos uterque duceretur aspectus. Sed cum is, qui homicidii reus erat, vix quatuor vel quinque comitum fulciretur auxilio ; interfecti vero filius triginta ferme cingeretur obsequiis armatorum, quaternionem suum cohortatur, ut fugiat. Ille se conspiciens de persequentium manibus avolare non posse, animæ patrociniū petiit, ad humilitatis umbraculum confugium fecit. Projectis igitur armis, brachiis etiam in modum crucis extensis, solo prosternitur, et vel miserantium veniam, vel ictus ferientium præstolatur. At ille jam victor ad reverentiam crucis manum reprimendo compescuit, ultro etiam, ne ab aliquo feriretur, inhibuit. Postremo pacem integram faciens, ad honorem sanctæ vivificæ Crucis non modo vitam, sed et paternæ necis donavit offensam.’ Let us now recreate ourselves with Mr. Southey’s description of this dramatic scene.

Troubled at heart, almost he felt a hope
That yet some chance his victim might delay :
So as he mused, adown the neighbouring slope
He saw a lonely traveller on his way ;
And now he knows the man so much abhorr’d, . . .
His holier thoughts are gone, he bares the murderous sword.

The house of Valdespesa gives the blow !
“ Go, and our vengeance to our kinsman tell !”
Despair and terror seized the unarm’d foe,
And prostrate at the young man’s knees he fell,
And stopt his hand and cried, “ Oh, do not take
A wretched sinner’s life ! mercy for Jesus sake !”

At that most blessed name, as at a spell,
Conscience, the God within him, smote his heart.
His hand, for murder rais’d, unharmed fell ;
He felt cold sweat-drops on his forehead start ;
A moment mute in holy horror stood,
Then cried, “ Joy, joy, my God ! I have not shed his blood !”

likely places where the murderer might lurk) he met the assassin of his brother. Some say that they had each a number of followers, and that the combat threatened to be

He raised Anselmo up, and bade him live,
And bless, for both preserv'd, that holy name;
And pray'd the astonish'd foeman to forgive
The bloody purpose led by which he came;
Then to the neighbouring church he sped away,
His over-burden'd soul before his God to lay.

We will now attend to the narrative; chiefly supplied by Damiani. The astonished Gualberto hastens to the first place of worship which presents itself. 'Sed mox, ut ecclesiam oraturus ingreditur, res mira nimiumque stupenda! Salvatoris Imago, quæ in cruce videbatur expressa, TRIBUS EUM VICIBUS INCLINATO CAPITIS VISA EST SALUTARE!' Here the crucifix, which was of wood, is said to have THRICE NODDED THE HEAD towards Gualberto!—It is right however to observe, that Damiani, who gives the story in the *Acta Sanctorum*, is treated, by the authors of that work, as being rather a gossiping old gentleman; and the redoubted Bellarmin is referred to, by them, as proving that 'he wrote other things which resemble rather fables than historic truth.' What is worthy of especial remark, the authors or rather editors of the *Acta Sanctorum* ('rudis indigestaque moles'!) observe that Damiani seems to have written this history of Gualberto from 'common report'—'quæ multum crescit et mutatur eundo; ut quotidiana nos docet experientia.' One would imagine that the critical historian, who reasoned thus, would at least have made some scruple of digesting the miracle of the motion of the head of the crucifix; but in the following passage the reader will not fail to discover a very whimsical, or very obsequious, logic. 'Cum in tot aliis narrationibus id sibi contigisse fateatur Petrus Damiani, idem in hæc Crucifixi historia ipsi evenisse non injuria suspicor. Ut ut est, ego Crucifixi sese inclinantis miraculum S. Joanni Gualberto accidisse historica fide credo, atque istud in dubium revocare summæ perviciæ, ne dicam dementiæ, esse existimo.' There is something very accommodating in what follows: 'Quid enim historice tandem certum erit? si omnibus historicis, atque etiam vetustissimis, synchronis aut subæqualibus factum aliquod narrantibus, de eo dubitare liceat. Intolerabilis sane est hæc mentis pertinacia, quam quidem nostri temporis Aristarchi, ac præsertim heterodoxi, prudentiam aut constantiam vocare non erubescunt.' p. 314. A catholic writer (*Legendarius Gallus*) of better discernment, and of tolerable plain sense, who has written a minute life of Gualberto, thinks that the Saint, from intense feeling and unremitting contemplation of the crucifix, *fancied* that he saw it move: in other words, that the motion was the effect of the imagination only. The Bollandists (or editors of the '*Acta Sanctorum*') who find liberal fault with Zacconius for his constant inclination to the marvellous and hyperbolical, are yet, with a suppleness of reasoning, *peculiarly their own*,

deadly. Be this as it may: a sudden terror possessed the murderer: he fled, and was overtaken by Gualberto, whose falchion was about to be brandished over his head, when the

pleased to say of this last-mentioned authority—‘*Hæc tamen additamenta miraculi veritatem non negant, sed potius confirmant, quamvis per hyperbolem maxime reprehendendam!*’

In the next place let us hear of the result of this miracle, and of the conversion of the Saint to monachism. It is Damiani who tells the story. ‘Gualberto now began to conceive within himself a hatred of the world and of worldly honours, and to divest himself entirely of its wealth, and anxiously to meditate upon the future glory of the just—the punishment of the unjust—and how vain it was to trust in the frailty of human existence, but rather to devote oneself to the concerns of eternity. Thus meditating, and pursuing his journey, Gualberto approached the city [of Florence]; when addressing his squire, or companion, he said, ‘go to the Inn where we are accustomed to stop, and quickly get ready what may be needful for ourselves and our horses.’ His companion did as he was desired. But Gualberto, ‘the servant of the Lord,’ directing his course or journey from the spot he had intended to visit—and filled by the divine spirit—came directly to the *monastery of St. Miniati*. The abbot receives him courteously, enquires his wants and wishes—hears of the Miracle of the Cross—and advises him to relinquish the world and all its pomps and vanities. Seeing his youth however, and wishing to prove his constancy, he describes the severities of the monastic life. Gualberto is unshaken in his resolution to comply with the Abbot’s wishes. Meanwhile, the servant, at the inn at Florence, finding his master not return, goes to the father of Gualberto, and relates every thing that had happened. The father rushes out of doors—enquires of every body—and goes every where—at length he hears of his son in the monastery, and demands him of the abbot. The abbot tells Gualberto of the arrival of his father, and of his earnestness to have an interview with him. The Saint, on the other hand, entreats the abbot to go and pacify his father; who, by this time, had become furious—threatening to demolish the monastery. The abbot prevails upon the father to enter, and visit his son. Meanwhile, Gualberto had put on the monastic garment, had shaved his head, and, with his eyes intent upon an opened volume, was slowly approaching the altar. At this moment the father breaks in upon his retirement—finds his son perfectly tranquilised and composed—while, on the contrary, himself, and the suite who attend him, begin to beat their breasts, to tear their hair and their garments, and prostrating themselves upon the ground, to call upon the name of Christ with loud and frequent ejaculations.’ The father at length becomes composed; and giving the son his blessing, he departs.

Gualberto now continues his melancholy journey, with one Ubertus (‘*callidus et ingeniosus monachus*’) and arrives at the famous monastery of Camaldolo, founded but a few years before; where the prior tells him to persevere in his

former threw himself in a supplicatory attitude: extended his arms, bent forward his head and body, and implored pity and forgiveness. An equally sudden impulse possessed Gualberto. He returned his glittering falchion into its sheath, unstained by the blood of the murderer—and passed on: whether to Florence, or to a neighbouring town, I know not: but on entering the first church in the place, his eyes were fixed upon a wooden crucifix, which, on intensely contemplating, was seen to move downwards its head, and to extend its arms, and to remind him of the attitude of the man whose life he had so heroically spared! What would you more? Are not events like these sufficient to make both

good resolutions, and to establish an order according to the rules of St. Benedict. Gualberto reaches the neighbouring recesses of Vallombrosa; situated, like the spot he had just left, in a romantic country, in the Appenine hills, and about half a day's journey (or six leagues) from Florence. Milton alludes to

—Vallombrosa, where the Etrurian Shades,
High over-arch'd, imbower.

Par. Lost, b. i. v. 303, Todd's Edition, vol. ii. p. 320.

The solitude chosen by Gualberto was indeed not less appropriate than that of Camaldoli. Perusinus says the place was called *IMBROSA*, on account of the frequent showers or rains which fell in the valley; but that author is better pleased with the word *UMBROSA*—'on account of the trees and shades which prevailed there.' p. 345. The place is watered by the river or torrent Vicano, which visits it between two chains of mountains. Here then (and as the last section of this tremendous note) did Giovanni Gualberto resolve to fix his staff in the earth, to build the walls of his monastery, and to establish the discipline of his own particular order. His rules partook of the severity of his dress. His clothes were of the coarsest woollen stuff, and the rebel-flesh was to be subdued by a belt studded with small spikes. And because (I ween) the moon rarely gained the ascendancy of the surrounding hills, so as to lighten up the monastery with her silvery beams, an everlasting lamp was ordained to burn in the dormitory. Gualberto found 'this order of things' so conducive to health and spirits, that he reached his 88th year; and if any faith may be attached to his portrait, and hand-writing, as given in the volume from which the foregoing information has been derived, he appears to have been a very comely Saint, and to have written a tolerably legible hand. A. Maria Rivola, a priest of the Vallombrosa Order, hath written much and learnedly upon the relics and austerities of this Saint. Of the wonders performed by him, peruse the Bollaudistic pages.

proselytes and founders? Gualberto forsook his home; entered a monastery, to which, however, he was pursued by his father, but from which no entreaty could prevail upon him to depart. Here the worthy Abbot directed him in his future religious course of life; and inspired by no common enthusiasm, he approached a spot, which, from its seclusion, its mountainous neighbourhood, and more from the immensity of the surrounding woods, has long been called the VALLEY OF SHADES. There Gualberto built his monastery; there he composed his Ritual; and hence the VALLOMBROSA MISSAL takes its name. Enough! Let Lysander and Lisardo explore the pages of that inexhaustible repertory of fiction and truth, of absurdity and information, the ACTA SANCTORUM;*

* *that inexhaustible repertory of fiction and truth, of absurdity and information, the ACTA SANCTORUM.*] This stupendous work, which can hardly be said to be complete, as far as it goes, under 55 volumes—is yet UNFINISHED. Even 55 volumes, and yet an imperfect work! It consists of the lives of the Saints which are contained in the Calendar of the Roman Catholic Ritual; beginning, of course, with the month of January, and proceeding to the end of the year; but at present not extending beyond the 14th day of October: and as these fourteen days afford materials sufficient to fill six ponderous folios, the reader may judge of the probable extent of the work, when it shall have reached the last day of December! I had meditated a complete bibliographical description of these ‘Saintly Acts,’ (as De Bure is rather unsatisfactory, and Brunet is necessarily concise) and had intended to give a *list of the Saints*; but when I found the first 15 days of January (which occupy the first volume) to comprise biographies, fuller or shorter, of not fewer than *five hundred and eighty-two Saints*—the design appalled me!—and the spirit both of ROSWEYD and of BOLLANDUS seemed to rise up before me, and forbid, with an angry look, the execution of such a task! I made my escape with equal promptitude and gladness.

Yet the reader ought to know *something* about these bulky tomes. The ‘nucleus’ of the work was first formed in the enthusiastic brain of one HERBERT ROSWEYD, as we should call him in the vernacular tongue of Great Britain. The projector of it must have been many years in thinking upon, and procuring, his materials, as well as in digesting his plan; as he died at the age of 60, without having achieved ‘one stitch’ of the text. His death should prove a warning to Bibliomaniacs. A cargo of books, expressly consigned to him, for the purpose of furthering or completing his great plan, was shipped on board a leaky vessel.

projected by Rosweyd, and undertaken and continued by Father Bollandus and other learned Benedictins. Let them explore those wondrous pages of far-fetched and most curious

Rosweyd had not the patience to suffer these books to be well aired and dried, before he began to rummage for his beloved treasures. A noxious humidity, or infectious vapour, was engendered, and the Father of the 'Acta Sanctorum' fell a victim to his bibliomaniacal intrepidity. His design was taken up by John Bollandus, and in the year 1643, appeared at Antwerp, the first volume of this stupendous work; which,

————— like streams, enlarging as they flow,

continued progressively to arrest the public attention till the year 1794; when I suppose the volcanic effects of the French revolution broke up the channels of its direction. Since then it has received no additional aid, and no bookseller appears to have had the inclination, or the courage, to bring it to a close. Those, however, who imagine that these volumes contain little more than 'fables and falsehood,' are much mistaken. They present us with the fruits of much valuable research. Hundreds, perhaps thousands of MSS. which were fast rotting away, or were becoming victims to rats, even more numerous and ravenous than those which attacked Bishop Hatto in his tower upon the Rhine, (see a comical woodcut of this incident in Sebastian Munster's *Cosmography*, 1553, folio, page 549, and the tale told in very descriptive verse by Mr. Southey, in his *Minor Poems*, vol. iii. p. 66)—these treasures, but for the perseverance and learning of the Benedictin Editors, would have irretrievably perished; and, in consequence, much light have been withheld from some of the more curious and interesting features of the history of our own country. But—for the readers and lovers of ROMANCE — of incidents grave, terrible, strange, unheard of, or even 'sublime and beautiful,' (see an article upon 'the Spanish Inquisition' in the *Quarterly Review* for December, 1811,) there is no work to be compared with that entitled 'ACTA SANCTORUM.' The very preface of the first volume prepares us for something 'piquant.' At p. xix, Bollandus defends the *Legenda Aurea*, or *Historia Lombardica*; and mentions Molanus's commendation of the fuller edition of it at Cologne in 1483, and of his own copy of it printed at Louvain in 1485: p. xx. Of the *Breviaries* used by him, he speaks of the *Roman* one of 1479, of the *Salisbury Breviary* of 1499, and the summer part of that work of the date of 1557. He uses also a *Breviary* for Ireland, of the date of 1620: see page liij, &c. But, if the preface of this work bespeak no ordinary entertainment to be derived from the text of it, what shall we say to the disquisition, at the very threshold of the work itself, entitled '*Commemoratio Sacrosancti Præputii Christi Antverpiæ, et alibi?*' Our old friend Jacobus de Voragine (*Legend. Aurea*. 'in festo Circumcisionis') has informed us that this extraordinary relic was conveyed by an angel to Charlemagne, who deposited it in the Church of St. Maria, Aix-la-Chapelle; but that he afterwards placed it in the church of Christ at Carosium. It is now said to be in the church of All Saints at Rome: yet

intelligence, for other similar tales of monastic life: return we to the beautiful book which has caused this romantic digression. You observe that it is printed quite at the commencement of the sixteenth century. The amplitude of the page, the size and variety of the types, the lustre of the inks, the tone and substance of the vellum, but above all, the pure arabesque taste of the decorations—to say nothing of the rarity and curiosity of the impression—all combine to render this volume an acquisition extremely precious to the Collector. If ever the magical art of printing was calculated to produce enthusiastic sensations, such sensations cannot fail to be felt on a careful examination of this book.*

Bollandus, in imitation of the 'non satis constat' of Franciscus Suares, very prudently concludes—'melius est tamen Deo totum committere, quàm aliquid temerè definire.'

It remains only to observe, that to have a complete copy of such a treasure, we must note well that *January* have 2 vols.: *February*, 3: *March*, 3: *April*, 3: *May*, 8, (including the volume entitled 'Propilæum ad Acta Sanctorum Maii'—which contains supplements to the 1st, 4th, and 5th volumes of the same month, or these supplements may be found with the respective volumes to which they belong, and then May will contain only 7 volumes) *June*, 7: *July*, 7: *August*, 6: *September*, 8: *October*, 6: in the whole, 53 volumes. To these, add '*Martyrologium Usuardi, Antv. 1714*,' folio: and '*Acta Sancta Bollandina, apologeticis libris, vindicata, Antv. 1755*,' folio. This work was reprinted at Venice in 1734, and continued in 42 volumes, as far as the 15th of September; but this reprint is comparatively of diminutive value. Consult the *Manuel du Libraire*, vol. i. p. 193, edit. 1814; where the controversial pieces attached to the work are noticed. In the Antwerp edition, there are portraits of many of the coadjutors in the work: of men, who, from their physiognomies, appear to have delighted in the 'dark and devious track' in which the nature of their labours compelled them to walk: of men, upon whose 'shrunk flesh' the light of the lamp seems stubbornly to have contended with the increasing rays of Aurora. Rest their ashes in peace!—and let the bibliographical devotee pause with delight upon the complete set of their labours which ennoble the shelves of the ALTHORP LIBRARY.

* *A careful examination of this book.*] This impression is the more worthy of bibliographical notice, as it appears to be THE FIRST of the VALLOMBROSA RITUAL, and to have escaped both Bandini and Panzer. Brunet briefly mentions the *very copy* under description; which is 'printed upon vellum, with the cuts

Equal beauty and equal skill were evinced by the Giunti in their smaller productions of this kind. The lovely little

coloured,' *Manuel du Libraire*; vol. ii. p. 368. I presume this impression to be the first, from internal evidence: as the editor of it, Petrus Albignanus, in his prefatory epistle to Blasius Franciscus Melanensis, 'Vicar General of the Vallombrosa Order,' expressly says—'hic preclarus liber qui antea incompósitos et corruptus.' It appears rather singular that Laurentius Romuleus had not the editorship of this work, as he was professor of rhetoric in the Vallombrosa monastery, and exercised the office of editor for Lucas Antonius Junta in many publications. In the preface to the *Rhetorics of Cicero*, 1508, he describes himself as having lived for five years, 'quietis Vallis umbrosæ recessibus.' *Annal. Junt.* pt. i. p. 129. The volume under description has a fine title-page of a wood-cut of Gualberto, treading upon a demon; having beneath 'Missale mōasticū sēm osuetudinē ordinis Vallisumbrosæ,' in large lower-case letters, with the device of the printer, the fleur de lis. This title, and the device, are in red; but the wood-cut is executed in black ink. The preface, before mentioned, follows on the reverse; in which 'thirteen ample and rich monasteries are said to be devoted to this order.' It bears the date of December, M.cccc.iiij. A Calendar of 6 leaves, not numbered, follows. Then a leaf, entitled 'Littere dominicales.' Another leaf, of similar matter, follows: a third leaf, of Tables, ensues. Next, four leaves, with musical notes: on the reverse of the 4th of which is a wood-cut of the arms of the Order, encircled by one of those magnificent borders which give so rich an appearance to the volume. The whole of this embellishment, of the entire size of the leaf, is here uncoloured; a piece of good fortune which I regret does not again occur (in the larger embellishments) throughout the copy. The recto of the ensuing leaf, (considered to be numbered as folio 1, on sign. a j) presents us with a second title, similar to the preceding, and the commencement of the text, surrounded by a border of equal magnificence. The bottom compartment, which illustrates the rencontre of St. Gualberto and the assassin (see page 77, ante,) shall speak for itself in the following fac-simile of it:



volume of *Offices* which I now hold in my hand—which was considered as too delicate, or liable to be lost, among its bulkier brethren in the caravan, and which has therefore

The leaves are now regularly numbered, with signatures, to the end of the volume : when, on the recto of Fol. x. we observe a third similar large embellishment ; having a bottom-compartment descriptive of the second leading event in the life of the Founder of this Ritual ; namely, his conversion to monachism, thus :



The third leading event in the life of the Saint—his establishment of the Vallombrosa Order—is thus delineated, on the reverse of fol. ccxii.



Owing to the heavy colouring of these cuts, the artist who executed the fac-similes has not had an opportunity of shewing the complete fidelity of his imitation,

accompanied me in a side carriage-pocket—this lovely little volume, as you will immediately see and confess, is worthy of all the admiration you can bestow upon it. It is a star of minor magnitude,* but of equal lustre with the one on which our eyes have just been so dazzlingly fixed.

The running titles, capital initials, and other similar ornaments, partake of that chastity of design which distinguishes the preceding specimens. The smaller ornaments are luckily uncoloured; and most of these are in pure arabesque taste. The text, in double columns, is a large lower-case gothic type; such as we see in the Mozarabic and other Missals of that period. The vellum is in general white and pure; and the red and black inks have an unusually splendid effect. The colophon (in red) is in the second column on the reverse of the ccciiid and last leaf. It informs us that the work was executed at the cost of the forementioned 'Vicar General,' and printed by 'Lucas Antonius de Giunta, a Florentine, with the greatest diligence, at Venice, in the year of our Lord Mcccc.iiij. 'pridie nonas Decembris.' The copy, from which the foregoing description has been taken, was obtained by me from Messrs. Robinsons of Leeds, for my neighbour and friend Mr. Kendal; at a price proportioned to its extreme rarity and worth. It is in old red morocco binding, and has been rather mercilessly treated, in the top margin, by some half-instructed book-binder.

* *a star of minor magnitude.*] My friend Mr. Douce is fortunate enough to have his book-hemisphere illumined by the rays of this 'minor star;' and it is from his copy that the ensuing account is taken. The title at length (without contractions) is given by Bandini; and that lukewarm bibliographer has just energy enough to say of it: 'Singulæ paginæ figuris in ligno eleganter incisus ex utraque parte exornantur.' *Annal. Juntar.* pt. i. p. 8. It is an octavo volume of 'Offices after the Use of the Romish Church,' of the date of 1505. Beneath this title is the fleur de lis, with the printer's initials; both in red. The type throughout the volume exhibits three founts of letter, each gothic; and the larger is of that full face, or round and legible form, which renders it equally favourable to the effect of the printer's skill, and to the reader's comfort. The red and black inks seem to vie with each other for the mastery. The vellum may be said to be perfect—'candidissima pergamena'—as Bandini remarks of a copy in a private collection. The ornaments, in square borders, round each page, are of the same school of art as those in the Missal just described. Of these ornaments the bottom ones are larger, and of preferable execution; the female figures being somewhat similar to those in the *Poliphilo* of 1499. There are large cuts, which fill an entire page; but these are by an inferior artist. The signatures have a peculiarity in being placed *at top* of the right hand border. This impression contains, in the whole, 190 leaves: *Impressum Venetijs: impensis nobilis viri Lucantonij degiunta Florētini. Ann. &c. m.cccc.v. vi. Kal. Julij.* Mr. Douce has most justly regarded this book 'as an unrivalled piece of elegant typography.'

While upon the subject of deviations from the older, and what is sometimes called the gothic, style of art, discoverable in the Missals published about three centuries ago, let me request your particular attention to the singularity of some of the decorations from the press of GODAR. His border-embellishments are novel and magnificent. That man had a brave spirit* who could thus venture upon such a profusion of

The library of the same distinguished Collector has supplied me with the information that the preceding Missal, in the character of its type, in the setting up of the page, in the borders, ornamental initials, and splendour of the inks, appears to have been closely imitated by Bernardinus Stagninus 'de monte ferrato'—in a beautiful volume entitled '*Officio e ordinato tutti gli officij chadavuno officio: & tutte le sue hore*.' &c. printed in 1511, 8vo. with the device of the printer. The larger cuts however are here much better executed—resembling those in the Poliphilo as to design, and are shaded with considerable artist-like effect. The cut of the miraculous conception has the mark *ia*; supposed to be the initials of John Andrea. Mr. Douce possesses a book of figures from the Old Testament, in which both the cuts and text are impressed from blocks of wood; and from the colophon of which it should seem that this Andrea was the artist who executed the work; '*Opera di Giouaniandrea Vauassore ditto Vadagnino: Stampata nouamēte nella inclita citta di Vinegia*.'—without date, in octavo. But my friend Mr. Ottley's book will give satisfactory information about these mysterious initials; and I find I am travelling 'dehors the record.'

* *That man had a brave spirit.*] When I begin by remarking that GODARD spelt his name both with, and without, the final *d*, it is to be understood that neither the insertion nor the omission of this final letter has any thing to do with the 'brave spirit' of GUILLUAME GODAR. So prepare, gentle reader, for other proofs of this printer's 'bravery.' I must again entrench myself among the *Hore* and *Officia* of the collection just mentioned: where there is a curious volume entitled '*Heures a l'usage de Rome toutes au lōg sās requir: nouuellemēt imprimées a Paris pour Guillaume godard demourant sur le pont au change*.' Above this title is the imposing device of the printer: being his initials, GG. upon a shield, suspended to a tree, and supported by two stags, with long horns. The volume is without date. It has ornamented borders, of a rustic character, with figures large and coarse, within angular or oval frames. At the end is some old French poetry, concluding with this 'cunning' advice:

Laus deo.

Oy, voy, porles poy

Si tu parles, garde toy

De qui tu parles & quoy.

The two last leaves present us with something like the 'brave spirit' of Godard.

ornament; and he is among the very earliest to whom we are indebted for what may be called a *Sister Death-Dance*: I mean, the DANCE OF MACHABRE: a dance, hardly less popular than the one of which we have before made such particular mention. Succeeding artists delighted to exhibit this dance; but among such future exhibitions or impressions of it, none display equal taste with what we observe in the edition put forth by NICOLAS LE ROUGE.* Fail not to

They contain treble columns of text, with figures of Saints above, and invocations or prayers beneath. Mr. Douce's copy of this curious book, upon paper, is in fine genuine condition; protected by that 'good-old' stamped binding, in calf, which marks what collectors call 'an unsophisticated copy.'

I shall now adduce *more decisive* demonstrations of the 'brave spirit' of Guillaume Godar. In the same precious cabinet, in which the volume just described reposes, is a magnificent and elaborate Missal, in large 8vo. containing treble rows of ornament, and having, among others, whole-length astrological figures—usually given in half-lengths; and, in the bottom compartments, some very interesting embellishments. At the beginning of this desirable book is the announce of the DANCE OF MACHABRE; which is preceded by '*les figures de la vie de l'homme: et les douze sibiles.*' At the end we read: '*Imprimees pour Guillaume godar Libraire demourant a Paris sur le pont au change deuant lorloge du palais alenseigne de l'homme sauvage.*' Without date. The vellum, upon the whole, is second rate.

* *The edition put forth by Nicolas Le Rouge.*] Before we speak of this rare and beautiful edition, it may be as well to observe that the DANCE OF MACABER, or MACHABRE, was an ancient pageant, or religious entertainment, in which all ranks and conditions of life were personated and mixed together in a general dance, and in the course of which every one in his turn vanished from the scene, to shew that none were exempted from the stroke of death. This dance was performed in the churches, and can be traced back as far as the year 1424. (*Gloss: Carpentier*, vol. ii. p. 1103). It was called the Dance of Macaber, from a German poet of that name, who first composed some verses under the same title. Fabricius thinks the poem more ancient than the paintings; and observes that one Trecacius first translated the German into Latin verse, about the year 1460. Goldastus republished this Latin version at the end of Rodericus Zamorensis' *Speculum Humanæ Salvationis*, at Hanover, in 1613, 4to; and Fabricius is earnest in the recommendation of a pleasant work, upon the original subject, published by his friend Hischerus, at Dresden, in 1705, 8vo: the title of which (beginning with these frightful words—'*Beschreibung des so genannten Todten-Tanzes*') is subjoined to the last and best edition of the *Bibl. Med. et Inf. Ætat.*

seize with avidity upon this rare and precious volume, whenever it meets your eye.

I am not aware of any thing particularly characteristic of the devotional volumes published by VERARD, EUSTACE, VOSTRE, PIGOUCHET, HARDOUYN, and other celebrated

vol. v. p. i. edit. 1754. There are numerous ancient and modern editions of Latin, French, and English versions of this popular dance; and our SHEPHERD'S KALENDAR (see *Typog. Antiq.* vol. ii. p. 526) has been among the earliest books, in print, which introduces it. Lydgate's partial version of it was magnificently published by Tottell in 1554, folio; with a wood-cut representation of the dance, at the end of Bochas's *Fall of Princes*, by the same poet: see Herbert, vol. ii. p. 808. Dugdale, in his *History of St. Paul's*, gives us what was supposed to have been the original painting of this dance, in the cloister of that Cathedral, during the time of Lydgate; but which was pulled down, with the adjacent monuments and tombs, by the Duke of Somerset, in 1549. An outline-etching of Dugdale's plate, with the version of Lydgate, are given in the elegant volume noticed at page 37, ante: in 8vo. without date.

It is now time to notice the edition of this work by Nicolas Le Rouge, in a thin folio volume, without date. The title is thus: '*La grant danse macabre des homes et des femmes hystoriee et augmētee de beaulx ditz en latin—Le devut du corps et de lame. La complainte de lame damnee. Exhortation de bien viure et bien mourir. La vie du mauvois antechrist. Les quinze signes. Le iugement. Imprime a Troyes par Nicolas le rouge demourant en la grant rue a lenseigne de Venise. Aupres la belle croix.*' The cuts are horizontally oblong; and are evidently executed by two different artists, at least. Those, as far as *e ij*, recto, inclusively, are neatly and even elegantly finished: and, among them, the *Constable*, the *Archbishop*, the *Knight*, the *Bishop*, the *Schoolmaster*, the *Advocate*, the *Cordelier*, the *Gaolor*, the *Promoter*, the *Clerk*, the *three Hawkers*, the *Queen and the Dutchess*. Afterwards, the common Flemish style prevails; but the *Hawkers* are again introduced. The remaining subjects are like those given in vol. ii. p. 534, in the recent edition of our *Typographical Antiquities*, and are usually found in the work there described. The colophon is a mere repetition of the title above given. On the reverse of the last leaf is what I conceive, from the monogram in the background, to be a portrait of the printer, kneeling: of which a fac-simile will be found in the FIFTH DAY of this work. The figures are about 3 inches and a half in length, in outline: and appear to be imitations of the same style of art which prevails in the Kalendar of Shepherds, printed at Paris, in 1499, folio—in the British Museum. Mr. Douce observes that there was an edition of this work by Nicole de la Barre, in 1523, 4to: with similar but comparatively indifferent cuts; omitting some of those in the present impression. This book was obtained by Mr. Douce from the late Count Macarthy in exchange for another volume.

typographical contemporaries; except that they are all pretty nearly equally distinguished for splendor, richness, and extreme skilfulness of execution: exhibiting almost the same style of art, and (wonderful to say!) such proofs of living on good terms among themselves, that the one often printed for the other, and borrowed the device of the other.* In short,

* *the one often printed for the other; and borrowed the device of the other.*] A few performances, among twenty that might be mentioned, may be noticed of these printers. The earliest octavo volume of VERARD which I remember to have seen of a religious character, is of the date of 1489, and contains astrological figures somewhat similar to those given at page 100, post; but in outline, and of larger dimensions. My friend Mr. Freeling has a very choice copy of this date and character. Mr. Douce has one of 1498. The larger decorations of Verard are not in the purest taste of the early Parisian school; and his borders are not always so brilliant as are those of his contemporaries: but I possess a beautiful specimen of his printing, in this way, of the date of 1500, in 8vo. '*pres le carrefour saint seuerin a lymaige saint iehan leuāgeliste. ou au palays deuant la chapelle ou len chante la messe de messieurs les presidens.*' This copy is printed upon vellum of an equally excellent colour and substance. The type is one size beyond his smallest type, the latter of which is seen in Mr. Douce's copy.

The devotional volumes of EUSTACE are, I think, of rarer occurrence than those of his contemporaries. The device of Eustace is borrowed by Pychore, or Pychore's is the original of Eustace's—in a volume of '*Heures a lusage de Rome*' printed at Paris in 1503—'par Iehā pychore: et Remy de laistre: demourāt au croissāt en la grāt rue des carmes dess' la place maubert'—in the possession of Mr. Douce. This fine book has elaborate borders, ornamental, and descriptive of historical subjects. There is a monogram on a shield, by way of frontispiece, which seems to represent the initials I R and C B—on each side of a cross.

The name of SIMON VOSTRE is entitled to especial respect. His *Hours* and *Offices* are perhaps as common as any which have come down to us, but fine specimens of his vellum books are justly appreciated by the knowing. His ornaments are full of variety and interest. This printer and Pigouchet were constantly borrowing the device of each other. Mr. Douce has a most interesting devotional volume, printed by Pigouchet, with the device of Vostre, in which the Calendar commences with the year 1502; having the gothic type of rather a round appearance, like that of the Giunti. The embellishments are large, striking, and extremely elegant; and some of the corner compartments are not a little curious and whimsical. The vellum is quite delightful; and the cuts are, upon the whole, both splendidly and successfully coloured. In that of the *Adoration* are two shepherds; one, with a fillet round his head, called '*Gobin le gay*;' the other, with a string fastened to a dog, called '*Le beau roger*;' on one side is a woman,

there seems to have been a complete reciprocity of interest and of sentiment between them. Happy period! perhaps never to be revived among the brethren of the matrix and

of the name of 'alison'; on the other side is a woman called 'mahault.' Mr. Douce is of opinion that these cuts are peculiar to the missals of Vostre and Pigouchet. The same collector possesses a volume of *Horæ ad Us. Rom.* with Pigouchet's device, printed by Vostre, of the date of 1498; UPON VELLUM. Referring to a former memorandum of this book, when it was 'sub oculis'—and made on the very day in which intelligence arrived of the victory of Waterloo—I find it described as 'one of the most beautiful and perfect copies of a book ever seen.' That great battle has been more than once called, the 'most beautiful and perfect' thing of its kind that ever took place. Whimsical coincidence! Lord Spencer possesses a beautiful volume of *Horæ ad Us. Paris.* printed by Pigouchet in 1491, 8vo. (see *Bibl. Spencer.* vol. iv. p. 510) in which the device of MARNEF appears on the reverse of the leaf containing the colophon; and in which colophon the purchasers are required to go to 'the Sign of the Pelican' (Marnef's device) for such copies as they may wish to procure.

My friend Mr. Neunberg has a volume of *Horæ*, of the date of 1502, by Vostre; from which the cuts of the Games and Sports, given in the following pages, are taken. His copy is upon paper, but it is a fine genuine book. I possess a splendid specimen of the same printer's talents, in what may be called a thin quarto of '*Heures a l'usage de Verdun toutes au long sans req[ue]rir : avec les figures et signes de lapocalipse ; la vie de thobie et de iudic, les accidēs de thôme, le triumphe de cesar, les miracles nostre dame :*' without date, but having the year 1515 as the first year of the Calendar. It is a splendid, but not wholly uninjured specimen of Vostre's talents; and has a freshness about it as if it had just issued from the press. There are large wooden-cuts of the dimensions of eight inches by five; and the latter part is profusely ornamented by an illustration of the *Dance of Death*. Here is also a representation of the parable of the *Prodigal Son*, and of the other subjects mentioned in the foregoing note. These *Heures a l'usage de Verdun* are by no means of common occurrence.

The device of PIGOUCHET appears in some of the devotional volumes printed by PORTEVIN. It is precisely similar, except that the initials IP (for Jehan Poitevin) are placed in the centre of the tree instead of those of Philip Pigouchet. There is a volume of *Heures a l'usage de Rome*, &c. of the date 1498, 8vo. upon vellum, in the Auctarium of the Bodleian Library, in which this peculiarity appears; and, if my memory be not treacherous, I have seen at least three more similar illustrations of it.

Let us pay all imaginable homage to the typographical reputation of GILLET HARDOUYN. Earl Spencer, Sir Henry Englefield, and Mr. Douce, each possess more than one beautiful specimen, upon vellum, of the press of this elegant printer; and I happen to have purchased from Messrs. Payne and Foss, a

puncheon! Hark! do I hear, even yet, the sound of the choruses of their Tavern-Club—vying with those of ‘the chapel, near the palace where they sing the mass of Messieurs the Presidents,’ as the colophons of Verard perpetually inform us?! In this general grouping I would not however be understood to include THIELMAN KERVER; as he is deserving of particular notice and commendation, not so much for the superior beauty of his productions, as for having first introduced the *italic* type into France. One of his ‘*Horæ*,’ of the date of 1517, bears unequivocal proof of this curious fact in the annals of Parisian typography.*

singular volume of *Horæ*, perpendicularly oblong, (the text being 5 inches and a half in length, by only 2 in width), with a few wood-cuts, coloured: in excellent preservation, without date, but defective in the first two signatures, A and B. The device of Hardouin, with those of all the printers just mentioned, will appear in the FIFTH DAY of this work; when a few further words may be said ‘in behalf of them.’ See a missal of Hardouin, printed in roman characters, described at page 50, ante.

* *this curious fact in the annals of Parisian typography.*] Let us begin this KERVEREAN article with a little attention to chronological order. The *Bibl. Spenceriana*, vol. i. p. 151, vol. iv. pp. 512, 515, contains descriptions of some beautiful specimens of the press of THIELMAN KERVER towards the close of the xvth century; and the cabinets of Sir H. Englefield and Mr. Douce possess specimens of a later date, towards the year 1517; when, for the first time, in France, appeared a volume of *Horæ* printed in *italic characters* by the same ingenious artist—who, in his colophon, seems to claim the merit of having first introduced that type into his own country. Beneath the arms of Christ (see page 52, ante, here on a diminished scale) we read as follows: ‘*Horæ ad vsum romanum industria Thielmanni Keruer, sub hoc nouo sculpture stilo nup[er]ime exarate parisi in uico diui iacobi ad signum cratis ferree, Anno salutis millesimo quingentesimo decimoseptimo. xxvi. Augusti.*’ The page is about four inches in length, by only one inch and an half in width. The vellum is pretty fair, but the ornaments are indifferent and sparingly introduced. Mr. Douce possesses this typographical curiosity. The same friend has also a beautiful little volume, entitled ‘*Enchiridion p[re]clare ecclesie Sarum . . . precatationibus ac venustissimis imaginibus et ijs quidem non paucis refertum.*’ It is printed by Kerver’s widow, in 1528, 12mo. at the expense of Asardt Plomier; and is one of the finest specimens of thick white vellum that I ever beheld. The *red ink* of Kerver (especially that in a volume of *Offices*, of the date of 1512, 8vo. now before me,

Approach we now, with a soft and gentle step, but with emotions of no ordinary delight, the tasteful productions of the united genius and skill of GEOFFREY TORY and SIMON DU BOIS. These productions, of almost equal beauty with those of the Giunti, differ, as you will observe, most essentially from those of the earlier Parisian artists; inasmuch as they are almost entirely in the *outline*, and have decorative borders of *fruits, flowers, and insects*. Like the greater part of the preceding ornaments, the present were without doubt borrowed from the practice of the ancient illuminators; and I am rather surprised that such a taste had not previously prevailed. The skill of my auditors would readily supply the *colouring* of such an outline; but

and from which the first fac-simile at page 50-1, ante, was taken) has a peculiarly brilliant lustre. Like many of his Parisian brethren (and in confirmation of what has been observed at p. 7, ante) we may notice that Thielman Kerver was employed by the booksellers of London to print books of devotion; for thus saith the *Bibl. West.* no. 828: 'The Prymer of Salysbury, with many prayers and goodly Pycures, &c. b. l. empyrnted in Paris, wythin the House of Thylman Karver, at the Expences of Johan Growte, Bookseller in London, 1534,' fine copy, 8vo. purchased, I believe, by Gough, for 11. 8s. A rare volume, indeed: but could any Englishman's name have been *Growte*?

Of FRANCIS REGNAULT, enough has been before observed (see p. 46, ante) to prove that I do not hold him *the least* in estimation of these far-famed Parisian publishers of 'EARLY PRINTED BOOKS OF DEVOTION.' I cannot however but here notice, in a very particular manner, a volume of '*Horæ in laudem beatissimæ virginis Mariæ, ad usum Romanum*'—bearing the following colophon—'*Parisiis Ex officina Reginaldi Calderij et Claudij ejus filij, 1549, 4to.*' which is in the possession of my friend Mr. Douce. The text is in the Roman character. The borders are elaborate, and in fine arabesque style. In one of the larger cuts, (the Adoration) which is subscribed 'Ad sextum,' there is a remarkable coincidence of resemblance in the portrait of a figure kneeling (presenting a box of gems) to that of Henry IV. of France: the beard, features, and expression, being very similar to what we observe in those of the French Monarch. Mr. Douce's copy has the additional value of having formerly belonged to Diana of Poitiers, mistress of Henry II. It is in the binding peculiar to that celebrated character, and is in a most beautiful state of preservation. Of this binding, due notice will be taken in the SIXTH DAY of this work.

I have here nothing to do with fancy, and shall submit only a specimen or two unaccompanied by the border. See with what energy the inspired Monarch of Israel strikes the chords of his divine harp! Perhaps, however, you will object to the apparent shortness of the figure.



Contemplate next a different subject.* View the terrible progress of Death upon his black horse: see the raven over his head screaming for his expected prey; and the advanced Courier, or Attendant, of a form as shadowy and terrific as that of the grim monarch himself! Observe how coolly the

* *Contemplate next a different subject.*] The first of the subjects above given is taken from signature *m v* — the second, from signature *n vij*, of the work mentioned in the first note at page 98, post.

animal, upon which the King of 'Terrors rides, is trampling upon the once-formidable monarchs and heroes of the day : reminding us of the forceful imagery of the author of *Pierce Ploughman*—as you may remember to have read it in the magnificent reimpression of that work by Dr. Whitaker :

‘Death came drivynge after, and all to dust pashed
Kynges and kayzers, knyghtes and popes
.....
Learned and lewde’



Now prepare yourselves for a gratification of a higher kind. Look attentively upon these pages which represent, the one *the Salutation*, the other *the Offering of the Wise Men*.



Ad matutinum Versus.

Domine labia mea aperies. *R.*
Et os meū annuntiabit lau-
 dem tuam. *V.* **D**eus in adiutorium meū
 intende. *R.* **D**omine ad adiuuādū me
 festina. **G**loria patri, et filio, & spiritui



Deus in adiutoriū meū intende.
Domine ad adiuuandum me
 festina.

Gloria patri & filio; et spiritui sancto.

Sicut erat in principio & nunc et semp:
 et in secula seculorum amen. *Quintus.*

After a careful examination of these curious and uncommon embellishments, you will not probably wonder at my urging you to seize every opportunity, when fair specimens present themselves, of enriching your cabinets with the productions of those volumes which bear proofs of the united skill of Tory and Du Bois.* Yet due praise must be given to every artist, whether engraver or printer, who exhibited those ornaments which Tory has the credit of having first brought to public notice. Admire therefore, with all the zeal and correctness of feeling which the occasion excites, this beautiful octavo missal which presents us with the joint names of DU BOIS and COLINÆUS;† and which contains the

* *the united skill of Tory and Du Bois.*] This is not the proper place to give full scope to the panegyric upon these elegant and successful artists. In the FIFTH DAY their merits will be more distinctly set forth. It is however essential here to notice the beautiful volume of *Heures a l'usage de Paris*, printed at Paris in 1527, large 8vo. 'by Master Simon Du Bois for Master Geofroy Tori of Bruges.' Every page is adorned with borders like those of which specimens are above given. The red and black title, in Latin, is over the device of Du Bois (the 'pot-cassé' with the motto 'non plus') which will be faithfully given in the 'Day' just mentioned. The type is a secretary-gothic, and is tastefully disposed. Sir H. Englefield and myself each possess a copy upon paper; but Mr. Douce revels in the possession of a beautiful impression of it UPON VELLUM.

† *the joint names of Du Bois and Colinæus.*] This volume is really a master-piece of the art of printing. It is in a profuse, but very correct style of embellishment; and is entitled '*Horæ, in laudem beatiss. semper virginis Mariæ secund. cons. Cur. Rom.*' &c. and purports, at the end of it, to have been printed by Simon Colinæus in 1525, 8vo: but the title tells us it is sold at Paris by Geoffrey Tory at the sign of the 'broken-pot.' There is a privilege of Francis I. to Geoffrey Tory (of which hereafter) in a large gothic type; but the entire volume is printed in a small roman character. The borders are full of ornament, in the outline, and have a sharpness and brilliancy of execution which makes one almost think they were cut upon metal. Lord Spencer's copy of this interesting volume (which I was glad to obtain for his Lordship at the orthodox price fixed upon it by Messrs. Payne and Foss) is upon rather thick, but finely-manufactured paper, and is perfectly clean and sound. It is also in its pristine binding, with 'gilt on the leaves.' Many of the lower ornaments were rather imitated, than adopted, in subsequent books by Geoffrey Tory. As to the printer of it, I have

most beautifully printed arabesque borders that I remember to have seen. Look only at the specimens of the bottom-border (not however so strictly arabesque as are the side ones) which give us, among numerous *capriccios*, the initial letter of THAT MONARCH who patronised all that was magnificent and illustrious in the Fine Arts!



a shrewd suspicion that the worthy Colinaeus was incapable of such typographical excellence: but this point shall have a reconsideration. Mr. Douce has also a copy of this extraordinary book, but of less soundness of condition. A perfect copy UPON VELLUM (such a copy *must* exist!) would afford no trifling gratification to the lover of all that is delicate, and curious, and uncommon, in the earlier productions of the press.

Thus much, my friends, for missal-embellishments representing subjects from *Holy-Writ*. Let us now notice specimens of a different character. And first, as claiming chronological precedence, let us take a cursory glance at those *Astrological Figures*—which were the favourite decorations of almost every missal. The following are the earliest of their kind which I remember to have met with; and are taken from a missal printed by Verard about the year 1488, or 1490; as the first of these dates is found at the head of the Calendar.



Subsequent printers (especially Godard*) enlarged these astrological figures, adopting however the same expression of character.

Let me now direct your attention to decorations of a more pleasing description. First, then, we will fancy ourselves strolling in some

‘ garden tempting with forbidden fruit,’

and witnessing the agility with which yonder youths are climbing the tree, and stealing the said ‘ forbidden fruit!’ Observe also the cunning and cautious manner in which a fair *damoiselle* catches the falling treasures in her lap! Few embellishments were more popular, for a series of years;† and renowned WILLIAM LILY has taken care that future generations should be made acquainted with so tempting an illustration. What you here see, is taken from a Missal, printed by Verard, of the date of 1498.

* See page 88, ante.

† Few embellishments were more popular, for a series of years;] In fact, the above embellishment, modified and enlarged, formed the title-page to the celebrated LILY’S GRAMMAR; and is even yet ‘ made familiar to youth.’ A distinguished modern writer has contrived, with some felicity, to illustrate this apple-stealing frontispiece. Describing the march of the allies to Paris, after the ever-memorable battle of Waterloo, he observes that it was ‘ no great degradation from the discipline of the English army to remark, that some old school-boy practices were not forgotten; and that, where there occurred a halt, and fruit-trees happened to be in the vicinity, they instantly were loaded like the epigrammatic tree in *Lily’s Grammar*, only with soldiers instead of scholars; and surrounded by their wives, who held their aprons to receive the fruit instead of satchels, as in the emblem chosen by that learned grammarian.’ *Paul’s Letters to his Kinsfolk*,



From the garden let us direct our steps across the meadow, into the copse.



Here we are introduced into the mysteries of *The Chase*.

Here we become instantly mingled with hounds and huntsmen. First, observe the dogs ere they have slipt their collars; waiting for the echoes of the horn . . . Hark!



the huntsman blows a signal for the chase, and the woods resound to the lengthened note!

Do pray take especial notice how cautiously they here prick their way; and, yonder, how they are prepared to receive the infuriated stag!



1816, 8vo. p. 268-9. It will be seen (I submit) that our soldiers and their wives are better represented in the above fac-simile than in the frontispiece to Lily's Grammar. Had the commanding officer of such a foraging party any partiality for Verard's Missals; and did he wish to see the picturesque effect of such grouping?

These specimens, you observe, are pretty, and rather interesting of their kind. Schneyders would undoubtedly have managed the dogs with more nature and spirit, and Reubens would have executed the men a little more ‘after the fashion that men are wont to be;’ but upon the whole there is something curious in these representations. I regret that the death of the stag, and the bearing him home in triumph, are obliged to be selected from a volume which is evidently of inferior workmanship. However, take them as you find them.



Let us now retreat from these scenes of uproar and death; and, equally gratifying to our rural propensities, let us move gently onward towards that inviting greensward which slopes beneath a hillock, where the ash and the hazel love to intermingle their branches. There, sheltered from the solstitial ray, view how quietly and happily the pastoral swain receives the guerdon of his mistress—whose name ‘he has taught the groves to resound!’



View again, perhaps the same Amaryllis, gathering flowers, in company with her lambkin; or, arrayed in sempstress-fashion, invoking heaven to send peace and plenty upon her humble shed! These at least are inoffensive decorations.



Still delighting ourselves with scenes of rural felicity, let us pass on to the sound of pipe and tabor, or of wild and general laughter; or—shall we become envious spectators of pastimes where ‘man seems blest, for every nymph is kind? The following specimens prove that I am not merely acting the part of a rhetorician.





I am by no means certain whether this latter decoration may not be intended to represent a particuilar amusement of which we are at this day ignorant. Is it, think you, some *Pastoral Queen* receiving the homage of a favourite courtier? Or is it a scene in some rural Drama—of which the name and character must ever remain concealed?

Dismissing, with regret perhaps, these pleasing spectacles of Arcadian felicity, we must hasten to different, but by no means uncommon, subjects of decoration. Now then, Lisardo, for your favourite *Drolleries* and *Monsters*! Could subjects like the following, think you, produce seriousness of mind, or add to the glow of devotion? * Remember, I anticipate mirth; and therefore allow you to laugh as loudly and as lustily as you please. The ensuing are of the date of 1502.

* *produce seriousness of mind, or add to the glow of devotion.*] It has been suggested to me, that these *Drolleries* or *Grotesque Ornaments* may have been borrowed from carvings beneath the wooden seats of the choirs; and which, generally speaking, are not remarkable for their gravity or propriety. These seats are made to turn up, and unless thus reversed, the ornaments here alluded to may escape the attention of the curious. Among the most extraordinary of this character, are those which are carved upon the turn-up seats, of the choir of *Beverley Minster*: a specimen of cathedral-building (we may call it 'York-Minster in miniature') which perhaps is no where excelled for the purity of its style, and the preservation of its parts. When I visited this interesting edifice, in the summer of 1815, my friend Mr. John Broadley of Kirk Ella shewed me, with extreme delight, the drawings of these turn-up seats, of the size of the original carvings, which he had caused an artist of ability in the neighbourhood to execute; and which I hope will at some future period find their way into the cabinets of the curious by faithfully engraved copies.



Arrange the ensuing under what class you please They seem to be half gothic and half arabesque.



The last, and not the least interesting of subjects, connected with the engraved ornaments of early printed books of devotion, and with which I shall conclude my present labours, is, that of the *Sports and Pastimes of Youth*. Prepare, therefore, dear Lorenzo, that magical talisman which renews the memory of 'other times;' which creates, and calls up in succession, those amusements of boyhood and school-days, when conscience rarely felt a pang, and the eye was never moistened with a heart-corroding tear. Dear to me, and equally so, I am sure, to the circle I am addressing, is the remembrance of such days—gone, never to return! But I am becoming the moralist instead of the *Cicerone*. Belinda will be pleased to hand to me yonder anciently-

bound volume of *Hours*, printed by Vostre in 1502. What have we here—which presents itself as the very first thing on opening it? It is the procession of the BOY-BISHOP.*



More brightly and more jocund scenes succeed. Does not the ensuing representation of *Threading the Needle*, (an amusement equally participated by the youth of both sexes) remind the female part of my audience, in particular, of those soft and cloudless moonlight nights, when the village green re-echoed the wild whoop and unceasing laughter with which the spirit of this pastime was kept up?



The young ladies now disappear; and none but the 'rougher sex' (as Thomson, a little ungraciously, calls us) are made to engage in the sports which are here described.

* *The procession of the Boy-Bishop.*] This seems to have been a favourite amusement with the ancient lads of our country; and was practised with great enthusiasm by those of St. Paul's School, founded by Dean Colet. See Knight's *Life of that Prelate*; Dugdale's *Hist. of St. Paul's*; but more particularly Mr. Ellis's edition of Brand's *Popular Antiquities*. There is an old monument of this boy-bishop among the plates of Mr. Stothard's *Monumental Antiquities*.

You may safely affirm that Flemish artists executed these characteristic groups. The subjects speak for themselves.



Was it with such a volume as this, think you, that the unfortunate Queen Mary was occupied in her devotions* while upon the scaffold, and just before the axe performed its fatal office?

I cannot however take leave of the works which appear to have afforded us so much amusement, without calling the attention of the *male* part of my auditory, to those curious specimens of *Ancient English Poetry* which are frequently contained in them. Of the exact date of the earliest of these specimens, I am quite unable to submit any thing like a correct suggestion; but am probably not much wide of the truth when I conjecture that the year 1490 is the remotest period of the introduction of English verse within a volume of devotion, in the Latin language, printed abroad? Our favourite Regnault, at least, is full of passages in our vernacular tongue;† but whether what he *meant* for English

* *the unfortunate Queen Mary was occupied in her devotions.*] ‘During the dean’s [of Peterborow] prayer, she [Mary] employed herself in private devotion from THE OFFICE OF THE VIRGIN.’ Hume. It will perhaps never be known from what edition of the *Office of the Virgin* these royal devotions, at such a crisis, were exercised; or whether the copy of it were upon paper or vellum? What sum can purchase it? And who was the fortunate printer whose leaves were probably moistened by the tears of the miserable Queen?

* *Regnault is full of passages in our vernacular tongue.*] I shall begin with some direct specimens of English metre, from a volume of *Horæ*, after the use of Salisbury, which Regnault printed in 1536; and from which edition specimens of engravings have been before selected: see p. 46, 47, &c. In this impression there is a *set of prints* illustrative of the following distichs.

David was enamoured of Bersa
bee. In the bathe whan he her se.

David his lust to optayn.
Made Vrye to be slayn.

David by Nathan beynge re
p[re]ued. Peccaui sayd sore greued.

How David for his offence,
Dyde chuse to haue pestylēce.

(see p. 46, ante.

poetry, be really to be considered as such, is more than I can presume to determine; especially as neither Puttenham, Webbe, nor Campion, have vouchsafed to consider this

How Dauid for his vyce
To our lorde dyde sacrifice.

Dauid promised to Bersa-
bee. Salomon to be kyng of
Iudee.

Dauid at his last endyn
Ordyned Salomon to be
Kyng.

Fol. xciv-xcix.

I submit that these are rather 'bonny metres,' and are probably to be found in the earliest impression of this ritual of the date of 1534. Of the ensuing—THE TEN COMMANDMENTS—they come 'in such a questionable shape,' that the reader may hesitate a little in what department to place them. They are taken from the edition of 1534, of the same work, by the same printer, and repeated in that of 1536.

The. x. commaundementes of the lawe.

Thou shalte worshyp one god onely
and loue hym with thy herte perfyte-
ly. God in vayne swere not wyfully
ne by no thyng that he made veryly.

The sonday kepe and halowe holyly
herynge goddes seruyce deuoutly.
Fader and moder honour thou lowly
and in theyr nede helpe them gladly.

Slee thou no man malyciously
nor ther to consent wyttyngly.

Thou shalte not do no lechery
but vse thy wyfe in wedlocke onely.

Thy neyghbours goodes stele not falsly
nor no thyng witholde vntruly.

False wytnesse bere thou not deceytfully
nor false recorde for none enuy.

Other mannes wyfes kepe not fleshely
ne other women to holde carnally.

Other mennes goodes coueyte not lyghtly
nor holde from theym vnryghtfully.

Fol. clxxxv. recto.

Of specimens of *English Prose*, from these early-printed devotional volumes, take the following — gentle reader: without prohome or apology. 'Whan saint Bernard was in hys prayers the dyuell sayd vnto hym, I knowe that there be,

knotty point in their learned lucubrations upon *English Poesie*.

Reverting for the last time to the ornaments of 'early

certaine verses in the sawter who that say them dayly shall not perysse and he shall haue knowlege of the daye that he shall dye, but the fende wolde noth shewed hym to saït bernard than [sayd] saint bernard. I shall say dayly the hole sawter, the fende considerynge that saint bernard shall do so moche profyte to laboure so he shewed hym this verses,' fol. cxxv. (The Latin verses 'O bone iesu, illumina oculos meos,' &c. follow.) The preceding is printed in red in both editions, but the word 'not' is substituted for 'noth' in the latter—and the word 'sayd' is introduced in the latter and omitted in the former. A variety of English sentences, printed in red, are scattered throughout both impressions: but '*The forme of confessions*,' and '*The xv. oos. in englyshe*,' contain the most delectable specimens of English devotional composition. It is well for modern piety that the Latimers and Riddleys of former days did not select these as models for their own incomparable compositions. The first prayer beginneth thus: 'O Jesu endles swetnes of louyng soules O iesu gostly ioy passyng and excedyng all gladnes and desyres. O Iesu helthe and tēder loner of all repētant synners that louist for to dwelle as thou saydst thy selfe with the chyldren of mē,' &c.—The second prayer is as follows: 'O Blessyd Iesu maker of all the worlde, the of a mā maye not be mesured, whiche closys in thy hāde all the erth haue mynde of the bytter sorowe: Fyrst whā the iewes fastned thy blessyd handes to the crosse with blunte nayles. Also to the more encreasing of thy payne they added sorowe apon sorowe to thy bytter woundes, whan they perced thy blessyd, tender and swete fete bycause that thou woldest not accorde to theyr wyl, and soo cruelly they drewe thy blessyd body, in length and brede to the mesure of the crosse, that all the joyntes of thy lymmes were both losed and unlokyl,' &c.

The prayer which follows has this extraordinary commencement: 'O Iesu heuenly leche haue mynde of thy langour and blowes of thy woundes,' &c. But for the gratification of the uninitiated in ancient English spelling, I shall take the liberty of transcribing entire the 4th, and ensuing prayer, as it would be printed at the present day. Not a hair's breadth injury is done either to the words or to the composition. 'O Jesu, very freedom of angels, paradise of ghostly delights, haue mind of the dread and hideous fearfulness that thou suffered when all thine enemies stood about thee, and clipped thee as wood-lions, smiting thee, and spitting on thee, scratching thee, and many other great pains putting to thee—For mind of all these despiteful words, cruel beating, and sharp torments, I beseech thee, blessed Jesu, deliver me from all mine enemies bodily and ghostly: and give me grace to haue defence and protection of health everlasting against their wills, under the wings of thy blessed passion Amen. Pater Noster. Ave maria gratia.' In the following prayer, mysterious mention is made of our

printed books of devotion,' I must be allowed to regret that they have not been hitherto sufficiently examined in *Histories of Early Engraving*;* and to hope that the period may not be despairingly remote, ere these embellishments be considered and illustrated in a manner less desultory and superficial than I have been compelled to treat them. Let me however remind you, that ornamented Books of Devotion, or Prayer Books, (containing our own form of Church-Service) from the reign of Elizabeth to that of George III., occasionally, but rarely, made their appearance. Indeed, the Prayer Book of our virgin Queen† is entitled to very particular notice and commendation. The borders of it are evidently of foreign workmanship, as to engraving; and in that department of the German school of which Albert Durer may be considered as the parent. We have here death-dances

Saviour's ' beholding in the mirror of his clear majesty, in predestination of all his chosen souls, that should be saved by the merit of his passion'—but this is touching a deep and thrilling chord: and so let us take leave of these early and extraordinary effusions of the piety of the Roman Catholic Church. They form the concluding text of both the impressions so often mentioned.

* *not hitherto sufficiently examined in Histories of Engraving.*] Papillon, as far as I can discover, has only two slight allusions to them: vol. i. p. 112-151. Mr. Ottley will one day, I trust, furnish us with a treat to our 'heart's content' upon this amusing subject.

† *the Prayer-Book of our virgin Queen.*] The well-furnished library of my friend Mr. Douce supplies me with an impression of this beautiful little quarto volume, of the date of 1590; which appears to be the 4th edition: those of 1569, 1578, and 1581 having preceded it. A fifth edition was published in 1608, and the catalogue of Messrs. Robinsons of Leeds notices one of the date of 1701-2. That of 1608 was published by Norton and Bill, and has the portrait of King James I. on the reverse of the title-page. The earlier editions are comparatively rare. Dr. Lort had the second edition (*Bibl. Lort.* no. 1087) which was sold for 1l. 6s. The libraries of West (no. 1551) and Tutet (no. 192) supplied only this fourth edition, and West's copy wanted the title-page. The copy of Tutet is the one now under description. It is called 'A Booke of Christian prayers, collected out of the ancient writers, and best learned in our time, &c. London. Pr. by Yardley and Short, 1590,' 4to. The reverse of this title, which is surrounded by a broad wood-cut border of scriptural characters,

without end: but the portrait of the Queen, upon her knees, forming the frontispiece, is an interesting and well-executed embellishment. I wish we knew more of the private history

contains the portrait of Q. Elizabeth, above noticed by Philemon. Her majesty shall speak for herself in the following very beautiful fac-simile:



'I am extremely well persuaded (says Mr. Douce, in the fly-leaf of his copy) that this cut of Q. Elizabeth, and probably some of the others in this book, are executed by a foreign artist whose mark is A. The same artist not only cut a great number of prints for foreign books, but for many published in this country: such as Grafton's Chronicle, the Gardener's Labyrinth, Munday's Romance of Zelanto, &c. This cut of the Queen was preserved so late as 1652, and was used in Benlome's Theophila, printed in that year.' Seven leaves of introductory matter, within flower-fancied borders, precede 'the preface or preparation to praier,' with the first prayer beneath 'to be said at our first waking.' The first

of this elegant volume. At all events, if you feel disposed to loosen your purse-strings, purchase one of the earlier editions of it; on account of the superior sharpness, or truth of outline, of the cuts.

series of wood-cut embellishments commences upon this page; representing, according to Herbert, (vol. i. p. 645,) *The history of the Birth, Life, and Passion of our blessed Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ*, 'after Albert Durer and Agnes Frey his Wife.' Upon what authority this is said, remains to be proved. The style of art is wholly dissimilar from what we observe in the productions of Albert Durer; who died 40 years before the first impression of the work. This first series terminates on folio 18: where a different style of art prevails—(of a Flemish character) and the same history re-commences on the reverse of folio 19. This again ends on folio 38; when two more leaves follow, of the same Flemish cast of character. On folio 41 commences a series of '*The Cardinal Virtues and their opposite Vices*'; which terminates on the reverse of folio 51. The figures representing these Virtues are about 3 inches in height. Then succeeds, what Herbert calls, '*The Works of Charity*,' occupying only 3 leaves. These are also in rather a Flemish style of execution. *The Five Senses* (being female figures of the same height as the '*Virtues*' just noticed) adorn the following pages, as far as the recto of fol. 57. Next ensues a series of small cuts, illustrative of the Signs preceding and accompanying the *Day of Judgment*: as far as the recto of fol. 61: when the Five Senses, Cardinal Virtues, Works of Charity, repeated, with the Day of Judgment, extend as far as folio 81 inclusively.

On folio 82 commences the *Dance of Death*. This dance, executed upon a smaller scale, is as well sustained, in all its parts, as the one of which the preceding pages have made such ample mention. Take, reader, the following; as confirmatory of this position:



The Doctor.

Doctor diuine at
last: thy reading
houre is past.



The Preacher.

Preacher no more
about: thy glasse
is run out.

Fol. 84.

Sturt's was, I believe, the last attempt, deserving of particular notice,* to make the Ritual of the Church of England popular through the medium of copper-plate embellishments;

THE PRESS is thus described as not being exempt from these deathly visitations.



The Printer.

Leave setting
thy page : spent
is thine age.

Let printing
lay : and come
away.

Fol. 90.

The series is repeated, and ends on folio 138 ; when the text concludes, and two leaves of table follow, not numbered. The device and colophon of the printer are on the reverse of the second leaf of this table. There is a good deal of *point*, occasionally, both in the subjects engraved, and in the metrical subscriptions, or explanations of them : but the limits of this note have been already too unconscionably extended to admit of further specimens. Upon the whole, this volume is equally interesting for its elegance and singularity. At folios 81, 82, &c. we meet with some of the prayers (a little modernised) which have made so extraordinary a figure in the preceding note.

* *Sturt's—the last attempt deserving of particular notice.*] The title of Sturt's publication was as follows : 'The Book of Common Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments and other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church according to the Use of the Church of England together with the Psalter or Psalms of David Printed as they are to be sung or said in churches. London. Engraven and Printed by the Permission of Mr. John Baskett Printer to the King's most Excellent Majesty, 1717, 8vo. Sold by John Sturt Engraver in Golden-Lion Court in Aldersgate Street.' This work was published both in medium and in super-royal octavo. On the reverse of the title-page is a portrait of George the

and these of an elaborate and singular nature. There can be no doubt, I think, in the minds of tasteful men, that this attempt was eminently unsuccessful. Here therefore pause we in the bibliographical labours of this Day!

But before I thank you for the particular marks of attention which you appear to have bestowed upon the poor stock of information I have just imparted, and while I am really conscious of having done but feeble justice to a subject capable of great variety and extension, — let me entreat you, if you already begin to feel symptoms of a passion to become owners of such volumes as those which have just been described, — let me entreat you, I repeat, not to be too precipitate in your purchases of them. The great error of young, or what are called *green*, Collectors, is, that, having once inflamed their fancies, and mustered their means, to adorn their shelves with Missals, Breviaries, and Hours, PRINTED UPON VELLUM, they incautiously and indiscriminately purchase *every thing* in this shape which comes in their way. At present, the study of this department of Bibliography is in its infancy. Accordingly, such Purchasers

First, in stipling, with the ' Lord's Prayer, Creed, Ten Commandments, Prayers for the King and Royal Family, and the xxist Psalm,' running horizontally and directly *across the physiognomy of his Majesty!* These sacred parts of our liturgy were perhaps never before so unpicturesquely introduced! The portraits of the Prince and Princess of Wales, with a dedication to their Royal Highnesses signed by Sturt, then follow. Each page of text is surrounded by an ornamented border of religious ornaments; and both these and the text (the latter in two columns) are engraved upon copper. The effect is harsh and dazzling in the extreme; and surely none but the most enthusiastic devotee ever yet prayed to Heaven from the text of Sturt's prayer book! There are also scriptural subjects, engraved upon copper, running across the page, or divided into two compartments, side by side. The capital initials are small and well ornamented. At the end, are the usual prayers for Gunpowder Treason, Charles the Martyr, the Restoration, &c. &c. The copy from which this description is taken, is on the largest paper, in the Althorp library, and is elegantly bound in old red morocco.

will do well to content themselves with a fair, clean specimen of each style, simple and profuse, gothic and approaching the classical, of each printer before mentioned—and indeed of several others, of equal merit, whose names have not been formally announced: for distant, I trust, will be that day, when the CHEVALLONS, LE NOIRS, and a score other brave typographical wights, of equal celebrity, shall be banished from my remembrance, or cease to receive the homage of my praise! Only be wary and choice in your selections: not pouncing upon sprawling folios because they stand high, and have a pompous look upon your shelves—but seeking intrinsic worth and beauty, and sometimes, if you please, oddity and singularity, in your specimens. Beware also of painted, or rather *daubed*, copies of these early devotional volumes. Sometimes, one meets with correct and chastely-coloured specimens, gilded even with no very remote resemblance to manuscript productions; but, generally speaking, *one* uncoloured, and therefore unsophisticated copy, is worth *three* that have pretensions to beauty and accuracy of illumination!

The outline which I have given you, my friends, may have afforded pleasing ideas, or furnished useful materials, for a more careful and comprehensive survey of the subject. Be yours the task, and not uncongenial toil, of converting these seeds of intelligence into a rich and productive harvest. But see! . . . the sun wants scarcely half an hour of his setting, and the blackbird's soft note is yet heard in the grove.

At these words, PHILEMON ceased, and the party rose. Their expressions of thanks were general and warm; and it

was with evident reluctance that Almansa and Lisardo helped to put away the opened volumes, in order to join the garden-promenade.

The next day, PHILEMON being duly invested with the insignia of office, continued his discourse in the following manner.



THIRD DAY.

ARGUMENT.

Engraved Ornaments of Printed Books. Block-Books. Ars Memorandi, &c. Speculum Humanæ Salvationis. Ars Moriendi. Hartlieb's Chiromancy. Books of Chiromancy and Physiognomy. Bibles. Ancient Classics. German Publications, and Translations of the Classics. Romances. Works of a grotesque character. Basil Books. Works upon Hawking. Emblems. Italian Classics and Novels. Improvement to be derived from elegantly published works of genius.



Hans Sebald Beham Sc^t

J. Swaine fec^t

Third Day.



HE heavens are serene. The horizon is skirted by softly rolling masses of white clouds, and the sun shines propitiously upon this the last day of my reign over the little empire which surrounds me. Give me all your candour and patience, if, in the variety of bibliographical topics selected for this day's discussion, I omit many things which are curious, or do but imperfect justice to such as require an extended detail. Where so many flowers present themselves, I may be pardoned if I gather a few only of the rarer or more beautiful species.

Lisardo, I make no doubt, has dreamt abundantly of the ornaments of Missals and Breviaries which engrossed so much of our attention yesterday; and has risen this morning with a keen appetite to possess what may be worthy, in this way, of a place within his Library. The rich Catalogue of *Messrs. Longman, Hurst, and Co.** was, I understand, well

* The rich catalogue of *Messrs. Longman, Hurst, and Co.*] This epithet is just.

examined last night, a full hour or two after midnight, when all the family, including even his own wife, had retired to bed and sleep. The hollow note of the owl gave additional energy to his bibliographical resolves. . . .

The Catalogue alluded to was published early in the year 1816, and contains not fewer than 7832 articles. It embraces books in almost all languages, and of every description: and the prices are, upon the whole, moderate and judicious. I would be understood to speak of works of general utility; for it is difficult to say what is 'moderate' or 'judicious' in articles of rarity or caprice. The title-page of this Catalogue contains a wood-cut ornament of a man reading by lamp-light, which is said to be a portrait of *one* of the partners in the firm. Posterity should know *which* of these partners it is intended to represent. I claim the privilege of here making an observation; probably of no importance to the public, but certainly in justice to my own feelings.

Some years ago—after much heavy toil in wading through the bibliographical criticisms of Fabricius, Harles, Ernesti, Masch, &c. and the *Notitiæ Literariæ* of the Bipont Classics—as well as the prefaces of more modern continental editors—I published the third edition of an *Introduction to the Knowledge of rare and valuable Editions of the Greek and Latin Classics*. (1808, 8vo. 2 vols.) Good or bad as that work may be, it has now been long out of print; and I hope, at some future day, to publish a fourth and enlarged edition of it—improved by the censures of public critics, and by the suggestions of private friends. But what more immediately presses upon my mind at this moment—as connected with the notice of the foregoing catalogue—is, that, after the toil just described, it seems a little hard to have the *fruit* of it snatched away, and put into other men's panniers. In other words, the bibliographical or critical *adjuncts* to a great number of the articles, in the catalogue now referred to, are entirely *my own*; either as a summary of the sentiments of eminent critics, expressly mentioned by name, or as a literal version of their sentiments—and yet no notice of 'your humble servant' is, in such instances, vouchsafed to be taken! Now it does seem rather hard to annihilate the *middle man*, and rest exclusively upon the original prop—which, but for such middle man, 'perdie,' might not have come to the knowledge of the compiler of the Catalogue! '*Suum cuique*' wrote old Tom Hearne in the fly-leaf of his books. . . . Note further, gentle reader. The catalogue here spoken of is not *singular* for this *recording* of obligations. The system of crushing the middle man is *fast* spreading into the country; and provincial biblioplists are starting up, and bursting upon us, in all the splendour and power of self-created genius!

I will only further observe that the Catalogue of *Old English Poetry*, published by the same spirited Firm, and entitled *Bibliotheca Anglo-Poetica*, 1815, 8vo. does great credit to the diligence and accuracy of the Compiler of it. This contains 956 articles of some of the rarest pieces of old poetry in our vernacular tongue.

LISARDO. You are getting upon a high horse—and are certainly mistaken in respect to Almansa. I admit the close examination of the *Pater-Noster-Row Catalogue*, long after the family had retired to rest; but of that slumber my wife certainly did not partake. With pen in hand, and desk and paper before her, she took down the numbers and prices from the catalogue as I gave them out; and this morning I had only to write for the conveyance of the articles selected.

ALMANSA. I beg an end of this discourse. It is getting into downright scandal: the routine of a lady's bed-chamber is questioned, and its privacy invaded—

LISARDO. Yet a word, and I cease. My attention was not confined to the very excellent and general Catalogue of which you have just made mention. That coy and most deserving bibliopolist, the only living filial descendant of *Honest Tom Payne*, hath lately, to the joy and comfort of all discerning Collectors, put forth an unostentatious and well-garnished Catalogue of the books in his own spacious Repository: and you will smile and wonder to see the number of little rare old-fashioned pieces, in the Italian and French languages, which I trust an early attention to that Catalogue* has obtained for me. But do not therefore

* *an early attention to that Catalogue.*] Lisardo will be fortunate if his early attention be crowned with success. The catalogue above mentioned, after an almost hopeless sterility of nearly fifteen years, was published in 1815-16. in two parts: the classical, critical, and philological works, in the Greek and Latin languages, forming the first: and French, English, and Italian literature forming the second part. Both parts are worthy of the manufactory from which they came. There is much sterling worth and downright bullion in their materials. Yet I despair of Lisardo's success: and will say wherefore. Within twenty-four hours after the publication of the *second* part, the day was rainy—dismally rainy—'twas one of those *January days*, which, in this country, unhinges the most elastic spirits, and crows the stoutest hearts—save and except, however, the 'spirits' and 'heart' of ATTICUS: for betimes in that same morning, and seated in a black-

suppose I have neglected the old Folio Gentlemen—the *three M's*!

LYSANDER. Whom mean you by the *three M's*?

LISARDO. Mabillon, Montfaucon, and Muratori. This is my grand bibliographico-literary triumvirate. I would build a temple to hold all the works of such men should they exceed, in a ten-fold portion, their present number. But this is mere gossiping. It is time for Philemon to wave the sceptre of office, and to command silence and attention.

PHILEMON. I hasten to comply with your wishes. In selecting what may best illustrate the subject of ornaments of Books—that is, of early or curious specimens of Engraving, accompanying the text of religious, scientific, or belles-lettres volumes—we may fairly be said to be only continuing the discourse of yesterday. That discourse, however, was exclusively confined to *Church-Rituals*; and the main inference which I wished to be drawn from it was, that neither pains nor expense was spared to make the religion of the country, in which such works were published, palatable in a high degree, from the beauty of the publications, to all classes and conditions of people. Lisardo has talked about building a temple for the reception of such works as those for which we are indebted to the learned

morocco-bottomed arm chair, within the 'spacious Repository' above alluded to, did the indomitable Atticus sit, and call the 'book-spirits' about him from their 'vasty deep:' so as, ere the sun had well made towards his declension, either with his voice or his wand, he had charmed away almost every thing that was desirable in the above mentioned departments. Within twenty hours after this frightful spoliation, I sat myself down, in the said arm-chair; and with a *ticked* catalogue (and in high good humour and conceit at my own supposed activity) began 'to order about me,' as the phrase is—but a mournful negative was the usual response to every anxious quære. 'The broom of Mr. H——, Sir, hath swept away this—and this—and this.' Well therefore may that gentleman exclaim, in the song of the 'Northern Countree,'—'O the broom, the bonny, bonny broom!'

labours of what he calls his *three M's*—but of what size, and in what manner fitted up, I ask, must *that* temple be, which should contain all the editions of Missals, Breviaries, Offices, and Hours? * Perhaps this description of books has been

* *all the editions of Missals, Breviaries, Offices, and Hours.*] Panzer occupies rather more than five pages under the leading heads or titles of *MISSA* and *MISSALIA VARIA*. From the latter, the reader is presented with merely the *earliest* impression of each Cathedral Service of the Mass, as specified by Panzer: the York and Vallombrosa Missals being added to the list.

MISSALE			
Abonense	Lubec.	1488	folio
Ambrosianum	Mediol.	1475	folio
(See page 19, ante.)			
Aquilegiense	Aug. Vind.	1494	folio
Argentinese	Sine loco	1487	folio
Augustanum	Aug. Vind.	1491	folio
Augustinianor. &c.	Noremb.	1491	folio
Bambergense	Bambergæ	1490	folio
Basileense	Basileæ	1480	folio
Benedicti Ord. Sti.	Bamberg.	1481	folio
Bituricense	Sine loco	1493	folio
Brandenburgense	Norimb.	1494	folio
Brixienne	Aug. Vind.	1493	folio
Bursfeldense	Spiræ	1498	folio
Cameracense	Paris.	1495	folio
Carthusiense	Sine loco et anno		folio
Cenomanense	Paris.	1494	folio
Cisterciense	Paris.	1487	folio
Cluniacense	Cluniaci	1493	folio
Coloniense	Coloniæ	1481*	folio
Constantiense	Basil.	1495	folio
Cracoviense	Mogunt.	1487	folio
Curiense	Aug. Vind.	1497	folio
Dominici Ord. Sti.	Venet.	1482	4to.
Eboracense	Ebor.	1516	folio
(See page 9, ante.)			
Ebroicense	Rothom.	1497	folio
Eduense	Paris.	1493	folio
Eystettense	Eustadii	1486	folio
Frisingense	Bambergæ	1487	folio

* Not in Panzer's list.

rather too much neglected; and I would recommend the judicious and affluent theological collector to obtain the *first* and the *latest* (but at any rate the first) impression of every liturgy peculiar to any Cathedral or City. More

MISSALE		
Gebennense	Genevæ	(1490) folio
Herbipolense	Herbipoli	1481 folio
(See page 30, ante.)		
Itinerantium	Colon.	1500 folio
Lausannense	Genevæ	1500 folio
Legoniense	Salmanticae	1488 folio
Lubecense	Lubecæ	1486 folio
Magdeburgense	Lubecæ	1480 folio
Marchicar. Ecclesiar.	Sine loco	1487 folio
Meldense	Paris.	1492 folio
Misnense	Mogunt.	1485 folio
Moguntinum	Mogunt.	1482 folio
Mozarabicum	Toleti	1500 folio
Olomucense	Bambergæ	1488 folio
Parisiense	Paris.	1481 folio
Pataviense	Pataw.	1491 folio
Pictaviense	Paris.	1498 folio
Pragense	(Pilsnæ)	1479 folio
Quinque Eccl.	Venet.	1499 folio
Ratisponense	Ratisbon.	1485 folio
Romanum	Romæ	1475 folio
Rothomagense	Rothomag.	1495 folio
Salisburgense	Norimberg.	1492 folio
(See page 10, ante.)		
Sleswicense	Sleswic.	1486 folio
Spirensē	Spiræ	1484 folio
Strigoniense	Veronæ	1480 folio
Tarraconense	Tarracon.	1499 folio
Traiectense	Paris.	1497 folio
Trecense	Trecis	1500 4to.
Vallombrosale	Venet.	1503 folio
(See page 84, ante.)		
Wratislaviense	Mogunt.	1499 folio
Xantonense	Paris.	1491 folio

Next to Missals, in importance and estimation, are *BREVIAIRES*; and of these I shall give a similar list, observing that Panzer fills 4 pages in enumerating those of the xvth century only.

curious information, respecting the whim, or cunning, or credulity of the human mind, may be derived from thence than is generally imagined. But to pursue our enquiries.

BREVIARIUM

Ambrosianum	Mediol.	1475	folio
(See page 19 ante.)			
Aquileiense	Venet.	1496	folio
Argentinense	Sine loco	1478	folio
Augustanum	Aug. Vind.	1479	folio
Bambergense	Bamberg.	1484	8vo.
Basiliense	Basil.	1478	folio
Benedictinum	Venet.	1483	8vo.
Birgittæ S.	Lubec.	1492	8vo.
Bituricense	Venet.	1481	8vo.
Brixinense	Venet.	1483	4to.
Cameracense	Paris.	1497	8vo.
Capuanum	Capuæ	1489	8vo.
Carmelitarum	Bruxellæ	1480	4to.
Carthusiense	Venet.	1491	8vo.
Cisterciense	Basil.	1484	8vo.
Cluniacense	Sine loco	1492	4to.
Constantiense	Reutling.	1482	4to.
Cracoviense	Venet.	1483	8vo.
Eboracense	Venet.	1493	8vo.
(See page 9 ante.)			
Elnense	Perpiniani	1500	8vo.
Eystetense	Eustadii.	1483	folio
Frisingense	Bamberg.	1482	4to.
Halberstadiense	Sine loco et anno		4to.
Herbipolense	Spiræ	1477	4to.
Hosp. S. Joh. Hier.	Spiræ	1495	8vo.
Lemovicense	Castr. Lemov.	1495	8vo.
Leodiense	Antwerp.	1494	8vo.
Lincopense	Norimb.	1493	8vo.
Lubecense	(Lubec.)	(1477)	folio
Lugdunense	Lugd.	1498	folio
Magdeburgense	Norimb.	1491	4to.
Mindense	Norimb.	1491	4to.
Minorum	Mediol.	1483	8vo.
Misnense	Sine loco	1483	8vo.
Moguntinum	Mogunt.	1474	4to.
Montisolivetani	Venet.	1493	8vo.

Do not suppose, because so many ornaments appear within old printed Missals and Breviaries, &c. that volumes of *that* class or character are the *earliest* works which contain specimens of the engraver's art. On the contrary, editions of the Bible, or portions of the sacred text, had exhibited similar ornaments for a considerably previous period : and if you wish

BREVIARIUM

Nobilium	Lodeaci	1484	4to.
Olomucense	Venet.	1484	folio
Parisiense	Paris.	1479	8vo.
Pataviense	Aug. Vind.	1490	8vo.
Prædicatorum Ord.	Venet.	1481	8vo.
Præmonstraten. Ord.	Sine loco	1490	4to.
Ratisponense	Ratisb.	1486	folio
Romanum	Taurini	1474	8vo.
Rothomagense	Sine loco	1480	folio
Salzburgense	Venet.	1482	4to.
Scarense	Norimb.	1498	(8vo.)
Segoviense	Hispali	1493	(*)
Spireuse	Spiræ	1478	4to.
Strigoniense	Sine loco	1484	folio
Teutonicum	Norimb.	1492	folio
Toletanum	Hispali	1493	(†)
Tornacense	Sine loco	1497	8vo.
Traiectense	Schoenhoven.	1495	folio
Trecense	Trecis.	1483	8vo.
Valent. Dioces.	Neap.	1489	8vo.
Viennense	Lugd.	1489	8vo.
Virdunense	Paris.	1499	8vo.
Upsalense	Holmiæ	1496	4to.
Windesimense	Delphis	1499	folio
Wormatiense	Sine loco et anno	4to.	
Zagebriense	Venet.	1484	4to.

It does not seem material to add the earliest impressions of the several *OFFICES* and *HOURS*. Of the former, Panzer notices only five editions in the whole ; and of these, the earliest is printed at Florence, in the Italian language, in 1482, 'for the dead.' Of *HOURS*, there appears to be about forty-four editions in the whole, in the xvth century ; and of these the edition of 1478, in folio, 'for the Strasbourg Cathedral,' seems to be the earliest.

* No size mentioned by Caballero, p. 44.

† Caballero (p. 111) speaks doubtfully of this edition.

me to observe chronological order, I must undoubtedly begin with what are called *Block-Books*—frightful things for the eyes of a fair Lady to gaze upon...but, in the estimation of the antiquary, beautiful and precious beyond compare! though, as might have been expected, from the then rude state of the art, good drawing is rarely attended to; and objects almost become ludicrous from the absurdity of their representation. Some honourable exceptions however are to be made. The pages of Heineken will supply you with amusing particulars respecting that *earliest* production of art, in the shape of what is called a Block Book,—namely, the *ARS MEMORANDI PER FIGURAS*; and a very particular account of what is conceived to be the *first* edition of the same work appears in a recent publication. I mention it again here, because, having for a minute only cast your eye upon the rude figure given in the work just referred to*—as intending to represent a summary of what is contained from the *xiii*th to the *xviii*th chapter, inclusively, of St. Matthew's Gospel—you may observe how very much that rudeness is corrected in an edition of the same work, in a small quarto volume, of the date of 1522.†

The second publication in order, of books printed either

* *Bibliotheca Spenceriana*; vol. i. p. iv-vii. Of this first edition Papillon observes: 'On ne connoît plus ce livre que par son titre.' *De la Gravure en Bois*: vol. i. p. 99.

† *an edition of the same work, in a small quarto volume, of the date of 1522.* This volume is also in the collection of Earl Spencer. It is curious and uncommon. The title is thus: 'Rationarium euangelistarum omnia in se euangelia prosa, uersu, imaginibusque quâ mirifice cōplectens.' Some verses of Brant, of Gallus Rubeaquis, and Simler, are on the reverse. An address of George Simler to the reader, follows; and the same person would appear to be both the editor of the work and the manufacturer of the verses. *St. John's Gospel* is placed the first in order, with its three representative embellishments. Of these, take

wholly, or partly, by means of Blocks of Wood, is called, in our own tongue, ‘*The Mirror of Human Salvation.*’ This

the third—curious reader; that thou mayst be gradually prepared for the outrageous ornaments of this bizarre tome.



publication has received abundant illustration from the curious researches of Mr. Ottley, and has been also described

St. Matthew follows, with his *five* representations. Compare, therefore, as *Philemon* above advises, what here ensues, with the same figure executed perhaps seventy or eighty years before, in the work just referred to. It is the *third* in order in the present publication.



among the treasures of Earl Spencer's collection. As it now lies upon the table before us, there can be no harm in

St. Mark, with his three Lions, immediately ensues. The editor might well prefix the following distich to such a 'wonderful' representation :

Intonat horribilis Leo per deserta ferarum
 Marcus, dum rectas monstrat inire vias.

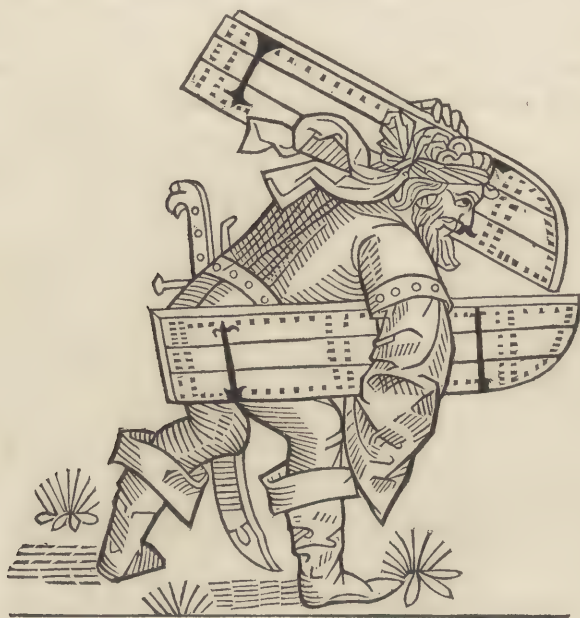


giving it another inspection. What say you to the following representation of *Sampson carrying the Gates of Gaza?*

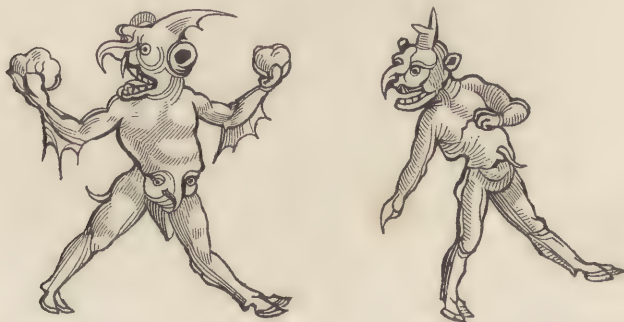
St. Luke, with his four figures, or representations, terminates the volume. Of these, I select the third; as being, upon the whole, the more striking. The figures of the 'Pharisee and Publican,' and especially that of 'Lazarus,' are immediately to be recognised; while the nakedness of the 'Prodigal Son' seems



You observe, the 'strongest of men' makes nothing of the ponderous portals, but marches away with them as nimbly as a pair of jack-boots will enable him !



no unapt representation of the supposed original. But before I close this singular volume, I must, for the gratification of collectors of fiend-like exhibitions, give the ensuing rival figures of Satan ; the first is taken from the bottom of the 1st figure of St. Matthew's Representation—from that part which is meant to describe the Temptation of our Saviour ; the second is from St. Luke's Representation, and descriptive of the same subject.



Again we have the same Champion, in the act of performing his wonderful exploit of defeating a thousand Philistines with the jaw-bone of an ass !



From these specimens of a rare and whimsical book, which may be said to display a sort of '*Memoria Technica*,' the reader shall judge for himself of the first class of Books formerly printed by means of Wooden Blocks. The lapse of so many years has unquestionably produced a visible improvement in design and execution. The colophon tells us that this edition was published by Thomas Badensis, surnamed Anshelm, in 1522. The device of the same person (who is said to be '*uir magisterio præditus insolente*') is beneath : having the initials A B and T within a circle upon a black-striped ground. In the whole, 18 leaves ; and purchased of Mr. R. Triphook for 8*l.* 8*s.* Papillon notices a previous edition of 1504, which may probably contain the same cuts.

I shall indulge you with only one more specimen; referring you to the pages of the works before mentioned for an illustration of this 'Mirror'—at once curious and copious—to your heart's delight. At present, throw your eye upon the quiet and cool manner in which *Eleazar* (as mentioned in the first book of Maccabees) is sitting beneath the elephant, about to receive both the beast and the castle of armed men upon his back. It is a 'brave' specimen of a knowledge of natural history: but not quite putting Bewick to the blush!



If your curiosity have in the least induced you to make further acquaintance with the Block Books, described in the last mentioned work, (as being found in my Lord Spencer's extraordinary collection of almost every thing that is exquisite and rare in the book way—) you would no doubt have

turned over a few more leaves, till you reached the account of a work entitled *ARS MORIENDI*, or the *Art of Dying*. Sometimes the title is more extended, as *THE ART OF LIVING AND OF DYING WELL*.—This work has sustained its popularity for upwards of three centuries: as we have only to take down yonder brilliant quarto volume, and examine the fine copper-plate engravings of that subject which were published by George Gallet at Antwerp, in 1700; under the title of ‘*La Manière de se bien préparer à la Mort*,’ &c.* The parent edition is the one in Earl Spencer’s Collection; and I well remember, at this moment, the sort of petrifying horror with which the cuts in that edition struck me. Heineken, in his fac-similes of these horror-striking subjects, has given too sleek a visage and too fine a form to the Demons. Why I wish to call your attention to this work at present, is, that there appeared an edition of it at Florence, probably from the press of *Miscomino*,† in which the subjects were treated with comparative grace and elegance of effect.

* *La Manière de se bien préparer à la Mort*, &c.] It is not intended to be inferred that this is the last comparatively modern edition of the work above mentioned. I believe there is yet a more recent and splendid impression of it.

† *an edition of it at Florence, probably from the press of Miscomino*.] Philemon might have spoken more positively upon this point. The cuts, and the borders in particular, are quite of the Florentine school; and the type exactly resembles that of Miscomino, the great typographical ornament of the city of Florence. The title is thus—from which we infer that the *original* edition could not have been printed before 1452—‘*Incomincia elprohemio della arte del ben morire cioe igratia di dio compilato & composto per lo reuerendo in christo padre Monsignor Cardinale di fermo neglianni del nostro Signore. M. cccc. lii.*’ This title, over the cut given in the following page, is upon signature a i. The text immediately follows beneath the cut. In the whole, 22 leaves: comprehending signatures a 8, b 8, and c 6. On the reverse of c vj: ‘*Finito ellibro del ben morire tucto storiato Deo gratias.*’ It is without date, or name of printer; but was probably not executed before the year 1490. The ornaments, which occupy the spaces of capital-initials, are, some of them, exceedingly tasteful and spirited. This account is taken from a copy in the possession of the Rev. Mr. Rice.

But you shall judge for yourselves. The first ornament, immediately beneath the title, is thus:



The accompaniments, or *accessories* as the artists call them, are quite of a classical description; and therefore entirely different from what you are accustomed to witness in the impressions of this work previously executed in Germany. In the *Second Temptation*, which attends the bed of the dying man, the feeling of *Despair* is supposed to prevail: as seducing the Christian from a proper confidence in his Redeemer. Observe how this is treated. The furniture of the room bespeaks the poverty of the dying man: but the fiends are very much softened down from what we see in the earlier representations of them.



Compare this figure of a man on horseback, in the *Third Temptation*—called *Impatience*—with what you see in the oldest edition; and acknowledge the superiority of expression in the style of art of the Florentine School.



The grouping of these figures, though borrowed from the ancient impression, is rather prettily conceived and executed.



Examine now the last of the larger ornaments, which represents the dying man in his latter moments.



But let us draw a curtain over these dismal and heart-rending scenes; and, still confining our remarks to the style of art observable in the Block Books, let us hasten to the description of a volume of less general notoriety. Approach now, ‘on the tip-toe of expectation’—and let every eye be strained, and every heart palpitate, while turning over the leaves of *THE CHIROMANCY OF DR. HARTLIEB*:

The Doctor he was a cunning man,
And prophet eke was he;
For in the palm of either hand
He coming events could see.

A sorry quatrain!—which I remember to have heard, or something like it, pronounced upon an itinerant Quack and Astrologer, habited like an old magician—

LISARDO. O rare Doctor Hartlieb! ‘I shall desire you of more acquaintance, good master Hartlieb.’

PHILEMON. You shall know him to your heart’s content. And mark well, ere you look, that the copy of the Doctor’s labours, now before us, is the first and only one which ever came into this country.* Heineken, if I remember rightly,

* *the first and only one which ever came into this country.*] It was purchased by Lord Spencer for 100 guineas; having been bought in at a public auction for 120*l*. In the fly leaf of it, a ms. observation informs us that ‘the present copy is supposed to have been surreptitiously obtained from the Imperial Library at Vienna, when the French army was in possession of that capital. It was purchased of a General officer, who employed an agent for the purpose of vending it, in order to conceal his own name. On collating it with the one [in the Royal Library] at Paris, the present is found to be perfect; only the third leaf, which in the present copy is properly placed opposite to that representing the Author and the Princess Anne of Brunswick, is, in the Parisian copy, improperly introduced at nearly the end of the work. As Brunet does not pretend to assign the pecuniary value of this rare but uncouth gem, and as the Parisian copy cost 3000 francs, upwards of 27 years ago, (‘being kept under lock and key with the Boccaccio of 1471’—so my ms. note informs me,) the intelligent collector may be pleased with a somewhat particular account of it.

mentions but one perfect, and three imperfect copies; yet a fifth, perfect, is in the Royal Library at Paris. What a title-page have we here! followed by a portrait of the Doctor himself, kneeling before his Patroness, the Princess Anne of Brunswick; who is about to receive very courteously the present thus tendered her.



It is a folio volume, and has the recto of the first leaf nearly filled by what the publisher thought an ornamental title-page. At the top of this ornament are the words '*Die kunst Ciromantia.*' Of these words, as well as of the lower part of the ornament, (being white flowers, surrounded by an angular chain, each upon a black ground,) Heineken has given fac-similes in the French translation of his work in 1771; but in the original or German edition, in 1769, there is only

Opposite, you observe, is a very whimsical wood-cut; of the whole of which Heineken has given a fac-simile, but by no means faithful, or indicative of the peculiar style of art which prevails in it. Look particularly how extremely defective is the impression of the right-hand corner of this oblong wood-cut!



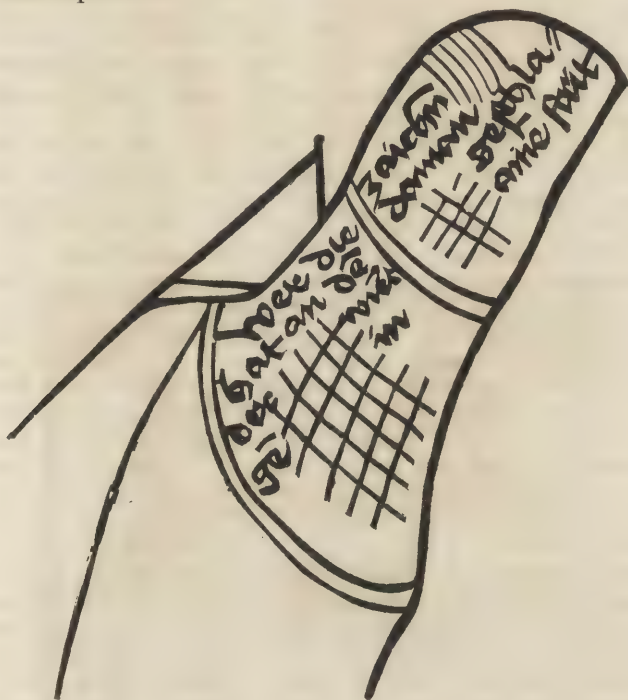
a fac-simile of the ornament at the end of the book—of which, presently. The reverse of the 1st leaf is blank, and the recto of the second leaf seems also to have been blank—upon signature a i. On the reverse of it, at top, is the general title of the work, and its date — with reference to the year of its composition. As Heineken has given this—which, with the entire work, is printed in the German language—the reader may be better pleased with its appearance in an English form: ‘The following book, written by the hand of Doctor Hartlieb in German, at the request and calling of her Serene Highness Princess Ann of Brunswick, wife of the virtuous and illustrious Prince Duke Albert, Duke of Bavaria and Count of Vaubourg. This took place on Friday being the Conception of the Glorious Virgin 1448.’

By examining the right hand corner of the bottom of the last leaf, we observe that the printer's name is *Scapff*—a

The original occupies 7 lines. Then 2 rule-lines, and 7 printed lines; beneath which are the portraits of 'Hartlieb' and 'Anna.' The first portrait speaks for itself, in the fac-simile in p. 144; which, in the original has a greenish tint, from the paper being of a yellow colour. The portrait of 'Ann of Brunswick' represents that character as sitting, and stretching forth her right hand in the act of receiving the Doctor's work. The head-dress and attitude of this figure rather remind us of what appears in the *Biblioth. Spenceriana*, vol. iv. p. 484—representing Mary, Queen of Hungary, from the 'Chronicon Regum Hungariæ,' 1488, 4to. On the recto of the following leaf, marked *a ii*, are 24 lines of text, beginning, 'Wan dich die,' &c. (and not 'Wann' as Heineken has it in both publications). These lines afford an explanation of the system of the author. Beneath them, and quite across the page, (measuring about seven inches and an eighth, by three inches and a half) is a wood-cut representing the ultimate destinies of men, (most of them very melancholy destinies) as foretold by the marks in their hands; and of the whole of this Heineken has given a fac-simile; but in too finished and sharp a manner. The reader may rely upon the superior accuracy of what he sees in the preceding page, representing the right-hand corner of this singular cut, and exhibiting the good fortune of those who have only to hold open their laps for the wealth of this world to be poured into them.

On the reverse is the first of the 'gigantic hands' above mentioned—measuring ten inches and a quarter in height, and nearly seven in width. There is, comparatively, very little writing, or text, upon this palm. Each page—that is, each side of the leaf—exhibits the strange appearance of a large hand covered with type, precisely similar to what is seen in the next page. The type, however, is sometimes smaller, but always in a running secretary-gothic; and evidently cut upon the block. The introductory parts, before described, are printed in a larger type, and that upon sign. *a ij*. is by no means very unlike the fac-simile given in the *Bibl. Spenceriana*, vol. i. opposite p. xxx, as belonging to one of the cuts from 'The Fifteen Signs of the Day of Judgment.' The work, in short, is executed upon 26 leaves; 24 of these being upon signatures *a*, *b*, and *c*; each in eights. The first leaf, containing the title, has no signature. On the recto of *c viij*, beneath the frame-work, (which is in every page) and quite in the right-hand corner, is the name of the printer—given in the opposite page: more accurately than by Heineken. The part of the hand, also given, is immediately above this name. The reverse is blank. Another, and the 26th and last leaf, contains a counter-ornament to the title-page, and is entitled '*Die kunst Cyromantia*.' The ornamental flowers are here black, upon a white ground; as may be seen in a part of it given by Heineken. One side only of this last leaf is printed upon. It remains to observe, that however this volume be of prodigious rarity, and of no ordinary curiosity, it cannot be ranked among the 'INCUNABULA' of the Art of Printing. Its *signatures* forbid the application to it of a date earlier than that

name ‘wholly unknown,’ as Heineken has justly remarked. What sprawling gigantic hands are these!—upon which the text, describing the mysteries of the Hartliebëan chiromancy, is impressed. Here is a thumb from the last hand in the volume, and the fate which awaits marks like those represented upon it.



dog scapf; angspurg

of 1472; but there can be no question about each page being printed by means of blocks of wood. Upon the whole, the Noble Owner of this treasure has no reason to repent the sum given for it—as it now *completes* his series of the BLOCK BOOKS. This copy is sound and entire; in a blue morocco binding, within a case. Let me, however, just add that Jansen (*De l'Origine de la Gravure*, vol. i. p. 115-117,) borrows the whole of Heineken's description of this book—without acknowledgment!

Whatever may be the intrinsic merit of Hartlieb, his work was the fountain-head of innumerable similar productions. The sub-divided catalogues of Bunau, Hulse, or Solger, may supply you with a sprinkling of publications upon this subject; but I cannot forego the opportunity of directing your attention to a curious and early printed little octavo volume upon Chiromancy,* which I have no doubt made its appearance quite at the beginning of the sixteenth century. It was among the book-baggage in the caravan, and is now before us. Look at these grave masters of the art of chiromancy! How their hands, indicative of the subject discussed, are made to group with their bodies! They appear at least to be an affectionate triumvirate.



* a curious and early printed little octavo volume upon Chiromancy.] The title

Instead of the white back ground in Hartlieb's book, you observe a much better effect in the black one, relieved by white ornaments, in the work of Master Corvus—for such is the *black* name of the author:



For the benefit of the female part of my audience, I shall give a free translation of the original Latin—beneath this said hand—as thus: ‘When a cross, like the one above described, is found within the palm of the hand, it denotes

of this strange book is as follows: ‘Excellentissimi et Singularis Viri in Chiromantia exercitissimi Magistri Andreæ Corui Mirandulensis.’ The group in p. 148 is on the reverse of this title. This work is dedicated to John Francis Gonzaga of Mantua; and is called, at the bottom of a ij, ‘opus rarissimum.’ It is throughout in the black letter, and contains signatures *a* to *i*, inclusively, in eights. The first of the two *hand* fac-similes, above given, is taken from *g ij*, recto, and the second from *i iiij* reverse. I suspect that this volume, or one put forth about the same period, was the parent of several others about to be mentioned in an ensuing note.

courage and pride of heart.' But beware how you carry your thumb thus: as we are told 'it denotes a covetous fellow, and one who wishes to live by good means or ill means — ('per fas et nefas')—in other words, 'by hook or by crook.'



Chiromancy was probably the parent of **PHYSIOGNOMY**; that is to say, books upon chiromancy preceded, and may have given rise to, those upon physiognomy: and thus Hartleib's work became the germ of Lavater's. Indeed chiromancy and physiognomy usually accompanied each other in a prodigious number of publications in the sixteenth century; but Michael Scot in the fifteenth, and Baptista Porta in the sixteenth century, made a strong push to give the *latter* the ascendancy; and Porta's book certainly rendered physiognomy, from thenceforth, rather a popular study. The commentators upon chiromancy are now

dwindled into itinerant gipsies and fortune-tellers. Scot's earliest book is of the date of 1477,* but divested of cuts; nor does the later edition of 1495, at Leipsic, contain any representations of the human face as illustrative of the doctrine of physiognomy. To give a *genealogical* account (if you will allow me that expression) of the various publications upon this latter science would be equally useless and

impracticable. I shall therefore only give an idea of the *degree of merit* which the generality of the cuts of the earlier publications exhibit, by selecting those which appeared in the productions of one of its most able and active expositors: I mean, IOANNES DE INDAGINE. First, however, you may just look at the frontispiece, which contains the sagacious, but rather

sour-looking, physiognomy of the gentleman himself.† It does not appear to be a flattered likeness. The specimens

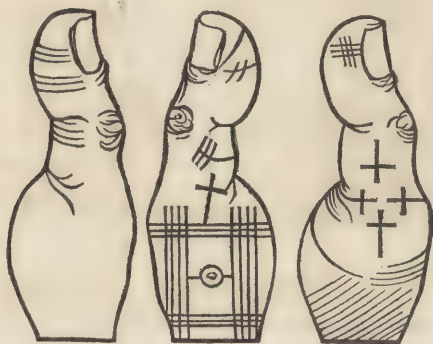


* Scot's earliest book is of the date of 1477.] See Panzer, vol. iv. p. 463. Mr. Roscoe was so good as to send, for my inspection, a rare impression of Scot's 'Liber phisiognomie—cum multis secretis mulierum,' which was printed by Arnoldus de Colonia in the year 1495, at Leipsic, 4to. which appears to have escaped Leichius. There were no cuts in this impression, except an unconnected one of a schoolmaster sitting at his desk, and two boys before him—by way of frontispiece. I conclude, by this, that the earlier impressions have no cuts: at least none are mentioned by Panzer.

† *physiognomy of the gentleman himself.*] Round the portrait, within a three-lined border, we read 'AVTORE IO. INDAGINE.' Above it are 5 titles, from the principal of which we learn that the work relates a little to physiognomy,

which you are about to see, are taken from a French version of the original Latin of the same author, published at Lyons

but chiefly to chiromancy and Natural Astrology. This work was printed in 1543 by Peter Regnault, in 8vo. The *hands* are in outline, and are well drawn. As a supplement to what above appears, about Thumbs, take the following, mystery-loving reader, from folio 28, with its accompanying illustrations. 'Præterea in pollicis monte qui fissuras habent nimium multas, nullo ordine, nec ita pari intervallo, sed sparsim inter se diuersas, eos haud dubiè libidinosos et impuros, sed interim amarulentos, et etiam iurgiosos, et qui cum mulieribus lites faciliè conserant, ac morosi et difficiles habeantur. Cumque libidine in tantum æstuent, vt satiari etiam faciliè non possint, exquirantque ibi genera insueti vsus, et monstro similima, conuersationis tamen sunt minimè iucundæ et vitæ insuauis. Tenet eos ferè nullum sapientiæ studium, nec in doctrinis proficiunt, sed ad alia capaciores sunt, sciteque exercent ea quæ matutino opere fiunt. Et quæ ad luxum sunt omnia ingeniosè excogitant.' After this, let the reader look with hesitating eyes upon any similarity in the lines of his own thumbs to what he here beholds—as illustrative of the foregoing position.



The cuts of the *Gods* and *Goddesses*, in this curious little book, are the best specimens of the art of engraving contained in it, and are worthy of the burin of Bernard. The *heads*, or physiognomies, are of very indifferent execution. Peter Regnault re-published the same heads, in a French publication entitled 'Le Compèdion et brief enseignement de Physiognomie et Chiriromancie de Berthelemy Cocles, de Bouloigne, docteur de Philosophie naturelle et de medicine. Monstrant par le regard du visage, signe de la face, et lignes de la main, les meurs et complexions des gens, selon les figures par le liure despainctes.' His small and pretty device (see *FIFTH DAY*, post) is beneath. The edition is without date, but the *hands* (white, upon a black ornamented ground) are copied from Corvus's work before mentioned; and the descriptions or definitions in

in the tasteful office of Tournes, or Tornæsius,* about the middle of the sixteenth century. We are not informed of

French, beneath, appear to be versions of the text of Cocles. These hands, however, are of greatly inferior execution. The same style of art, both in the heads and hands, but somewhat improved, appears in the original text of Cocles printed at Strasbourg, in 1555, 8vo.; which I presume to be printed subsequently to the impression of Regnault. There is sufficient evidence of all the blocks having been *recut* for this impression. I possess a copy of each of the books just described.

* *published—in the tasteful office of Tournes, or Tornæsius.*] Very superior to either of the books upon chiromancy and physiognomy, described in the preceding notes, is the work above mentioned by Philemon. Its title is thus: 'Chiromance & Physiognomie par le Regard des Membres de l'homme, faite par Iean de Indagine. Le tout mis en Francois par Antoine du Moulin, Masconnois, Valet de chambre de la Royne de Navarre.' Colophon: 'A Lyon, par Iehan de Tournes. M.D.XLIX. 8vo. Avec privilege du Roi pour dix ans.' This book might really have entertained her Majesty of Navarre; and I make no doubt that Bernard was the artist to whom we are indebted for the spirited engravings of which the ensuing, at p. 138-9, are fac-similes. My friend Mr. Douce possesses impressions of the original blocks upon blank paper; but of rather inferior workmanship to those of the copy from which the above are taken.

Among the works upon physiognomy in our own country, about the middle of the xvth century, I believe that of THOMAS HILL—called 'The Contemplation of Mankinde, containyng a singuler discourse after the art of Phisiognomie,' &c. and printed by Seres in 1571, 8vo.—to have been among the most popular. It is professed to be a translation; but the title page gives us only 'a worthie Grecian named Melampus' as the original author: the work of 'Mayster Dee' as affording 'helpe and ayde at the beginning,' is introduced in the address to the Reader. A few commendatory verses, from several learned wights, precede the text. Those of Nicolas Lee are as follow—with the subjoined version:

' Nicolai Leihi ogdoastichon ad Lectorem.

Indole qua quis sit, vultu dignoscere, Thomas
Hillus depingit, qua ratione queas.
Plurima doctorum peruoluens scripta virorum
Optima decerpit sedulus, instar apis.
Nec piget immensos illum nauasse labores,
Quod, quantum in sese est, vtilis esse studet.
Vt gratis donat, quæcunq; hæc munera præbet:
Sic voto satis est, si tibi gratus erit.

' Here Thomas Hill depainteth plaine,
the picture of the minde,

the precise judgment of *Mr. Shandy* upon noses* like those which you are shortly to behold; but I will be free to say

*Which way you may by countenance,
the disposition finde.*

*Persuing many monuments
of auncient wryters hee,*

*Electing still thats excellent
doth imitate the Bee.*

*It nothing yrkes him labors great,
nor traueyles to bestowe,*

*In any thing he can deuise,
that profite seems to shoue.*

*As he doth gratis giue thee these,
what ere they seeme to bee,*

*So hath he all his wish, if he
be gratefull vnto thee.'*

With regard to the decorations of this volume, they are far from being despicable. I make no doubt that a foreigner made the designs; and it is just possible that the engravings were executed *here*. They are, comparatively, of an inferior description.



These cuts, each repeated, first appear at folios 41, 51. The first has much of the Venetian air and costume, and the latter even approaches something of

that the looking-glass will reflect no such proboscis among the male, and no such nasal flatness among the female, part of my audience—as what we here see in the Lyons publi-

elevation of character. The history subjoined to it may be worth extracting. It is from 'The Phisognomer Cocles.' 'A certaine Gouvernour, named Valentinus Cæsar, the sonne of a mightie man when he gouerned, which was a murderer, a great deceyner, a breaker of true fayth, a spoyler of women, and a most great lyar: had the eyes glystering, which signified that person to be gouerned of Mars: in the night time he exercised reuels, banketing and women: and this he folowed in the time of his most serious affayres: he seeledome gaue eare or hearde any of his subjects causes. He was a man giuen to be solitarie, and full of thoughts and musing, sometimes prodigall, and of no stable religion: he also was couetous, and fearefull, yet bolde in wordes, and indued with a singuler eloquence: in diuers publicke matters to be hearde, or in places of iustice he threatened: and this caused, thorowe the disposition of Saturne and Mars, as aboue vttered. He was a person hauing a most detestable witte: especially about wicked businesses, which proceeded of Saturne and Mars. The colour of the skinne was wan, and [he] had an aquiline nose, which witnessed the disposition and nature of Mars.'

The physiognomies in *outline* are probably better drawn and have more character; but among the *shaded* ones, the reader will notice what seems to have been copied from a portrait of DANTE, at fol. 101; repeated, I believe, more than once. I had thought that the portrait at fol. 164, 183, 204, might have been intended for a resemblance of Henry IV. and the scarf round the arm may rather strengthen such conjecture. I have before noticed (in the *Typographical Antiquities*) the introduction of a figure, gathering herbs, at fol. 160, reverse, for the portrait of Richard Jones the printer, by Ames and Herbert. The two men shewing a lion, on the reverse of fol. 186, is rather a curious cut. But it is time to dismiss 'Thomas Hill.' The copy, from which the foregoing account is taken, was supplied Earl Spencer by my friend M. Neunburg. It is however defective in one leaf of 'The Epistle;' but is otherwise more clean and sound than any one of the four copies of it which I have seen.

* *Mr Shandy upon Noses.*] He who hath read 'The Life and Opinions, &c. of Tristram Shandy, Gentleman,' hath therein read the humorous hypothesis relating unto noses. But probably the same reader hath not perused Chap. vi. of the late Dr. Ferriar's '*Illustrations of Sterne*,' 1812, 8vo. vol. i. p. 146:—a work, which ranks among the most amusing '*ANA*' in our language, and which is alike instructive to the bibliographer and philologist. The argument of the said chapter is as follows: '*Mr. Shandy's hypothesis of noses explained. Taliacotius. Stories of long noses. Coincidence between Vigneul, Marville, and Lavater. Opinions of Garmann, Riolen, Beddoes. Segar's point of honour concerning the nose.*'

cation. These are taken from the xvth chapter, which discourses ‘*Of the Judgment of the Nose.*’



A little onward, we find the viith chapter discoursing ‘*Of the Chin;*’ and illustrated by the following representations of that unassuming member of the visage.



The ixth chapter treats ‘*Of the Physiognomy of the Face,*’ and is well adorned by such countenances as the following: which, however fanciful the hypothesis may seem, I do really suspect to be bona-fide portraits. Admit, my friends, that there is no ordinary expression of character in these physiognomies; and that the engraving has done justice to the design.



In the xth chapter an important judgment is pronounced
 ‘*Of the Physiognomy of the Ears.*’ It must be admitted that
 the ensuing form a contrast to each other :



But there is no end to such representations ; and therefore referring you to PORTA and LAVATER,* (the latter, the

* *Porta and Lavater.*] The first edition of Baptista Porta's work upon Physiognomy, was published at Hanover in 1593, 8vo. This impression must always be secured, if the reader wish to have the cuts in their purest state. Not however that either the drawings or the engravings have the force and truth which we observe in the above specimens of a more ancient date. In short, the very best cut in the volume happens luckily to be the most interesting one: namely, that of a *portrait of the author*. There appears to be equal truth and spirit in this

noblest work which ever has, or perhaps ever will, appear upon the subject) I dismiss this part of the day's discussion;

embellishment; which, about the mouth, has certainly no very remote resemblance to the physiognomy of Lavater.



The work is dedicated to Aloysius Estensis; and the author does well to make a supplemental remark, at the end of his preface—that ‘*Hæc scientia coniecturalis est, nec semper optatum assequitur finem.*’ The printing of this volume is very indifferent; and the only fair and *endurable* copy I ever saw of it (sold by Mr. Evans in January, 1816) was purchased by me for eight shillings. The re-impressions, both of the text, and of an Italian version, are little desirable; though that of 1643, 4to. of the latter, printed at Venice, appears to have additional matter. Porta's book was popular because it was accompanied by heads of

and, with it, take leave of the subjects connected with *Block printing*.

LORENZO. Suffer me to remark—what I make no doubt you are well aware of—that short *Scriptural Histories*, or extracts from *the Bible*, were occasionally subjects of the united operation of engraving and printing: and from this point, or datum, you might probably treat us with an account of a

birds or beasts—as approximating more or less to the human face: ‘*si homo (says the author) partem aut membrum aliquod feræ vel avi simile habet, ab his necesse est ipsum physiognomonizari,*’ p. 30. I should add that there is a good portrait of Cardinal Este at the end of the Index of Chapters.

Lavater’s work upon Physiognomy was translated by Dr. Hunter, and was published in 1789, in 5 large quarto volumes, accompanied by plates of transcendent merit—executed by English artists—and principally by HOLLOWAY. This edition was sold in numbers; and I should hope a perfect copy of it, with proof impressions of the plates, and in morocco binding, is yet worth 31*l.* 10*s.* I know of few books better calculated to relieve the tedium of a rainy morning than this magnificent work—the author and the artists contending alike for superiority of admiration. Some of the *portraits* are of exquisite performance; and justify all that has been said of the charm of this species of ornament in our favourite volumes of consultation. Hear what hath been well expressed upon this subject, in a certain work ycleped *The Forest or Collection of Historyes*, &c. 1576, 4to. ‘Of the first Libraries that euer were in the worlde, and how the men of that time vsed to haue the *Images* or *purtraites* of the learned in them. Cap. 3.

‘————— Our common vsage or custome was ordinary in the olde age, to wit, that they had in their secret Cabinets or Studydes, the perfect Image and purtrait, of all suche as had in any sorte excelled in learning. Plinie writeth, that Marcus Varro beeing yet thē living, merited for his rare vertue and knowledge in good letters, that his Image should haue place in the Library of Assinius Polion. Cicero wrote to Fabian, that he shoulde provide him of some purtraits, the better to adorne and beautifie his study. Plinie the yunger writing to Julius Seuerus saith that Ere Seuerus, a man very wel lettered would order in his studye among other his purtraites, the Images of Cornelius and Titus Arius. Of these things finde we euery where sufficient, and good proof: whose Libraryes, as also those of other learned men & great princes, which after in successe and processe of time followed, were destroyed and defaced by the Gothes and Vandales; vntil now that in our time by the great bountie of God, infinit are found bothe studious and learned, that haue gathered together huge heapes of Books, though not indeed the tenth part, of these aboue remembred by our Ancestors.’ *Sign. A, a, rev.*

few of the earlier publications—either of the *Old and New Testaments* together—or of each of them separately—or of portions from either?

PHILEMON. The remark is just. But into what a field of endless variety are you compelling me to enter? What Dryden says of Chaucer, may be well repeated of the subject alluded to—‘there is such a variety of game springing up before me, that I am distracted in my choice, and know not which to follow.’

LYSANDER. At any rate give us *something* of this congenial subject. Remember, to-morrow I am to introduce topics of a comparatively dry nature; and the present may serve as a variety and contrast to the aridity of merely typographical detail.

BELINDA. I entreat you to muster up only a little courage, and our disposition to be amused will render the subject extremely entertaining, however you may execute it short of your own satisfaction.

PHILEMON. It would be affectation to resist further entreaty, and so take my exertions as you find them. The moon would go through all her changes ere such a subject could be treated in a manner at once comprehensive and complete. You shall have therefore only a glimpse—or a sort of bird’s eye view—of the varieties and graces with which such a discussion might be adorned.

The earliest printed book, containing *text* and *engravings* illustrative of scriptural subjects, is called the *Histories of Joseph, Daniel, Judith, and Esther*. This is executed in the German language, and was printed by Pfister at Bamberg in 1462.* It is among the rarest typographical curiosities

* printed by Pfister at Bamberg, in 1462.] I make no apology for introducing, a second time, the metrical version of the original metrical colophon in the

in existence; there being at present only two known copies of it—one in the Royal Library at Paris, and another in the collection of the Noble Earl whose treasures we shall have such frequent occasion to notice. These cuts are frightfully rude, and only in the outline, as might have been expected. They shew indeed the clumsiness of their German origin. This *partial* impression of the sacred text, decorated in the manner just described, most probably gave the idea of publishing the *entire* text of the Bible, in the same language, and with similar embellishments: and if my memory be not at this moment treacherous, the German presses were the earliest which exhibited the sacred volume with engravings cut in wood. You will observe that the Mentz editions of the Bible, in the Latin tongue, from the years 1455 to 1472, inclusively, contain no wood-cut ornaments; nor do the

German language—from the *Bibl. Spenceriana*, vol. i. p. 98. This version is literally accurate, and was supplied by my friend Mr. R. W. Wade.

Each man with eagerness desires
To learn, and to be wise aspires.
But books and masters make us so;
And all men cannot Latin know.
Thereon I have for sometime thought,
And HISTORIES FOUR together brought:
JOSEPH and DANIEL and JUDITH
With good intent: ESTHER therewith.
To these did God protection give,
As now to all who godly live.
If by it we our lives amend
This little book hath gained its end.
Which certainly in Bamberg town
By ALBERT PFISTER'S press was done;
In fourteen hundred sixty two,
As men now reckon: that is true.
Soon after good St. Walburgh's day:
Whom to procure for us, we pray,
Peace and eternal life to live;
The which to all of us god give. Amen.

earlier impressions at *Rome* and at *Venice*, whether in Latin or Italian, contain a vestige of similar decoration. The first Bible printed at *Paris*, in 1475-6, is also destitute of engravings; so that either the *Augsbourg* or *Nuremberg* press may be said to be the parent of graphic embellishment of the sacred text.* The cuts, in these early German versions of Scripture, are frequently very spirited and forcible. Sometimes we observe good drawing in them; but almost always vigour and effect. In short I have little doubt of their having laid the basis of that school of art, which, if it be divested of the grace and delicacy of the Italian burin, has at least afforded us infinite amusement in the thousand embellishments with which the pages of early German publications are crowded. The works of Brandt and of Geyler, and the early German versions of ancient Classics, are strongly confirmative of this position. But of these in due order.

The fruitfulness of the early Nuremberg press, in ornamental publications, is beyond conception. Sometimes indeed these ornaments are not remarkable for decorum;

* the *Augsbourg* or *Nuremberg* press — the parent of graphic embellishment of the sacred text.] I consider the German Bible executed at *Augsbourg*, of the supposed date of 1473, and another similar Bible, considered to have been executed by Fyner of *Eslingen*, between the years 1474 and 1477, to be the earliest of the impressions of the Bible, in the German language, which contain woodcuts. See the *Bibl. Spenceriana*, vol. i. p. 47-50; vol. iv. p. 450. A fac-simile from the former impression is given in the pages first here referred to. It is not very improbable that, in the early stage of the art of printing in which Pfister's Bible (of the supposed date of 1460) was executed, a sufficient number of woodcut ornaments could not be collected; and as there are cuts to the *Four Histories* of the date 1462, and to the *Biblia Pauperum*, both in the German and Latin languages (see *Bibl. Spencer.* vol. i. p. 100-104)—each in all probability executed by Pfister also—we may conclude that these latter were of a later date than the Bible itself; and therefore this may give additional strength to the inference drawn in favour of the presumed period of the execution of the Bible. Not however (it must frankly be conceded) that such inference is entirely conclusive.

since, even as early as 1483, Koberger published with impunity an impression of the Bible, in the German language, in which the *Pope* was introduced, in a large wood-cut, as being among the principal of the *fallen angels*! Weislinger and Clement are very dexterous in blunting the edge of this biting satire.* My researches have not chanced to lead me to any impressions of the sacred text, exhibiting cuts, of an *earlier* period than those of which specimens are already before the public; but among *later* impressions of the German version you must not fail to notice those which contain *the text of Luther*, and which sometimes exhibit very spirited ornaments. Indeed I know of few more puzzling subjects, in a bibliographical point of view, than that of settling the priority of the earlier impressions of Martin Luther's version.†

* *the edge of this biting satire.*] This Bible is particularly described in the *Bibl. Spenceriana*, vol. iv. p. 453-5. The greater part of a rainy morning might be satisfactorily devoted to the entertainment afforded by the cuts of this Bible; and if good fortune should ever take the bibliomaniac to the spot where the Spencerian copy is deposited, he will not fail to utter more than one exclamation of delight at the beautiful condition of it, within and without!

† *the earlier impressions of Martin Luther's version.*] I have endured more than one head-ach in endeavouring to settle this knotty point: see *Bibl. Spencer*, vol. i. p. 58-62. At present, therefore, I shall only submit to the curious reader what Seckendorf, in his huge *Commentarius Historicus et Apologeticus de Lutherismo*, 1692, folio, has enabled me to select. In January, 1522, Luther thus writes to his friend Nicolaus Amsdorffinus: 'Interim Biblia transferam; quamquam onus susceperim supra vires. Video nunc quid sit interpretari, et cur hactenus a nullo sit attentatum, qui profiteretur nomen suum. [prioris enim versiones nomen autorum non memorant] Vetus vero testamentum non potero attingere, nisi vobis presentibus et cooperantibus. Denique si qua posset fieri, ut secretum cubile apud vestrum aliquem haberem, mox venirem, et vestro auxilio totum ab initio transferrem, ut fieret translatio digna, quæ Christianis legeretur; spero enim nos meliorem daturos esse, quam habeant Latini, nostræ Germaniæ. Magnum et dignum opus est, in quo nos omnes laboremus, cum sit publicum et publicæ salutis donandum.' *lib. ii. p. 45.*

Seckendorf adds that 'Luther applied himself with all his vigour, in that solitude, (Wittenberg) during the whole summer of 1521, in making himself

Leaving this point for your future enquiries, I resume my *graphic theme*: and without pretending to say how many more beautiful and more interesting editions of the

master of the Hebrew and Greek languages; that he might be equal to the task he was about to undertake. The German versions (continues Seckendorf) of 1477, 1483, 1490, at Nuremberg—and of 1518 at Augsburg—‘*nullo populi fructu, cui nec legi permittebantur, nec ob styli et typorum horriditatem satisfacere poterant.*’ Cruel criticism this, upon ancient typographical lore! The same authority adds, that ‘Luther consulted the *form* of the publication, so that it might come out in parts, and at a moderate price.’ Yet that renowned Reformer had something like magnificent and truly-bibliomaniacal notions respecting the manner of bringing out his ‘*magnum opus*’—for thus writeth ‘our Luther’ to his friend Pontanus, on the 20th of September, 1539, concerning the Wittemberg edition of the same year. ‘I hope the Anhalt Noblemen and Gentlemen will take care that there be at least three copies of this edition PRINTED UPON VELLUM; for each of which it may be necessary to procure *three hundred and forty calves-skins*, formerly to be procured for 60 florins—but now indeed at four times that price.’ See Seckendorf’s *Comm. lib. i.* 203-4; *lib. iii.* p. 254. Upon the whole, we gather from the same authority—respecting the earliest dates of portions of Luther’s Bible—that the *Gospels*, the *Epistle to the Romans*, and the other Epistles were published in 1522: the *Pentateuch*, and other parts of the Bible, with the exception of the Prophets, in 1524: *Isaiah and Daniel*, in 1528; and the other *Prophets*, from 1527 to 1530. In 1534 the Bible was first published complete; again in 1539-41: and the third and last time in 1541-5. It was of this *latter* impression that a unique copy, UPON VELLUM—(which had successively been in the possession of Luther himself, of Bugenhagen, of Melancthon, and of Major—all zealous reformers, and all anxious to leave some written memorial behind, upon the leaves of this precious copy, of their faith and fortitude in the belief they professed) was sold at the sale of the library of the late Mr. Edwards, for 85 guineas: see *Bibl. Edwards*, no. 812, and the interesting note of Mr. Evans subjoined. The purchaser of this treasure (my friend Mr. George Hibbert) may well be proud of its possession. He fought a good battle with * * * * * to obtain it—but, in my poor estimation, no price should have taken it from the shelves of the LAMBETH LIBRARY, or of the BRITISH MUSEUM.

Before taking leave of Luther, let me offer a brief notice of a *supposed portrait* of him, on the reverse of a small quarto volume, without date, but probably of the year 1520. It is entitled ‘*De Captivitate Babylonica Ecclesie Præludium Martini Lutheri.*’ Beneath the portrait are two hexameter and two pentameter verses. Instead of Luther, I suspect this to be a portrait of some Monk. The crown of the head is shaven, with a circle of hair beneath. There is a heavy robe upon him, a book is beneath, and his right hand is placed upon his heart. The

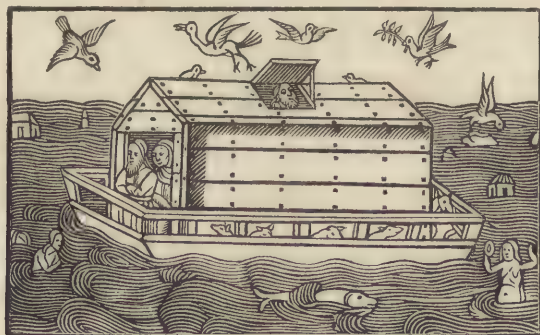
Bible appeared, containing cuts of an earlier date, let me mention to you the pleasure I received in turning over the leaves of a Latin Bible published at Lyons, in folio, of the date of 1519; at the cost and charges of that 'notable gentleman Anthony Koberger, of Nuremberg.'* In this badly-printed volume the handy-works of *three* artists are at least discernible; but among these are the more interesting productions of *Hans Springinkle*—a name which you may remember to have been pronounced with respect when we discoursed upon the manual of devotion, entitled 'Hortulus Animæ,' published by the same Koberger, and exhibiting the productions of the same Hans Springinkle. As I have been Tartar enough to rob it of its prints, I will first shew you the effort of an inferior artist, in the following cut of the *Temptation of our first Parents*, and their *Expulsion from Paradise*. The representation of this double action (as connoisseurs call it) is very common in the earlier Bibles.

cheek bones are high, and have a 'Scottish air.' I cannot consider this as a genuine portrait, if all the others, uniform in their general character, be true. The publication is, in other respects, curious. It appears to have been composed about two years after Luther's first invective against Indulgences; and he here bitterly repents of the *qualified* manner in which he had formerly noticed them. He now condemns them 'in toto'—calling them 'Adulatorum Romanorum nequitia.' There is no printer's name to this curious book; but a device, at the end, of two dogs biting each other: above, are the letters R S M, and four verses beneath. On the reverse 'LÆTA LIBERTAS.' This account is taken from a copy in the possession of Sir Hudson Lowe, Governor of St. Helena in general, and of Napoleon Buonaparte in particular. It is one of a very interesting sprinkle of choice volumes which that gallant officer hath had 'grete joyaunce' in collecting.

* *Anthony Koberger of Nuremberg.*] It is entitled 'Biblia cum Concordantijs veteris et novi Testamenti et sacrorum Canonum: necnon et additionibus imaginibus varietatis ducernorum textuum,' &c. A large print of St. Jerom is in the title, executed by Hans Springinkle. Colophon: '*Impressa Lugduni: per me Jacobum Sacon. Expensis notabilis viri Antonij Koberger. Nurembergensis. Anno, &c: MDXIX. xix. Oct.*' This Bible was bought and sold again by me for a very few shillings.



Belinda and Almansa may well smile at the melancholy and wretched air which pervades this clumsy production. We will now contrast it by rather a whimsical representation of *Noah's Ark* floating upon the waters after they are abated. The mermaid, you observe, was an early favourite among artists.



I conceive each of these cuts to have been executed by a different artist, and certainly not by Hans Springinklee:—to whom it is now high time to give you a formal introduc-

tion. The story of *Esau and Jacob*, and of *Boaz and Ruth* are not inelegantly expressed by the following representations of them :



You shall now be treated with two more specimens from the same volume ; undoubtedly by the hand of a different,

and perhaps not less accomplished artist. They represent the two chief incidents in the story of *Judith and Holofernes*.



I am not prepared to say that these cuts are not of an earlier date; nor will I venture to assert in how many printed volumes, of a like cast of character, they appeared both before and after that to which our attention has been just

directed. Instances of the adaptation of the same cuts to a variety of publications, of a similar character, are almost innumerable. Pursuing the subject of sacred writ, of which I would be understood just now exclusively to discourse, let me request you to remember those which appear in our *Coverdale's Bible* of 1535, and in various other publications of the same period. They are the spirited productions of my favourite *Hans Sebald Beham*, and have his monogram or mark expressly introduced. Probably they first appeared in a thin quarto volume, published in the German language, at Frankfort, without date.* There is no doubt a good deal of the air of the German School about them, but the drawing is nevertheless spirited and correct, and the engraving may be called of tip-top merit in its way. I have already introduced the name of Sebald Beham to your notice, who was

* published in the German language, at Frankfort, without date.] The following is the title of this publication: 'Biblicae Historiae, artificiosissimè depictæ. Biblische Historien, Figürlich fürgebilder. Colophon: 'Francofurti Christianus Egenolphus excudebat.' Besides the cuts, of which the ensuing fac-similes cannot fail to gratify the tasteful collector, those numbered 11, 20, 21, 26, 29, 49, 60, and 63, have also great merit. The cuts, above engraved, are numbers 30, 32, 36, 40, 63. Philemon has justly remarked that these cuts are common to publications of about the period of Coverdale's Bible of 1535. In fact, in that same year, they also appeared in a rare and curious volume entitled 'Storys and Prophesie out of the holy scriptur, garnyschede with faire ymages, and with deuoute praecis, and thanckgeuings vnto God. With grete diligence oursien and approued by the inquisitor of the Christen faithe, Maester Nycolas Coppyn, de Montibus, Dean of saincte Peters and Châceller of the vniversite of Louen. Anno: m.ccccc.xxxv.' At the end: 'This boke is prentyd in Andwarpe vpon the Lombardes walle, ouer agaynst the golden hande By my Symon Cowke. Anno. xxxvi. This colophon is beneath a figure inserted (according to a ms. note, by Herbert, in Lord Spencer's beautiful copy of the book) in Tindal's New Testament of 1536, for that of St. Paul. It is executed with great spirit and correctness. The impressions however of the cuts, within the volume, are very indifferent. The work contains, according to Herbert, X in eights. A copy is in the *Bibl. Harleiana*; see vol. i. no. 423—where there is an interesting notice of it.

equally successful in copper and upon wood. Let me now make you more thoroughly acquainted with him in the latter department of his art. In this little volume, now held in my hand, look, first of all, at the simplicity of style which pervades the representation of *Samuel anointing Saul king*.



You may remember that the future monarch of Israel was found by Samuel in the occupation of seeking his father's asses; and the artist has, with this view, delineated him with great simplicity and propriety of character. There is sufficient breadth in the drapery of Samuel; but the figure of that divine character wants majesty and effect. He looks rather like a husbandman who has got on his Sunday's smock-frock. The landscape is sufficiently pretty, and perhaps in Beham's best manner. What here follows, of *Esther before Ahasuerus*, is in every respect more worthy of the characters introduced. The queen to be sure is rather a jolly than a comely dame, but her husband is by no means destitute of kingly dignity; while the figure, with his cap in

hand, standing behind the queen, might not have disgraced the pencil of Titian.



We have here a different, and perhaps more interesting, specimen. Indeed I have seldom or never seen so much bustle and spirit—so much martial energy—compressed into such a small space. It represents the *Discomfiting of the Midianites by the army of Gideon*.



This desirable little volume concludes with a triumviratical (as the very learned Dr. Samuel Parr would have expressed it) group of warriors, which I believe was one of the most

popular ornaments of the sixteenth century. You may remember it in a variety of publications.*



And thus much for these spirited little prints. Let me now direct all your critical attention and connoisseurship to a few other popular manuals of subjects selected from the Bible, and embellished by wood cuts. Among the artists whose talents were put in requisition for these publications, few claim more respect, few have attained to such popularity and eminence, as the ever-renowned HANS HOLBEIN: a name, as dear to Englishmen as to foreigners.

LYSANDER. Forgive this intrusion; but if once we begin with Holbein we shall go on with BERNARD—and delighted

* *remember it in a variety of publications.*] It appears, among many others, in a small quarto tract, of only 7 leaves, entitled '*Ioannis Crispi Aegei Maris, Naxique Ducis, Bizantini Imperatoris Tributarij, ad Pont. Romanum, et Christianos Principes epistola. MDXXXVII.*' A copy of this tract is in the very curious and extraordinary collection of small pieces, of almost every description, forming the greater part of the library of Mr. Lang.

and bewildered with the productions of these distinguished artists, I may forget to mention what just now presses upon my mind—which is, whether the versions of TINDAL or of COVERDALE contain the earliest embellishments, attached to the text of scripture, in this country?

PHILEMON. The question is perfectly in order; and requires neither apology on your part nor forgiveness on mine. Although the text of Tindal be the first in chronological order,* the text of Coverdale is the earliest with the embellish-

* *the text of Tindal the first in chronological order.*] Mr. Beloe, in his *Anecdotes of Literature*, &c. vol. iii. p. 52-57, has given an interesting account of this earliest impression of the sacred text in our own language. The account was furnished him by a friend; and as I have seen and examined this precious volume itself ‘*propriis oculis*,’ I can safely vouch for its general accuracy. It is extraordinary that neither Lewis nor Herbert should have seen it; *English Translations of the Bible*, p. 75-78. The copy here alluded to is in the Library of the Baptist College, at Bristol. It had been procured by one of the bibliographical jackalls of Lord Oxford; namely, by ‘*Maister John Murray of Sacomb*’—of whom in the SEVENTH DAY of this work. Lord Oxford thought himself under such obligations to his ‘*jackall*’ that he settled upon him 20*l.* a year for life. What Murray gave for it, or where he obtained it, does not appear in the ms. memorandum by Ames, inserted in the copy of it under description: but Osborne, with a stupidity or liberality equally unaccountable, contented himself (on purchasing the Harleian library) with marking it in one of his catalogues, at 15*s.*—probably in the *Catal. Bibl. Harleianæ*, vol. i. no. 420—where it is described as being in the ‘*black letter, ruled with red lines, and all the initials at the beginning of each book, representing the subject, finely coloured, as likewise all the capital letters to each chapter and verse throughout the book adorned with different colours, and raised with gold, neatly bound in red morocco.*’

Ames became the fortunate purchaser of such a treasure. At the sale of his library, in 1760, no. 1252, it was purchased by Mr. John White, of Newgate Street, (who was rather a curious book-man, and the catalogue of whose library I possess) for 14 guineas and a half. White sold it to Dr. Gifford (who may be called the Founder of the Baptist-Library) for 20 guineas; the price at which Lord Oxford obtained it from Murray. Dr. Gifford deposited it where it now exists, and from which it is not likely to depart. At length we reach the volume itself. Osborne’s description of it is almost ludicrous. The capital initials are very common; being the usual flowered ones: and the colouring or illuminations are perfectly moderate. But it is well observed by Ames, in his ms. memorandum, that the execution of the text ‘*appears perfect to a person understanding*

ments you allude to; but, remember, neither the version of Tindal nor of Coverdale was printed in this country. They are both decidedly of foreign execution. We will return now, if you please, to the productions of Hans Holbein in the department of art which occupies our present attention. What a treasure do I hold in my hand! It is by no means a rare book; but its intrinsic beauty renders it precious in the estimation of the tasteful collector. The pen of Borbon, the press of Frellon, and more than either or both of these, the pencil of Holbein, throws a charm and an interest about this volume which I have rarely felt in any other similar production.* Indeed, my friends, you cannot

printing.' Unluckily, the title-page is wanting; and was so, apparently, when the book was purchased by Murray. The general condition of it is excellent. The volume contains 353 leaves; exclusively of the Epistle to the reader, and the Errata. The epistle is given entire by Ames and Herbert; but the important part of it, assigning with complete accuracy the priority of this English version of the sacred text, is as follows: taken by myself from the original: 'Them that are learned Christenly, I beseche: for as moche as I am sure, ad my conscience beareth me recorde, that of a pure entent, singilly and faythfully I have interpreted itt, as farre forth as god gave me the gyfte of knowledge, ad vnderston-dynge: that the rudness off the worke nowe at the fyrst tyme, offende them not: but that they consyder howe that I had no man to counterfet, nether was holpe with englysshe of eny that had interpreted the same, or soche lyke thige i the scripture before tyme.' &c.

The preceding is on the recto of T ij; second set of signatures. This epistle is followed by 2 leaves of 'Errours comitted in the prentyng.' The volume has every appearance of having been executed in the Low Countries; perhaps at 'Marlbro in the Land of Hesse.'

* *a charm and an interest about this volume—rarely felt in any similar production.*] Perhaps this is rather the language of enthusiasm than the judgment of sound criticism. However, there can be no question about these 'cuts of subjects taken from the Old Testament'—being very beautiful and very interesting. A copy of the second edition of this covetable volume now lies before me: from the richly-stored library of Mr. Douce. The title is thus: '*Historiarum Veteris Testamenti Icones ad uiuum expressæ, &c.* Lugdvni Sub Scuto Coloniensi M.D. xxxix. 4to. On the reverse is an address of Franciscus Frellæus 'to the Christian Reader:' in which the latter is told that the prints in *this* work are infinitely preferable—'Veneris & Dianæ, ceterarumque Dearum libidinosi imaginibus,

too much covet, or too much praise, the little tasteful volumes, of almost every description, which issued from the presses at Lyons about the middle of the sixteenth century. One shelf, of nearly seven feet in length, (if I remember

quæ animum vel errore impediunt, vel turpitudine labefactant.' A poetical address of Nicolas Borbon follows; of which the ensuing may be considered an apposite specimen:

Nā tabulā siquis videat, quā pinxerit Hansus
Holbius, ille artis gloria prima suæ:

His HANSI tabulis repræsentantur: & vnâ
Interpres rerum sermo Latinus adest.
Eiusdem Borbonij Poetæ

Δίσιχον.

Ω ξέν' ἰδεῖν εἰδωλὰ θέλεις ἐμπνοῖσιν ὁμοῖα;

Ολβιακῆς ἔργον δέρεο τοῦτο χερός.

Cernere vis, hospes, simulacra simillima viuīs?

Hoc opus Holbinæ nobile cerne manus.

We are next treated with some French poetry of Giles Corrozet 'Aux Lectures.' Take the following, philological reader, as a companion to its precursor:

Donques ostez de uoz maisons, & salles
Tant de tapis, & de painctures salles,
Ostez Venus, & son filz Cupido,
Ostez Heleine, & Phyllis, & Dido,
Ostez du tout fables & poesies.
Et receuez meilleures fantasies.

Mettez au lieu, & soyent uoz chambres ceinctes
Des dictz sacrez, & des histoires saintes,
Telles que sont celles que uoyez cy
En ce liuret. Et si faites ainsi,
Grandz & petis, les ieunes & les uieulx.
Auront plaisir, & au cœur & au yeulx.

It remains to subjoin the French description of each of the ensuing fac-similes: in the order in which they are placed.

Le bon Iacob par conseil de sa mere
Eut d'Isaac la benediction:
En se faignant estre Esau son frere,
Qui se marrit de la deception.

B 4, rect.

rightly) contains a number of these volumes in the library of our host; and Lysander, to-morrow or next day, will not fail to give us some account of them. But to the task at

Anne ne peut d'Elcana son mary
Avoir enfans, mais le Seigneur receut
Son oraison faicte de cœur marry,
Et lui donna que Samuel conceut.

F 1, rev.

Ieroboam enuoye son epouse,
Pour de son filz malade s'enquerir
Vers Ahias, qui sa mort luy propose
Et elle entrant l'enfant s'en va mourir

G iij, rev.

Icy recite & nombre brièvement
Iusqu'a Iacob, la genealogie,
Depuis Adam, dès le commencement,
Qui fut soubz Dieu gouvernée & regie.

H 2, rev.

Jonas transmis en Niniue prescher
Fut afligé par tempeste soubdaine:
Trois iours au ventre il fut d'une Balaine,
Puis uers Niniue il se print a marcher.

N (1) recto.

This edition concludes on the recto of N iij—with a large device of the 'Scutum Coloniense.' The imprint is on the reverse of N iij: '*Lugduni, Melchior & Gaspar Trechsel fratres excudebant.*' This edition is here called the *second*; and it appears that neither Papillon nor Mr. Douce were acquainted with any previous one. But Mr. S. W. Singer, whose activity (and I may add good-fortune) in researches of this kind is well known to his friends—and whose work upon '*Playing Cards*,' 1816, 4to. shews to what good purposes such activity is directed—is the lucky owner of an impression of the date of 1538: which, from the difference of the arrangement of the cuts, from the omission of the subjoined French verses, (having only Latin text above each cut) and that of the preliminary pieces of Borbon and Corrozet, may be fairly entitled to the gratifying distinction of EDITIO PRINCEPS. The colophon is on the recto of M iij, within an ornamental border: '*Excudebant Lugduni Melchior & Gaspar Trechsel, 1538.*' The same date (in capitals) in the frontispiece is beneath the smaller 'Scutum Coloniense,' on the reverse of which is the address of Frellæus—as in the subsequent impressions. I am in possession of a very clean and sound copy, printed at Lyons by Frellonius, of the date of 1547, 4to. which is a reprint (but by no means literal) of the second edition; with the addition however, on the reverse of N 3, of engravings of the Four Evangelists—very deli-

present to be executed. This precious book, upon which Papillon has devoted a few pages of his gossiping work, contains '*Pictures or Cuts, from Histories of the Old Testament*,' and has text subjoined both in Latin and French: the latter in metre. The third and fourth cuts may be said to belong to the Dance of Death; at least they exhibit the King of Terrors accompanying our first parents in their expulsion from Paradise, and in tilling the earth. You will no doubt admire *every* illustration; but look at this—which represents *Jacob stealing the Blessing from Esau*! It is full of simplicity and nature.



cately executed. From this impression the preceding extracts, (except the last) and the above fac-similes, are taken: I must here be permitted to remark—that it is not always that the *first* or *earlier* editions of books of this character contain the *best* impressions. Some of the impressions in Mr. Singer's copy are rather heavy, while others are of a light and delicate cast. In Mr. Douce's copy, upon the whole, the impressions appear to be equally true to the character of the originals; a few of them however are rather coarse or badly worked. In short, it is either from the blocks receiving an over or under charge of ink—or from more or less carefulness of mechanical skill—that these differences appear: it being evident, in almost all the works of art, connected

There are few of these cuts, however, in which the story is better told than in the following—describing *Hannah, the wife of Elkanah, bewailing her sterility, in the presence of Eli.*



What have we here? As sure as I am born—the original of Sir Joshua Reynolds's figure of the dying Cardinal Beaufort! In Holbein, this dying figure is intended to represent Abijah, the son of Jeroboam; who expires at

with engraving, in early printed books, that expedition and multiplication of copies were the chief objects in view. Let no tender-bosomed Collector, therefore, 'fret or fume,' if he possess the third, or fourth, or fifth impression of this interesting volume. He will find therein much to charm, and much to solace him.

I must crave another parting word. Did HANS HOLBEIN, or his nephew JOHN, engrave these cuts? Or did LUTZELBERGER? Read Huber, and Bartsch, and Papillon, and Jansen: but allow only that, both in these cuts, and in those of the *Dance of Death*, if the same artist *designed*, so the same artist *engraved* each set: and that 'my uncle' Hans Holbein designed them, admits, I think, of scarcely a shadow of doubt. Let me yet further observe—that the cuts in the Nuremberg Bible of 1519, (see p. 149, ante) and perhaps those of earlier Bibles, were unquestionably in the 'mind's eye' of the Designer of the preceding subjects: as the composition of 'Boaz and Ruth' and 'Judith and Holofernes,' amongst others, evidently prove.

the very moment of his mother's stepping over the threshold, on returning from consulting Ahijah the prophet concerning his fate. This group forms two-thirds of the composition; the mother being seen to the right, about to enter the house.



The most elaborate, if not the best, specimen of grouping the human figure, is to be found in the following—which, perhaps a little whimsically, is made to represent *The genealogies from Adam to Jacob*.



Among the single figures, which are oftentimes in themselves a little volume of intelligence, let me request you to pay particular attention to what is here intended to exhibit the *Grief of Jonah at the Unbelief of the Ninevites*. It is the only figure in the composition, and the city of Nineveh forms the entire background.



This brings us just to the conclusion of the volume; and in dismissing it, I cannot but remind you that, however Papillon may have good reason to remark that the *figures* are, generally speaking, somewhat too short, yet the *heads* are full of expression. The *extremities* are also executed with great intelligence and effect; and the grouping is, I think, at once peculiar and characteristic. In short, if Holbein had ever had a copy of this delightful book struck off *upon vellum*, for his own gratification, and to his entire satisfaction, how many guineas, Lisardo—

LORENZO. Lisardo should never possess it. I would come down with my *Life Guards* and put his *Cuirassiers* to flight!

LISARDO. Baware of my *Corps de Reserve*. I will head them myself: not skulk in a hollow way.

LORENZO. So much the better. The General ought to share the fate of his followers. But we are both wandering and interrupting. Proceed, dear Philemon.

PHILEMON. Your Waterloo skirmishing affords me breath and leisure to think of *my* corps de reserve. Lysander did well, a few minutes ago, to mention the name of BERNARD. That name is a host of strength to recruit my exhausted resources. Welcome, thou Prince of Lyonese artists! Whether the adjunct of LITTLE or SALOMON delight thee most,* welcome to me and to this circle be thy innumerable graphic gems—illustrative of holy writ! This extraordinary genius exercised his art, both of painting and engraving, at Lyons, for full thirty years: and the press of TOURNES, or TORNÆSIUS, was constantly employed, during that time, in the circulation of his beautiful little pieces. Who is the happy mortal to possess the *Book of Hymns*, the *Metamorphoses of Ovid*, and the *Bible*,† published at the same press,

* *Whether the adjunct of LITTLE or SALOMON delight thee most.*] ‘—C’est sans doute lui que tout le monde appelle le Petit Bernard; peut-être étoit-il de petite stature? ou bien est-ce à cause que les curieux le placent parmi les petits Maîtres dans le Catalogue des Peintres? Ce soubriquet a, selon toute apparence, si bien passé en coutume, qu’on a oublié entièrement son nom de famille, et par conséquent BERNARD SALOMON, et le PETIT BERNARD, à qui tout le monde attribue la Gravure en bois de toutes les figures de la Bible, et autres petites Estampes, imprimées à Lyon depuis 1550 jusqu’en 1580, n’est sans doute que la même personne.’ Papillon: *De la Gravure on Bois*, vol. i. p. 206. ‘LE PETIT BERNARD, nommé per quelques uns BERNARD SALOMON, natif de Lyon vers 1512. On l’appeloit le petit Bernard, parceque les sujets qu’il gravoit, soit en bois soit en cuivre, étoient de petit format. Il est vrai, Sandrart prétend qu’il fut appelé le petit, à cause de la petitesse de sa taille.’ Huber: *Manuel des Curieux et des Amateurs de l’Art*: vol. iii. p. 52. The Abbé Marolles had confounded Bernard Salomon with Jean de Tournes, the printer; a palpable error, which Papillon has properly rectified.

† *the Book of Hymns, the Metamorphoses of Ovid, and the Bible.*] There will

and exhibiting master-pieces of art by Bernard? Let me first submit a hasty general criticism upon the peculiar style of art which characterises the productions of this uncommon genius. The first thing that strikes you is, the general freedom of his design and execution: of his outline and finishing. Every thing has life and spirit about his pieces, which contain a little world within themselves. The sun shines; the branches wave, and the leaves rustle to the

be no great harm if we invert a little the order of Philemon—who possibly thought the foregoing titles had more of *euphony* when thus delivered by word of mouth. *The Bible*, or rather *The Old Testament*, is of the date of 1550. This is the first, and perhaps the more desirable impression. It contains about 240 cuts, each of the dimensions of three inches and one quarter, by two and one quarter; and if Papillon's account of it be correct, there is merely four French verses beneath each wood-cut—as constituting the whole of the text. Papillon says the second edition was of the date of 1555; enlarged by eleven additional cuts: but I possess an *Italian version* of it, of the date of 1554, printed by Tournes at Lyons, which has the fuller number of cuts. This version is by Damiano Maraffi; whose portrait, in wood, is on the reverse of the title-page—followed by a prose address to 'Margherita di Francia, Duchessa di Berri,' and by the ensuing poetical compliment to the same illustrious lady:

La Regina Sabèa, poi c'hebbe i modi,
 E gl'ordin visto de'l gran Salamone:
 Ripiena tutta d'ammirazione,
 Roppe sua voce in le sacrate lodi.
 Seruo beato, che tanto ben godi,
 Ben sei felice in tanta visione
 O Re, la fama, ed ogni opinione
 Vinci con tua presenza, e' cuori annodi.
 Ciascun tirato da'l sacro splendore
 Vostro, chiar vede, quel di voi si dice
 Margherita, à pen' esser' ombr', a'l vero.
 E preso da'n credibile stupore
 Grida, oh casa beata, alma, felice
 Di Margherita, à cui bass' è l'Impero.

The fac-similes above given are taken from this impression. Mr. Singer possesses what Papillon calls the third edition—of the date of 1558; entitled 'Quadrins Historiques de la Bible. Reuuz, et augmentez d'un grand nombre de figures.' *A Lion Par Jan de Tournes, M.D.LVIII. 8vo.*; with a dedication, by C. Paradin, to 'Ieanne de la Rochefoucaud, Abbessè de Notre-Dame de

breeze; the cattle ruminates or low; the mountains lift up their magnificent heads; and the middle or back ground, whether a city, or a rural view, equally preserves its distance

Xaintes.' A sonnet (I presume by the same) follows this prose-address; and Maraffi and Paradin may here compete for superiority of poetical skill.

SONNET.

Aprochez vous Estomacs chaleureus,
 Qui digerez tout ce que lon vous donne,
 Conuertissans toute viande, en bonne :
 Venez ici pour estre bienheureus.
 Mais vous pourris, Estomacs doloreus
 Qui vomissez (tant estes à malaise)
 La chose, encor qu'elle ne soit mauuaise,
 Dont ne trouuez rien bon ne sauoreus,
 Guerissez vous, auant que d'aprocher
 Cet aliment, qu'il ne vous faut toucher
 Que ne soyez tous confortez et sains.
 Puis quand serez bien fermes et dispoz,
 Ne creingnez point prendre ces saints propoz :
 Qui vous rendront es Cieus avec les Saints.

This impression contains the whole number of the cuts in the edition of 1554, and has, in addition, a set of 62 prints for the *New Testament*. These measure only two inches and a half by two inches : and in the copy under description, the impressions, in each Testament, are very much superior to what are in my copy of the Old Testament of the date of 1554 : a confirmation this, of what has been advanced respecting dates being uncertain guides of the superiority of impressions. Of the edition of 1550, Papillon says it is so rare, that, in the course of twelve years, he could find only two perfect copies of it. I am unable to mention where a copy is to be found. A copy of ' *La Metamorphose d'Ovide figuree; a Lyon, par Jan de Tournes. M.D.LVII.*' 8vo. is also in the possession of Mr. Singer. It is a wonderful little volume. Each cut, with the subjoined text in French verse, is surrounded by a wood-cut border. Some of these borders are purely arabesque—others are fancifully ornamented—and some again are composed of groups of figures, either grave or gay, beautiful or grotesque : but executed with a brilliancy and precision which must render all rivalry hopeless. Fine impressions of these lovely pages cannot fail to prove a treat of no ordinary kind. Papillon well observes of them : ' Je conseille les curieux de les bien examiner, car ils le meritent—le tout d'une délicatesse et d'une liberté charmante,' vol. i. p. 213. The central or principal cut, where the subject of the poet is elucidated, is on too small a scale to do justice to the illustration; and a few of these are sufficiently ' tender and free.'

In the third place, let a few words (although many effectual ones may be

and character. The architecture has all the spirit of Canaletti's pencil. But it is in the human figures, whether men, women, or children, that his chief merit, in the estimation of some judges, may be thought to consist. They are undoubtedly conceived and executed with freedom and grace. What then are the failings of Bernard? Briefly these, as I conceive. In opposition to the defect of the figures of Holbein, those of Bernard are *too tall*. They are also, now and then, put into fanciful attitudes, and look rather as if they were *acting*, than moving according to the impulses of nature. No man however did such wonders, upon wood, in

spoken) be said concerning *The Hymns* of our Little Bernard: printed by Tournes in 1560, in 4to. This book is called '*Hymnes du Temps et de Ses Parties*.' An address to the reader follows the title-page: in this we are told '*le tout [est] sorti de bonne main; car l'invention est de M. Bernard Salomon Peintre autant excellent qu'il y en ayt point en nostre Hemisphere.*' The text consists of French verses by Guillaume Gueroult (of whom see *La Croix du Maine's Bibl. Française*, vol. i. p. 328, vol. iv. p. 86) upon *Time*, the Morning, the Day, the Night, the Hours, and the Twelve Months. Each of these subjects has a wood cut, (in an oval frame, three inches by two and a quarter) being a personal or allegorical representation of the subject described: the oval is surrounded by a fanciful border, in outline, not always in the best taste. These engravings do not strike me as being the most desirable of those of their author. The figures are too much in *one tone* of light or shade. The copy of this very rare book, under description, belongs to my friend Mr. Douce. It is absolutely tawny throughout, and extremely tender—but, observes its owner, 'I never saw another.' Those who feel disposed to 'riot and revel' in the beautiful books of Bernard Salomon, may read a full account of them in Papillon: an author, after all, in spite of his blunders and prosings, extremely deserving of commendation. His simplicity and honesty throw a *naïveté* about his work which cannot fail to interest the good-natured and sensible reader. I cannot close the subject of specimens of early wood-cutting, without mentioning a very clever frontispiece in a little volume entitled '*Prediche del Reuerendo Padre Frate Gieronimo Sauonarola, &c. In Venetia, 1540.*' It represents the unfortunate Savonarola in the act of preaching. His left hand is boldly elevated; his right is, grasping the desk. Beneath, is a scribe in a fine style of character—taking down the sermon of the preacher. The group in the foreground is excellent—reminding us somewhat of Raffaele's auditors of St. Paul, preaching at Athens. The engraver is designated by the initials R O S.

so small a space: and if individual characters, or countenances, in Bernard's pieces, are inferior to those of Holbein, taken as a *whole* the former shew more invention of design and more facility of execution. It must be remembered, however, that there is no *cross-hatching* in the engravings of either Holbein or Bernard; so that these great artists, eminent as they undoubtedly were, have not met and mastered all the difficulties of their profession.

Yonder little volume, bound in russia, with gilt leaves, contains (if I mistake not) the pieces of Bernard selected from the Bible. Belinda will be pleased to hand it to me. What a charming 'little bit' (to speak 'according to art') have we here! It represents the prostration of *Noah and his family* before the Almighty; who, in the clouds above—in an attitude of perhaps greater spirit than dignity—is pointing to the rainbow, over the hills, as confirmative of his vow never to destroy the world again by water.*



The two following specimens, connected with the story of *Judah and Tamar*, are good specimens of the style of

* In the fac-simile of the portion of this piece, above given, the artist has made the shadows rather too severe. The first four lines of the subjoined Italian version are as follow:

' Fermò quì Dio il patto sempiterno,
Con Noè santo, e co' suoi discendenti,
Co 'l celest' arco, e rinnovò 'l governo,
Chè a 'l bel multiplicar fussin' intenti :'

art peculiar to the landscapes of Bernard. They have all the freedom and lightness of a pencil-drawing.



I am much pleased with the simplicity of the following. There is a truth about the whole which delights me; but the figure standing up, or bending, has perhaps the fault of *affectation* before alluded to. You will immediately

acknowledge that this must be *Esau selling his birth-right to Jacob for a mess of pottage.*



Let me shew you a specimen of Bernard's manner of introducing *architecture* into his compositions. You observe there is a grandeur and breadth of effect in describing the action of '*casting the head of Sheba the son of Bichri from the walls of Abel out to Joab.*' The figures are extremely characteristic of the artist's style.



But one more, and we cease. In the representation of the *Israelites passing 'in the edge of the wilderness,' near the red sea, by night, and conducted by a pillar of fire,* the artist has almost outdone himself. Did you ever see such a multitude—such a host of men—brought together in so small a space? They seem to be absolutely in motion, and that there would be no end of them! The bones of Joseph are carried by the leading men in front.



The cut, however, which faces this—and which describes the *Egyptians overwhelmed in the Red Sea*—has perhaps full as much merit. But we must now absolutely shut our eyes upon such fascinating objects. In taking leave of so desirable a volume, I must caution you to be always upon your guard to have *clean impressions* of the cuts contained in it. It is inconceivable the difference which a good or a bad impression makes:—especially as the strokes of Bernard's graver are exceedingly fine, and his pieces in consequence become liable to clog. Dare we ever hope to find impressions of these gems unaccompanied by the text? and upon *India or Chinese paper* too?! I observe the very thought

discomposes Lisardo, and he is becoming pale with despair. Would that we had rummaged every mansion of old standing, at Lyons, when we made our continental tour, dear Lorenzo! Perhaps——

LYSANDEE. You forget the bombardment of that ancient and interesting city, in the early period of the French revolution. The same merciless cannon-shot, which, during that siege, tore open the very vitals of one of the volumes of the *Spira Livy* of 1470, UPON VELLUM,* might, in its destructive course, have shattered to atoms the trunk in which a set of these India-paper proofs were preserved!

LISARDO. Horrible thought! Such a cannon must have been fired by the deadliest foe to the Bibliomania. But proceed, I entreat——

PHILEMON. Whither? You forget the preliminaries of our discussion. I cannot take you, like Shakspeare's Puck, or Milton's Satan, over bog, heath, moor, and mountain—but must here pause: that is, my researches into this department of book-engravings must terminate. We have yet a world of variety and of interest to visit. Grant me only patience and free will to do as I please, and —

LORENZO. Before you proceed further, pray indulge a propensity, which I feel just now pretty strongly, to become acquainted with the progress of the graphic art in the earlier impressions of the *Ancient Classics*?

PHILEMON. Much do I regret that such an investigation

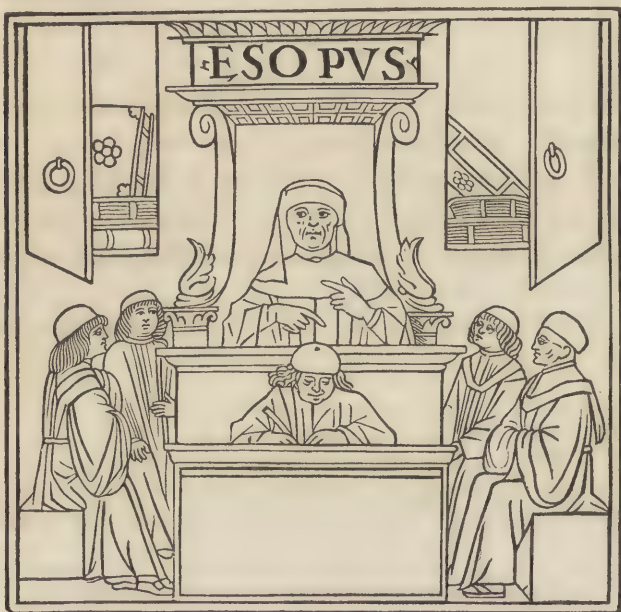
* the *Spira Livy* of 1470, upon vellum.] The late Mr. James Edwards made the following memorandum, in pencil, upon the margin of a large paper copy of the second edition of my '*Introduction to the Classics*'—in the place to which it appertained—p. 226. 'At the siege of Lyons, in the Revolution, the copy of the *Spira Livy* of 1470, upon vellum, (which had belonged to the public library there, and was restored to it upon the death of the Duke de la Valliere) was struck by a cannon-ball, which tore one of the volumes most unmercifully.'

demands more leisure and learning than it has been in my power to bestow upon it. And yet, on second thoughts, it strikes me that the subject is not of very arduous treatment:—for what is there, deserving the name of art, till we come to the *Valturius* of 1472? * One of the old Italian Classics, *Dante*, had comparatively ample justice done him in the Florence edition of 1481; but after *Valturius* (if you will permit me to call him a Classic) we have absolutely nothing worthy of mention till we come to the *Æsop* of 1479, executed at the same place with the former, namely at Verona; and again at *Venice* in 1490 and 1497—each of these three impressions containing the Italian poetical version of Zucchi. The Ulm edition, in Latin and German, has sometimes good bold representations of the apologues of that earliest and greatest of heathen moralists; but the Venice impression of 1490 † exceeds all that preceded it in

* *The Valturius of 1472.*] A copious and particular account of this interesting volume, with numerous specimens of the style of art contained in it, will be found in the *Bibl. Spenceriana*, vol. iv. p. 44-54. The same may be said of the *DANTE* of 1481 (vol. iv. p. 108-115) and of the *Æsop* printed at Verona and at Ulm: vol. i. p. 229-243. Respecting the *Valturius*, it will be seen, from the pages of the Spencerian Catalogue, that a copy of that work, UPON VELLUM, stood a chance of enriching the library there described. My friend Sir M. M. Sykes is the fortunate owner of SUCH A COPY; and what is rather singular, although the last leaf, but one, be *upon paper*, yet from the direction of the worm-holes through that, and the succeeding and last leaf, it is quite evident that this paper leaf must have been of a pretty ancient date—as the perforations in each leaf exactly correspond with one another. Between the prefatory matter or table, and text, there are two blank vellum leaves; apparently of the age of the book. Sir Mark's copy is a large and fine one, but the beautiful printing of Jenson, of the Spiras, or of J. de Colonia, is wanting to give the pages a thoroughly bewitching aspect!

† *the Venice impression of 1490.*] The cuts in this impression were repeated in that of 1497, printed at the same place. Lord Spencer possesses a beautiful copy of this latter; (*Bibl. Spen.* vol. iv. p. 435) but the fac-similes above given are taken from a copy of the edition of 1490, in the possession of Sir M. M. Sykes, Bart.

freedom of design and delicacy of execution. We will first examine the central compartment of the frontispiece. There is tolerably good grouping in what you here behold. It seems resolved, however, that 'the good Æsop' should always be made ludicrously deformed; and accordingly you see him here with a *head* which would have suited a man whose stature might have reached to the top of the canopy under which he sits. The *Scribe* and *Auditors* are rather skilfully designated.



Let us next extend our admiration over a wider surface. The whole of what is here presented to you is well worthy of commendation. The subject is '*The Thief marrying the Woman.*' The figures are a little too short; while, in the Verona impression, there is a pretty group of rustics dancing in the back-ground—but the purity of taste in the arabesque border which surrounds it makes ample amends for every other deficiency.



The ensuing forms a quiet and not inelegant contrast. The female has quite the air and costume of a Grecian character.



I should be glad to know which of us could ward off the troublesome insect here introduced in a more graceful manner? Admit, however, that the gentleman is rather clumsily built.



In these specimens you may recognise something of the style of art which pervades the *Hypnerotomachia* or *Poliphilo*—

LISARDO. Cannot you touch upon that enchanting book?

PHILEMON. Surely there has been enough, and more than enough, lately said about that extraordinary volume—which has been described to repletion. I must pass it over.

LISARDO. Nay, but one specimen or so?*

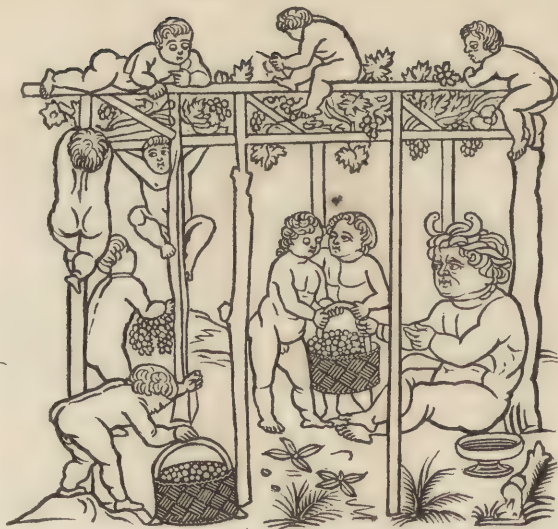
PHILEMON. You forget my authority, which is absolute. I am inflexible:—and must further remark, respecting the classical volumes of the fifteenth century, that less of skill and of taste appear to have been devoted to *them* than to

* *but one specimen or so.*] As Philemon may possibly be thought to exercise his authority a little too rigidly, in not granting Lisardo the indulgence which he solicits, the reader may not be displeased if greater courtesy be shewn in this subjoined note. Not however that I wish to make a thread-bare exposition of the *Hypnerotomachia*: for after what appears in the *Bibl. Spenceriana*, vol. iv. p. 145-165, it does seem little short of insanity to bring forward any further specimens of art from that common, but enchanting, volume. Deign, however, virtù-loving reader, to cast thine eyes upon the pretty fac-similes which are here submitted.



other works; although I cannot refrain from awarding the due meed of praise to the decorations which appear in the Strasbourg editions of *Terence*, *Horace*, *Boethius*, and *Virgil*,

The preceding forms the central compartment within a large cut surrounded by an arabesque border, in perfect taste, on *r ii recto*. The circular ornament below, placed above the group of young bacchanals, is taken from *h vij*, reverse, and is full of beauty. As to the infantine group round the young Bacchus, with its accompaniments, (on *l iiiii*, recto) the whole has so joyous and appropriate an air, that I can readily anticipate the approbation of the tasteful for its insertion in the present place.



of the dates of 1496, 1498, 1501, and 1503—from the press Gurningier.* The style of art, however, in these publications is generally feeble and coarse; and their chief interest consists in a display of the costume of the times of the printer. A few groups from the Breydenbach of 1486 are worth the whole of them.

LORENZO. Did you never meet with a *French Breydenbach* of 1488, with copper-plate illustrations? †

* *Strasbourg Editions*—[from the press of Gurningier.] All the works above specified are in the same style of art; and that style is sufficiently exhibited in the second volume of the *Bibl. Spenceriana*, pp. 87-95; 426-438. The Boethius of 1501, and the Virgil of 1503, equally display the same disproportion of design, and looseness of style of engraving. There is something, however, rather surprising and interesting, that such a profusion of labour and expense should have been devoted to all the impressions above mentioned; and it is certainly a little unaccountable, that no Historian or Poet of antiquity was made the subject of graphic embellishment till so late a period. The pages of the work just referred to exhibit sufficient evidence of the meritorious execution of numerous embellishments of other, miscellaneous, authors, during the xvth century.

† *French Breydenbach* of 1488, with copper-plate illustrations? The doubtful manner in which I had mentioned these supposed copper-plate embellishments, in a note in the *Bibl. Spencer.* vol. iii. p. 219, attracted the attention of Monsieur Brunet—author of a bibliographical work too well known to be here specifically mentioned, and which has entitled him to the hearty thanks of posterity. In consequence of my having observed that he had ‘made a strange mistake in supposing that some of the larger views of the towns were engraved upon copper,’ he was pleased, in two successive letters to me, to enter upon a defence of that position, and to justify his own inference with a pertinacity very natural and very commendable in a writer who has so much reputation to lose:—not however that the point was of great importance in itself. In his second letter, of the date of July 10, 1814, he gives a particular description of the Lyons edition of 1488; and the recently lucky discovery of a copy of this date, by Lord Spencer himself, among his book-treasures at Althorp, has enabled me to impugn Mons. Brunet’s observations with a tolerable degree of confidence.

Monsieur Brunet justly remarks that the Lyons impression of 1488, in French, is not a literal version of the Mentz edition of 1486: that however the arrangement of the chapters may be the same, the ornaments in each faithfully copied, and the *substratum* of the text nearly similar, yet the translator has often added from his own stock of materials. This impression therefore must be distinguished from the subsequent French edition of 1489, (in all probability *also* printed at

PHILEMON. Never; nor does such a work exist. With 'wood-cut' illustrations, if you please, dear Lorenzo; but no

Lyons, though no name of place be subjoined) which is unquestionably a literal version of the original Mentz edition of 1486; and in which the cuts *are* precisely the same. My valuable correspondent adds, that the large cuts of the towns, &c. in the copy of the edition of 1488, which was sold at the Roxburghe sale (see *Bibl. Roxburgh.* no. 7259) for the extravagant sum of 84*l.* must have contained those said cuts from the edition of 1489—which were used in several editions; and he concludes this pleasant controversy in the following manner: 'J'ai vendu moi-même, il y a une douzaine d'années, dans une vente publique, un exemplaire de l'édition de 1488 imparfait des cartes, et rien n'aura empêché qu'on ne l'ait complété aussi de cette manière. Enfin, Monsieur, avez vous besoin d'une preuve bien certaine que les cartes de l'édition de 1488 ne sont pas les mêmes que celles des éditions de Mayence? Je vais vous la donner. La grande carte de la terre sainte, où se voit Jerusalem, porte dans les éditions d'Allemagne et dans l'édition de 1489, les noms de lieu, et les explications *en latin*, tandis que dans l'édition française de 1488, ces mêmes mots de texte sont *en française*: d'après cet éclaircissement, voyez, Monsieur, si vous persistez dans vos conclusions!'

There is an air of good-humoured gaiety, and of triumph, in Monsieur Brunet's conclusion, which I should be sorry to damp, or to convert into defeat: but I am obstinate or infatuated enough still 'to persist' in my own inferences. And first—dispassionate reader—how comes it to pass that the *smaller* cuts, in the impression of 1488, are not *also upon copper*? That they are not, is unquestionable. They are however fresh designs and fresh engravings—not the blocks of the Mentz edition used a second or third time—and are very close and faithful copies of the embellishments in the same edition. Secondly, why, if the same work were printed at the same place, in the succeeding year, should the publisher of the latter impression go to the expense of having large views of towns, &c. cut upon blocks of *wood*, when the same embellishments had already appeared *upon copper* the preceding year? There is, I think, a *prima facie* presumption against this latter conclusion; but there is *irrefragable* evidence that it cannot be correct, because these larger cuts, in the impression of 1488, are *REALLY AND TRULY EXECUTED UPON WOOD*—and the eyes of Messieurs Brunet and Heineken have been equally deceived in this particular. As to the *variations* mentioned by my correspondent, these may be easily accounted for. Such variations are readily made in wood—by cutting out, and stopping up—(or *pegging*, as *our* technical phrase is) as my own experience in these matters has frequently proved. Let the reader examine pages 68 and 96-7: there, an aperture in the block made room for the metal types introduced—and if an aperture be effected, that vacuum may surely be supplied by materials either of wood or of metal. May I now, therefore, give 'the retort courteous' to my worthy correspondent—and say, 'voyez, Monsieur, si vous persistez dans vos conclusions?'

copper-plates. To return however. Leaving classical ground, and regretting that we have no early *Livy* or *Cæsar*——

LISARDO. You appear to have forgotten a work, which also received abundance of embellishment—the *Navis Stultifera* of Sebastian Brandt.

PHILEMON. It had not escaped me; but the same reason which compels me to say nothing, here, of the *Poliphilo*, also induces me to take no notice of the work which you mention: namely, because it has already and lately received a sufficiently copious illustration;* and copies of it begin now, like insects when drawn forth by warmth from their crannies, to lie upon every bookseller's shelf and upon every book-auctioneer's table. Again therefore I must resume the despotic authority with which you have invested me; and Master Brandt is

* *already and lately received a sufficiently-copious illustration.*] See *Bibl. Spenceriana*, vol. iii. p. 203-214. Philemon seems still to retain his shy or churlish feelings in respect to the gratification of Lisardo's wishes. I shall therefore continue the 'courteous' strain held forth in a preceding note; and again endeavour to amuse the reader by a farewell specimen from the work above mentioned. First, admit the spirit and point with which the ensuing is represented:—



not 'the youth for my money' at the present moment. We will therefore step over the threshold which divides the xvth from the xvith century, and enter at once upon some of the more extraordinary productions of the art of engraving as seen in books of this precise period.

Hark! methinks I hear the tramping of horses' feet:—the clangor of the war-trumpet, the groans of the dying, and the shouts of the victorious! See the banners, how they float in the air! How the light from the helmet or cuirass flashes across the field!—and now observe the stately march

Where shall we find a pair of ass's ears better placed than upon this figure? the whole of which is most admirably conceived and executed.



We have next almost the drivelling idiot: forgetting that 'a bird in the hand

of the conquerors, the nodding of the plumes, and the harvest of spears that stand thick and glittering around! The magnificent volume which has given rise to these reflections, or to this imagery, is now before us—and is commonly known by the name of TEWRDANCKHS.* It is a

is worth two in the bush.' The cunning animals cry out 'to-morrow'—and 'the Fool' is dolt enough to conceive that they will then come to him!



* commonly known by the name of *Tewrdanckhs*] After the labours of Koeler, Vogt, Fournier, De Bure, Gruber, and more especially of Camus, little remains to be done in illustration of the singular and splendid volume above mentioned by Philemon. Let it however be premised that Lambecius had thus noticed it in his

folio volume, in poetry, of the date of 1517; commemorating the martial exploits of the Emperor MAXIMILIAN I. Almost every page is embellished, as you observe, with a spirited

Comment. De Bibl. Cæs. Vind. lib. ii. c. cccxxii. (vol. ii. col. 897. Edit. Kollarii.)

'Volumina quatuor germanica chartacea in folio, quibus continentur Adversaria Historiæ rhythmicæ variorum periculorum Imp. Maximiliani I., vernaculo sermone DER TEWARDANCK inscriptæ; cujus etiam perfectum aliquod exemplar in Augustissima Bibliotheca Cæsarea adservatur, quod Norimbergæ typis Joannis Schönspergeri A. 1517. in membrana impressum, et multis elegantissimis Imaginibus colorat's mirifice exornatum est.' Subsequent writers (enumerated by the preceding authorities) have also directly, or indirectly, treated of it. The last edition of Koeler's *Disquisitio De Inclito Libro Poetico Theverdanck*, 1790, 4to. with the notes of Hummel, as well as the interesting Memoir of Camus (*Mémoires de l'Institut*, vol. iii. p. 170-211) upon the same volume—are now before me; and to both these latter the attention of the curious must be more particularly directed. The notice of Gruber will be found in the second part or volume of the *Specimen Bibliothecæ Germaniæ Austriacæ* of Vogel, p. 435-444. 1783, 8vo. From these, united, we may remark: first as to the name of the work—*Tewerdancks*. This is a feigned name for the Emperor Maximilian: see Koeler, p. 6; and the diverting note thereto appending. Secondly, as to the author of the work: Lambecius mentions this work, with several others, 'ab ipso Imp. Maximiliano I. prosa oratione compositum'—and Camus observes that there is 'in the Imperial Library a packet of 48 leaves which contain the first 74 chapters of Tewerdanck, written in the hand of the Emperor himself, with many and different erasures of parts of the printed text; and in another parcel, are the designs for the cuts destined to adorn the impression. This is said upon the authority of Khauz and Hummel. Koeler, however, duly considers the relative weight of what has been advanced upon the subject of the authorship, and gives it to the Emperor's Secretary, MELCHIOR PFINTZING—although the Emperor himself may have suggested the plan, or even composed a small portion of the verses. Camus adds: 'ce sentiment me paroît raisonnable.' Such was the courtly complaisance of some foreign antiquary, that in the Rhediger copy of the edition of 1517, at Wratistlaw, the Emperor is said, in a ms. memorandum, to have 'also engraved the cuts!' Upon which Hummel (in his notes to Koeler) with almost equal courtesy observes, '*Delineatas esse* [ab ipso Maximiliano] *dicere debuisset!*' We have yet to learn, I believe, that the Emperor Maximilian ever *drew* anything but his sword!

In the third place, as to the printer, and the impressions of the work. The printer was unquestionably HANSEN SCHOENSPERGER; and however the word 'Nuremberg' may be inserted in the colophon of the first edition, of the date of 1517, it is the opinion of Koeler, and of Camus, that the work was absolutely printed at *Augsbourg*: the word 'Nuremberg' having been inserted purely out

wood-cut; and if we allow Maximilian himself to have been the inventor of the work, Pfintzing the author of the text, Schoensperger the printer of it, and Schaeufelin the artist

of compliment to Pfintzing, who was provost of that city at the time of the publication. Moreover, the second edition has expressly the word 'Augsbourg' in the colophon; and we know that Schoensperger printed in this latter city from the year 1481, regularly, and never had a printing-office at Nuremberg. Panzer and Heummel join in this latter conclusion; but Breitkopf thinks it more probable that the first edition was executed at Nuremberg, as the Emperor resided there about the time of its appearance. It is true (as Camus remarks) that the word *Augsbourg* is introduced in the colophon of the copy belonging to De Boze; but this is probably too summarily inserted to be relied upon. See *Bibl. De Boze*, p. 145-6, folio edition of the first edition, 1745. In regard to the impressions of the work, those of 1517 and 1519 are chiefly and exclusively desirable; the re-impressions of 1537, 1553, 1564, 1589, each in folio; and 1596, 8vo—as well as those of 1679 and 1693 folio (the two latter under the care of Schultz, an engraver at Ulm—but upon which Koeler pronounces a most indignant criticism; see p. 31, 2) being inferior both in purity of text, and splendor of embellishment. Read Camus upon their varieties, and consult Brunet (*Manuel du Libraire*, vol. iii. p. 319) as to what constitutes a perfect copy of the FIRST EDITION; which we find to consist in having two sets of signatures: namely, a to z, and A to P: each in eights—except d, i, o, r, v, z; C, F, I, M, O, which have only 6 leaves each—and P 7. At the end are 8 leaves, on signature A, containing a key or summary of the poem, and an Index—with the colophon as given by all the bibliographers.

A perfect copy of this first edition, PRINTED UPON VELLUM, ennobles the shelves of the Althorp library. It is without a stain; and, more enviable felicity! without a coloured cut. All is fresh and joyous and magnificent throughout. Let Koeler revel in his luxuriant descriptions of three coloured copies, printed upon vellum, in certain foreign libraries—(his words are so tempting I can scarce forbear transcribing them—see p. 30) it will never be the smallest diminution of gratification to the Noble Owner of the Althorp copy, that our brave friends SCHOENSPERGER and SCHAEUFELIN stand in their native genuine attire, within the red-morocco surtout of that delicious tome! No meretricious, flickering hues—no half-faded purple and decomposed white, and flaunting yellow—but downright black ink, and white paper—producing an effect at once, sharp, clear, rich, and perfect: and yet, full of colour, full of expression, and full of character! A beautiful copy of this first edition, upon paper, is in the library of my friend Mr. G. Hibbert; and another is in that of Mr. Douce. This latter friend will, I trust, shortly furnish the bibliographical world with his promised 'notices' of the Tewerdancks of 1517, and 1519.

In the fourth place, as to Schaeufelin the unquestionable engraver of the cuts,

by whom the designs and engravings were executed, we may be said to state the outline of the subject in a very fair manner. You are not however to imagine that the martial exploits of Maximilian, which gave rise to these spirited representations, did not also give birth to *other* similar exhibitions—connected with his own achievements. Lisardo, as I expected, has quickly taken the hint: for see, what a huge folio volume he is opening—as corroborative of the foregoing observation! Those immense wood-cuts are intended to give a general representation of the conquest and triumph of the arms of this mighty Emperor.* What magnificence,

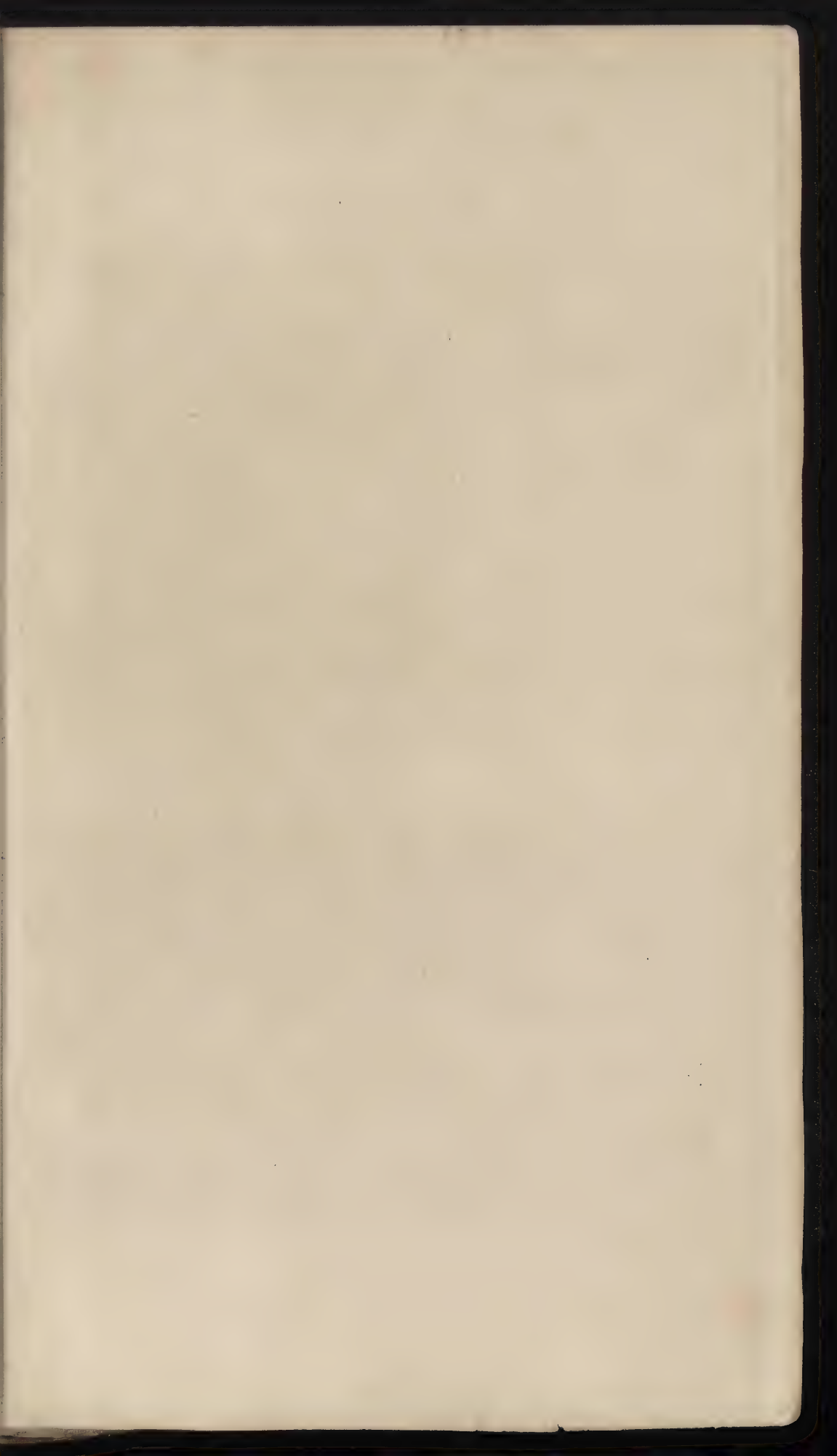
Papillon and Huber may be consulted (especially the former, vol. i. p. 106-8-147) to some advantage. In the catalogue of De Boze, Albert Durer is erroneously said to have engraved them. They are, in the whole, 118 in number. Of the book itself, Huber well remarks—‘que les plus fameuses bibliothèques se font honneur d’en posséder un exemplaire.’ *Manuel*, &c. vol. i. p. 147. Koeler concludes his Disquisition with ‘an epilogue shewing the utility of this book’—as affording peculiar gratification in the several branches of history, moral philosophy, and philology.’ See p. 32-3. Mr. Lang possesses an extraordinary copy of a *ms. fac-simile* of the entire work; executed with a pen and India ink.

* *representation of the conquest and triumph of the arms of the Emperor.*] An interesting little history might be written respecting the graphic decorations which the EMPEROR MAXIMILIAN caused to have executed for the illustration of his own exploits; and the obvious conclusion to be drawn, from such a profusion of materials collected, is, either that the Emperor was much in love with the *fine arts*, or with—*himself*. Common charity induces us to draw the first, and a knowledge of human nature inclines us to draw the second, conclusion. Be it either way: most certain it is, that the shelves of the Imperial library were well loaded, in the time of Lambecius, with drawings, engravings, and papers, relating to the aforesaid Emperor; and beyond all doubt of a contemporaneous period. Read Lambecius; vol. ii. col. 894-898. The work which Lambecius calls *Der Weise Kunig*, (‘The Wise King’) and which he says ‘is in every respect worthy of being made public by the press,’ was in fact published at Vienna, in 1775, in folio. Mr. Ottley however possesses the singular treasure of a few of these cuts struck off upon the reverses of certain state-paper documents, or summonses for appearances before the Emperor, printed at Inspruck, in a small black letter, as early as the year 1500; this date being expressly mentioned in the documents. These impressions are beautifully clear and brilliant. The work, as printed at Vienna, contains 237 wood-cuts, after the designs of the celebrated

variety, and richness of outline and detail! What freedom and correctness both of drawing and engraving!—Such are the dazzling attendants upon war—the captivating accompaniments of successful conquest. Banners, and gay clothing, and

HANS BURGMAIR—a contemporary of Wolgemut, Durer, and Schaeufelin; and the wonder may be, how these large blocks of wood had preserved their original state of perfection during a course of at least 250 years! Lambecius has given a fac-simile of the frontispiece, upon copper; but unsuccessfully. Copies of this ‘enigmatical work’ (as Lambecius styles it) are by no means of rare occurrence.

We now come to notice the work above mentioned by Philemon. In the year 1783 Gruber had thus spoken of it: ‘Nunc alter historiam Maximiliani mirum in modum illustrans liber, inscriptus: *Triumpf*, seu quam plurimis nitidissimis figuris distincta descriptio triumphi, quem Maximilianus Imperator in honorem et memoriam rerum a se gestarum haberi voluit, ex Cod. MS. Bibl. Cæs., sub eodem Viennensi prelo sudare dicitur. Verumtamen (adds Gruber) optanda et editori et typographo maior, quam in priore adhibita fuit, sollicitudo et adcuratio, ut tam sumptuosum, tamque nobilis materiæ, opus cum dignitate in publicum emittatur.’ *Spec. Bibl. Germ. Austr.* vol. ii. p. 437. It is clear, from this observation, that Gruber was unacquainted with the existence of impressions of these wood-cut ornaments as old even as the time of the Emperor himself. My friend Mr. Ottley (whose rarities of this description are almost beyond number and price) possesses a *suite of original impressions*, probably as old as those of the ‘Weise König,’ just noticed; but at any rate contemporaneous with the Emperor Maximilian—who, in all probability, had a few sets struck off for his own gratification. Bartsch, who in his *Peintre Gravure*, vol. vii. p. 229—240, is copious and interesting upon this production, tells us that ‘the Imperial Library was already in possession of 90 of these ancient impressions, before even their existence was known.’ Mariette had 87 of them; which were sold at the sale of his Prints (*Cat. de Mariette*, p. 406, no. 1402) for 720 livres. Mr. Ottley possesses more than either of these numbers. Since the time of Mariette, however, 40 additional original blocks were discovered at the castle of Ambras, near Inspruck. It should be observed that Sandrart had seen a few of these original impressions, and had supposed that the blocks had perished in a fire at Augsbourg. The fruits of the more recent discoveries appeared at Vienna in an oblong imperial folio in 1796; but it is due, I believe, to an *English* antiquary, of a reputation too confirmed to stand in need of my humble eulogy (I mean Mr. Douce), to state, that it was owing to his knowledge of the existence of the blocks, and his entreaty to have impressions of them made public, that the late Mr. J. Edwards (with his usual love of the fine arts), engaged, when abroad, in conjunction with Bartsch, to have a number of copies for his own disposal. Of these, I learn, that only two were printed UPON VELLUM; one of which is in the library of Sir M.





FAC-SIMILE of the 36th Cut of the TRIUMPH



THE EMPEROR MAXIMILIAN. *See p. 205.*

‘spirit-stirring’ music:—the stately march, the loud shout, and eager gaze and vehement acclamation of admiring multitudes! You have every thing of the kind in this marvellous tome.

Ah, my Lorenzo!—contrast these with the virtuous and heartfelt delight which we should all have enjoyed from

M. Sykes, Bart. at Sledmere. It was purchased at a sale in 1804 for 105 guineas. It should be added, that *Burgmair* was the designer of these subjects, (135 in number), and perhaps the engraver of a few of them.

This sumptuous volume is at present exceedingly common in our own country, and of a very limited price. The prefatory matter is in German and French, and few shelves are made of dimensions sufficient to hold such a cumbrous tome. The cuts in it are really extraordinary, and of a size quite gigantic for the material upon which they were executed. Coming all together, as they do, without the intervention of text, they lose considerably their due effect; but in a volume of 500 pages of text, any *three* of them would be sufficient to delight and astonish the reader. The ACCOMPANYING FAC-SIMILE forms the 36th cut; and is executed on *one piece of box-wood*; (Bartsch says the original blocks are of *pear-tree*) being, I presume, nearly unequalled for its dimensions in the exercise of modern art. It will be observed that the spaces are *much choked*, as was the original—it having been executed upon a thick vellum paper; whereas, in impressions upon browner and thinner paper, the execution appears more delicate and finished. The freedom and spirit of the *design*—in all these splendid exhibitions of ancient art—are quite admirable.

Before I conclude the subject of large blocks of wood, introduced as graphic decorations to printed books, let me only remind the reader of the spacious dimensions of those cuts which accompany the reprint of *Rastell's Chronicle*, of the date of 1811, 4to: being fac-similes of the portraits of the kings in the original impression. That reprint was executed by Mr. Joseph Harding; and I have preserved rather a curious letter which he sent to me during the progress of it. It should be premised that the blocks were of *apple tree*:

Dear Sir,

I send you the proof which contains the *first portrait* of the Kings, but the blocks are in such a deplorably wretched state, from having been cut upon soft wood, without having been bound with brass, that they have warped and cracked into all shapes but those of square or flat; so that we are obliged to saw away *half an inch* in some instances (vid. separate proofs of Wm. I. and Hen. IV.) to bring the block square;—and to insert glue and saw-dust into crevices, and cut the surface again to render the impression complete. As this process cannot be done till the last moment before the blocks are *locked up* for press, lest they again return to their imperfect state, you will perhaps trust us for doing our utmost to render them complete.

I am, &c.

JOSEPH HARDING.

the execution of those works of art and of peace which monarchs have it so frequently in their power to promote. The same genius, whose pencil has done such wonders for the *military* costume, might doubtless have produced almost equal admiration in the embellishment of *civil* life. Gaze as fondly as you please, Lisardo, at yonder fine battle-piece of *Bourguignone*—but let me draw the attention of Lysander and the ladies to this lovely landscape of *Lorraine*! The shepherd here pipes his evening song: the labourers retire homewards: the departing sun-beams grow fainter and fainter, and seem to sleep upon the lake: and the shades of evening are stealing upon the lengthened visto, where the man of study just rises from his finished lecture!—But I am wandering. Do not yet close this first edition of your favourite Tewrdancks, without giving a guess whether the text be executed by means of blocks of wood, or moveable metal types? For my own part, I incline to the opinion that it is the result of the latter operation: but shall not quarrel violently with those who embrace a different opinion.

I have just observed that the publications which relate to the exploits of Maximilian are very numerous. Yet I know of few representations of that Emperor, in the form of an engraving upon wood, which strike us in a more formidable manner than what we observe in this thin and brilliant

* *whether the text be executed by means of blocks of wood, or moveable metal types.*] Vogt, Fournier, and Papillon, thought it impossible that such an effect, as we observe in the text of this work, of the dates of 1517 and 1519, could be produced in any other way than by blocks of wood; and I own they have 'shewn cause,' why it should not be otherwise, in a very ingenious and satisfactory manner. *Catal. Libror. Rar.* p. 842, edit. 1793: *L'Art de graver en Bois*, 1758, p. 73-4. *De La Gravure en Bois*, vol. i. p. 106-8: p. 147-8. Camus, on the contrary, and supported by rather a masterly 'exposé,' concludes such effect could not have been produced *but by metal types*. He has given two fac-similes, upon copper, of the original text; and upon the whole I declare myself a *Camusite* upon this momentous typographical question.

volume of graphic decoration: taken from the designs, by Albert Durer, for the *Triumphal Arch of Maximilian*.*



* the triumphal arch of Maximilian.] This work (says Mr. Ottley) is composed, according to Bartsch, of no less than 92 engraved blocks, of various dimensions;

Examine, for a minute, the splendid cut of the same Emperor and his consort, which faces this whole length portrait. The freedom of the cross-hatching in the back-ground gives it all the spirit of a pen and ink drawing. Battles, in endless variety, succeed—but gaze a moment upon the complicated and bloody struggle which *this* decoration exhibits!



which, when joined together, form one print, of the prodigious size of eleven feet and one quarter in height, by nearly ten feet in width. It was entirely engraved from the designs, and under the superintendence of Albert Durer, with the exception of one small block, which Albert, it appears, did not live to see finished. An old copy of this work entire, is of the greatest rarity; but small compartments of it are not unfrequently to be met with separately. These pieces measure six inches and seven eighths in height, by five and three quarters in width. Two of

Away with such scenes of slaughter!—Yet a word before these martial subjects are entirely dismissed: for I must remark to you that the *German School of Art* is prodigal beyond description in productions of this character, about the period of which we are treating. Thus, in the *Cæsar* of 1532, and *Livy* of 1538, each printed in the German language,* (from the press of Schoeffer) we observe a number of wood-cuts (frequently repeated in the same volume, and some of them common to *both* translations) which display almost equal spirit with what are seen in the earlier engravings in the works relating to Maximilian the First. Look at the following, from the *Cæsar* of 1532: and, first, observe how cautiously these knights are pricking

the blocks bear date 1515, which Bartsch thinks was the year in which the work was commenced. *Origin and Early Progress of Engraving*, &c. vol. ii. p. 734. A portion of this performance (being the first 24 cuts) is in Lord Spencer's collection.

The cut, given at page 207, follows the title, and is surrounded chiefly by implements of war; a greyhound being to the left of the figure, and a book before it. A bird is flying close to the point of the sword, and on the other side, being the right hand upper corner of the cut, are four compasses. Above the cut are the following verses:

Got hat sein gnad an im ertzaigt
 Dann er zu frumkeit was genaigt
 Geschickt zu ritterlichem schertz
 Dartzu stund im sein mut vnd hertz
 Das fing er an in seiner iugent
 Darin er wuchs mit grosser tugent

This inscription is upon a scroll, and there can be no doubt that the letters (a little larger or thicker than those of the text of the *Tewrdancks*, but precisely of the same character) are cut upon wood. The fac-simile, given in the preceding page, is taken from the lower part of the cut upon the 7th leaf. Some of the cuts have figures between five and six inches in height, accompanied by elaborate back-grounds, and are in the finest style of Burgmair's execution.

* *printed in the German language.*] There was a sumptuous edition of a version of *Livy*, in the German language, published at Frankfort upon the Maine in 1571, folio; containing more elaborate cuts than those in the above-mentioned edition, but upon the whole, not more spirited or interesting.

their way in the forest; just having left their castle-gate. They seem to be anticipating 'the ambushed foe.'



There is both grace and dignity in these warriors—who seem to be meeting to spare the further effusion of human blood; or who, if in alliance to prosecute the same cause, appear at least to be upon very good terms with each other.



I am perfectly persuaded that these cuts are executed by one and the same artist, who probably also designed them upon wood—and I wish Mr. Ottley or Mr. Douce, or some other erudite graphic antiquary, would give us a disquisition upon that peculiar school of art from which they may be said to have issued. But, to the volume before us.—Belinda must not be too much shocked at the ensuing representation of an assault—in which the besieged seem to have little chance of effectual resistance. This piece may be said to be done to the life!



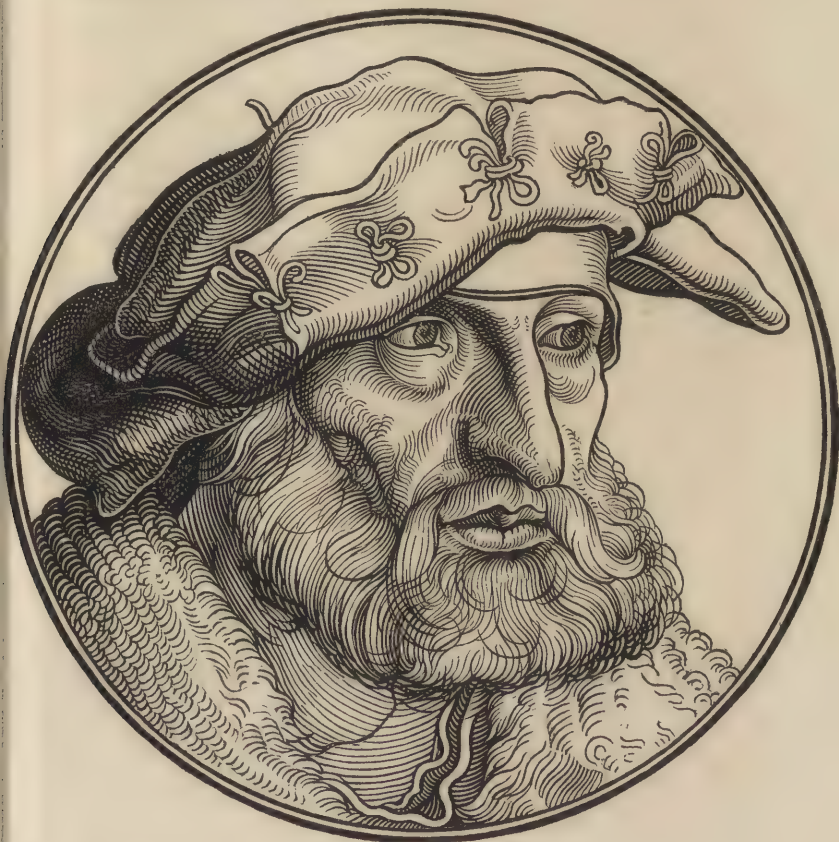
The town is taken; and mark with what a strut and swell the two musicians follow in the train of the conquerors. That *fifer* quite wins my heart!



I must really put away these terrific volumes, and strive to entertain you by productions of a different description: but before we take our farewell of *German Versions of the Classics*, look, Lisardo, for half a minute, at the spirited engravings which are crowded into this small folio, entitled the *Offices of Cicero*! * Although the date be 1540, there can be no doubt that the engravings are of an earlier period, and that they may be found in several other productions. Few ornaments in the volume have so much expression as that of the portrait of the Patron and Corrector of the

* entitled the *Offices of Cicero*.] ‘Officia M. T. C. Ein Buch—So Marcus Tullius Cicero der Römer, zü seyem Sune Marco, von den tugentsamen ämptern, vnd zügehörungen, eines wol vnd recht lebenden menschen, inn Latein geschribenn, Wöllich auff begere, Herren Johansenn vonn Swartzenbergs, &c. verteütschet, Vnd volgends, Durch jne, inn zierlichers Hochteütsch gebracht, Mit vil figuren, vnd Teütschen Reümen, gemaynem nutz zü güt, inn Truck gegeben worden.’ We learn from the preface that the first impression of the translation

translation, JOHANNES FREYHERR ZU SCHWARTZENBERG, (copied from an original of Albert Durer) who was probably an ancestor of the illustrious Austrian General, of the same name, whose recent deeds have made so strong an impression upon the memory of his countrymen.



was completed in 1530; the present is probably the second impression of it. Most of the designs are those of Hans Burgmair; his initials are in the cut on the recto of fol. LXXVIII. The initials H W are in the cut on the reverse of fol. LXXIII: but neither Christ nor Bartsch satisfy us respecting the name of the artist for whom these initials are intended. On the reverse of fol. xci is the colophon; mentioning the book to have been printed at Augsbourg

Animals, landscapes, quiet or agitated scenes, are touched with the same intelligence and spirit; and the exhibition of *The dancing Bear*,* on the reverse of folio xxxiii, confirms the truth of the wise man's remark, that 'there is nothing new beneath the sun.' I know you will be all gratified by this merry morceau; although *Bruin* hath rather a sombre physiognomy.

As somewhat connected with the foregoing specimens, and before we bid entirely adieu to martial bustle or splendid equipments, let me just open a little volume in the class of ROMANCES—ycleped *Don Flores de Grece*;† and let me single out for your approbation this contest between two knights!—They go to work in right earnest.



in December 1540. My own copy was purchased of Mr. R. Triphook, for 2*l.* 2*s.* It had received a submarine soaking.

* See the OPPOSITE FAC-SIMILE.

† ycleped *Don Flores de Grece*.] The title is thus: 'La Cronique dv tres Vaillant et Redovté dom Flores de Grece, surnommé le Cheualier des Cignes, Second filz d'Esplandian, Empereur de Constantinople, &c. Mise en Francoys, par le Seigneur des Essars Nicolas de Herberay, Commissaire ordinaire en Partillerie. &c. A Anvers, Chés Iean Waesberghe, &c. M.D.LXI. 4to. There is a privilege for exclusive sale at the back of the title. The upper part of the compartment of the wood cut, in which the title is placed, is of extraordinary beauty



Would you wish to see the representation of *dubbing a Knight*? Methinks it is well expressed in the following; wherein the grouping is good and the expression graceful.*



Now observe the proper fruits of chivalry and knight-hood. See how courteously the 'preux chevalier' approaches the lady of his choice, to receive his spear at her hands, and whom he is resolved to win by his prowess! And the fair

and merit; and the italic letter, in which the table is printed, is equally neat and elegant. My romance-loving friends will give me a terrible scolding for not exploring with curious eyes all the *Launcelots* and *Arthurs* that ever were printed, for the sake of further embellishments:—but I am here only a traveller—or pattern-shewer. Yet let them look to the *Biblioth. Spenceriana*, vol. iv. p. 405-9; and, if they will, to the prettily-executed wood-cuts in the German translation of *Amadis de Gaul*, published at Frankfort upon the Maine in 1583, folio. Where the impressions are not blurred, the effect is very pleasing: but all these cuts are much too small for the tremendously-voluminous pages in which they are introduced.

* The reader will observe the same mark or monogram, in the centre of the engraving, of which mention is made at p. 41, ante. A representation of the same subject ('ordaining a knight of Chivalry') is given at page 341 of the first volume of the *Typographical Antiquities*—from the French publication of Monsieur Barbazan. There is more spirit in the above.

dame, too, hath a right comely aspect and modest air in parting with the same spear !



Generally speaking, the Romances of the xvith century do not exhibit much felicity of graphic embellishment. Historical, miscellaneous, or facetious publications—

LISARDO. Pray indulge us with an account of these *facetiae*—in the way of early art.

PHILEMON. I anticipated this question on the part of Lisardo ; but if a month be scarcely adequate to do justice to the account of early engraving, as connected with sacred subjects, what a period must be devoted to that which had a wider range of circulation, by having touched upon the more popular subjects of *Drolleries* and *Extravagances* ! No—I will be brief only ; but in this brevity will mention two books of very different complexions, and which you may examine at your leisure. One of them is a sort of serio-comic production : the very title of which—and yet more the title-page—will cause Almansa and Belinda to prick up their ears, and palpitate with apprehension !..What have we here ? LE LIVRE DE LA DIABLERIE ! The frontispiece makes one start aghast !



The author, whose name was 'Eloy Damernal,' is made to take down, in short hand, the reports delivered to Lucifer by Satan. You observe the work is written in old French poetry,* and has every black-letter charm of recommendation. The plan of the poem is shrewdly conceived. Lucifer

* *it is written in old French poetry.*] I could almost find in my heart to quarrel stoutly with Monsieur Rigoley de Juvigny for not having, in his edition of the *Bibliothèques Françaises* of *La Croix du Maine et Verdier*, vol. iii. p. 485, added something to De La Monnoye's meagre note concerning this curious and perhaps original work. Goujet has no notice of it, and perhaps the author was not of sufficient notoriety to attract the attention of the pains-taking and accurate Nicéron. De Bure, vol. ii. no. 1414, has little more than a memorandum of the existence of the edition of which we are about to treat: namely, the one printed by Michael le Noir in 1508, folio. Barbier, in the copious Index (vol. iv.) of his *Pseudonymes* and *Anonymes*, 1806, 8vo. appears to have omitted Eloy Damernal, or Damerval. It shall be my endeavour to supply these deficiencies.

The above fac-simile contains the greater part of the frontispiece. On the reverse we read:

Cest ung bon liure vtile et abrege
Lacteur longtemps a vaquer a louurage
Pour expliquer son cueur et son courage
Michel le le noir faicte a limpression
Tous deux les mette dieu en sa masio.

A little beyond what is read above by Philemon, the poem runs thus:

Lucifer. (ca. xliii.)

Voila de bons propos pour rire
Est il de telz folles au monde.

Sathan.

Ien congnois par tout a la ronde
Sans nombre et de telz folz aussi
Qui dient et font tout ainsi
Pour chose qu'on leur sceust donner
Le samedy apres disner
Jamais ilz ne besongneroient
Raison pourquoy ilz pecheroient.

Sign. D v.

The following may be a desultory, but not altogether uninteresting, manner of giving the reader some general notion of the contents of this extraordinary volume. There is, I think, much vigorous painting in the ensuing description of the prevailing amusements and pastimes of the age.

commands Satan to go abroad, in the world, and report to him the various vices and crimes which he beholds. At first, the servant is rather restive in executing the

' Le premier chapitre du deuxiesme liure des mondains de leur estat, et passe temps d'auable.

Sathan.

Or disons pour commencement
 Crestiens par mon damnement
 Lucifer font aujourd'hui rage
 Par tout tant sont de grans courage
 Ilz se battent ilz se rigollent
 Ilz saillent dansent & crarolent
 Au sons des harpes & tabours
 Ilz passent en soulas leurs iours
 Et prennent des plaisances trop
 Comme dit le saint homme iob
 Trestous en diuers passe temps
 Diuersement passe le tems
 Eschamps, esboys, villes, maisons
 Selon les diuerses saisons
 Les vngz qui ont les cuers gentils
 Sont curieux & ententifz
 De nourrir chiens furez oyseaulx
 Comme dame & damoiseaulx
 Qui sont produys de gentillesse
 Et extraitz de haulte noblesse
 Et sen vont pour eulx consoler
 Tantost chasser tantost voller,
 Prennent sangliers biches & serfz
 Par ces bois & par ces desertz
 Ralles : perdриз : les beaux faisans
 Aux gybiers ioyeux & plaisans
 Et autres oyseaulx de riuiere
 Car bien en scauent la maniere
 Comme rusez & bien appris
 Les autres sur cheuaux de pris
 Font les ioustes les beaulx tournois
 Ou ilz despendent mains tournois
 Sesbatent a courir la lance
 Pour les dames a leur plaisance
 Ou a oultrance aucunes fois
 Dont suis plus ioyeux toutefois

commands of his master; and heaps upon him as many curses as Caliban does upon Prospero. I will endeavour to read to you, as intelligibly as possible, the opening of the

Les autres vont par ces boquetz
Cueillir les fleurs les beaux bouquetz
Chasser aux lieures aux connins
Tant masculins que feminins
La dyent de bonnes lecons
Les autres sen vont aux tessons
Aux ours : aux loups & aux regnars
Non pas si folz ne si conarde
Quilz nayent yuer ou este
La belle bouteille au coste
Pour boyre chascun sa lippee
Les autres vont a la pipee
Tromper les pources oysillons
Les prennent mieulx quaulx gresillons
Au bray au hu au trebuschet
A tant dengins que le gibet
La vous vont quetant comme espies
Mesanges gays Kalendes pies
Merles pluieurs troyes mauuis
Tarins qui chantent a deuis
Serins aloettes royteaulx
Brasses cailles & passeteaulx
Quilz prennent aussi a la rois-n*
Es champs bruyeres & buyssons
Les autres prennent les poissons
Aux lacz aux lignes aux filez
Aux engins dont ilz sont stillez
Les gros barbeaulx a la commee
Les anguilles a la verinee
Carpes becquetz chauennes truytes
Sont par eulx prises & destruytes
Dardz gardons garboz gouions ables
Loches & verons : ilz font dyables
De bien pescher chasser voller
Iamais ne sen peuent saouler
Cest tout leur soulas & desir
A bien grand peine ont ilz loysir
De reposer boire & gouter
Tant ont grant haste de troter
A ces poissons oyseaulx & bestes

* Sic.

third chapter, which corroborates this observation. You must prepare for rough and antiquated phraseology :

*Comment Sathan soubhayte plusieurs maux a son
maistre Lucifer.* *Chapitre. iii.*

Sathan

Vien feu ardant tout plain de souffre
Et dhuille bouillant en ton gouffre
Te puist on plonger maintenant
Comment te vas tu demenant

Lucifer.

Je croy bien ce sont ieux honnestes
Paillart sathan quen veulx tu dire
Veulx tu pourtant sur eulx mesdire
Et les reprendre de cela
Tu ny congnoye ne sol ne la
Ne blanc ne noir ne dur ne mol
Somme toute tu nes gung fol

Sign. E i.

Some of the *Games* and *Sports*, prevalent at the period of the composition of this work, are not inaptly here described.

Lucifer.

Vrayment si fais ie moy aussi
De raison malleur en prendra.
Sathan vng beau iour qui viendra
Car si Dieu ne prent mercy deulx
Ilz viendront en ces lieux hydeulx
Tu ne parles pas en berger
Mais conclus bien pour abreger
Dont ie suys content de toy
Di sus mon beau filz compte moy
Que font les autres sil te plaist.

Sathan.

Ce qui te plaist ne me desplaist
Les autres ne sont pas agilles
Comme ceulx la ne si abilles
Mais comme mes vrais escolliers
Affin quilz nusent leurs souliers
Ilz ne hobent de leurs maisons
La iouent en toutes saisons

Que me veulx tu lucifer
 Astu songe au puis denfer
 Et trouue en tes vieulx registres
 Que ie doye auoir tant de tistres

Aux quilles au franc du carreau
 Aux trinc au plus pres du cousteau
 Aux dez au glic aux belles tables
 Sur coffres sur bancz & sur tables
 A vn tas de ieux superflux
 A la condemnade & au flux
 A la quarte qui est ieu chault
 A quoi leur plaist il ne men chault
 De iour en iour a nouueaulx ieux
 En yuer au long des beaux feux
 En este dessus la verdure
 Ainsi tant comme argent leur dire
 Sesbatent la communement
 Les vns assez paisiblement
 Les autres en blasphement dieu
 Comme on loit souuent en maint lieu
 Qui est heresie prouuee
 De dieu mauldicte & reprouuee
 En le despitant maulgreant
 Desauoant & regnyant
 Sa mere aussi la chose est telle
 Avec toute la lryielle
 Voyre si hault pour parler court
 Que qui ne loyt il est bien sourt.

E ii rev.

Take warning, fair readers, from what ye find here developed : 'Comment
 les femmes se douient honnestement vestir et aorner.

Chapitre. lvi.

Sathan

E dieu filz vouloient aller
 h A Saint pierre se conseiller
 Pour se garder de periller.
 Et aussi au doctieur Saint pol
 Leur cas ne seroit pas si fol
 Silz auoient tres bien notee
 Sa belle epistre a thimotee
 Ilz en seroyent beaucoup plus sages
 Femmes dit il en beaulx langages
 Se doibuent vestir et aorner
 Et honnestement atourner

Si tu deuoyes enrager
 Et ta malle mort abreger
 Si parferay ie ma besongne
 Villain en despit de ta troigne

En sobriete et vergongne
 A ceste fin que nul nen grongne
 Non pas dit il en cheueulx tors
 Nen or nen pierres, nen tresors
 Nen vestemens si precieux
 Qui volontiers sont vicioux
 Mais en telle maniere et port
 Que tous en facent bon raport.

K i recto.

The dialogue afterwards becomes rather piquant with the respective collocutors :—

Lucifer

Tous mes cinq sens sont esperdus
 Douyr ung si bon quolibet
 Je me prendray a mon gibet
 Tant suis ioyeux faulx sathanas
 En ta vie ne me donnas
 Si ioyeuse colacion
 Ne tant de recreacion
 Je suis de ceste heur tant aise
 Ou fin fons de ma grant fournaïse
 Qu'il mest aduis que ie suis en gloire
 Mais ie te pryé dy moy encore
 De noz bons enfans vng petit.

Sathan

Croy que ien ay bon appetit
 Tout ce que ie ten ay compte
 Mon beau lucifer ca este
 Enten bien de leurs enfans masles
 Mais ilz ons tant de filles malles
 Et peruerses ainsi maid dieux
 En plus de cinq cens mille lieux
 Que force mest de ten parler
 Deux ou trois motz au fort aller
 Car ce sont trop notables filles
 Mais quoy ie vueil que tu mestrilles
 Bien au vif le ventre et le dos
 Si tu noys tantost de bons motz

Auant que ie voyse vers toy
 Il est hors du sens ie le croy
 Il me souvient dung chien qui volle
 Cest dommage quon ne le brusle

Et diras ie le te prometz
 Voire se tu veulx que iamais
 Malle pie ne me couua
 Or disons donc puis quainsi va.

Q v. rect.

.
Lucifer.

Si iamais dyable fut mauldit
 Ie requier dieu que soit toy.
 Pour les bons motz que dire toy.

T ii. rev.

Satan complains of fatigue and hunger from the execution of the orders of his master. He has been 'four days, trotting backwards and forwards,' without eating—and thinks a 'roasted serpent' no unsavoury dish, He even threatens Lucifer with devoration!

Lucifer.

Iamais diable ne parla mieulx
 Que toy villain ainsi maid dieux
 Et men sens bien tenu a toy
 Ie te diray raison pourquoy
 Ie regarde que de cest an
 Tu nas pas eu mon beau sathan
 Plus de trauail bien seur en suy
 Que tu as en tout le iour duy
 A menseigner beaucoup de bien
 Dont ie te prise & ayme bien
 Affin donc que ne soye ingrat
 Vers toy larron plain de barat
 Mais recoingnoisse mieulx de fait
 Le grant plaisir que tu mas fait

.
Sathan.

Ne ten ay ie pas assez dit
 Il ny en a plus lucifer
 Ie tay cy dit sans point truffer
 Tout ce que te vouloye dire
 Auis mest quil te doit suffire
 Cestadire en especial

Mais touteffois en general
 Ie te vueil bien tout au propos
 Dire encore deux ou trois mots

Tout vif ou millieu de sa roue
 Par force de brayre il senroue
 Le dyable saiche quil lui fault

Lucifer

Haro Sathan le cueur me fault

Et puis tantost ie feray fin
 Ie dy ces parolles affin
 Que ie men puisse aller a coup
 Car tu me tiens icy beaucoup
 Je desiunasse volentiers
 Il y a quatre iours entiers
 Que ie ne mengay moquin moquant
 Cest pourquoy iay fain. ce fut quand
 Ie mangay vng serpent rosti
 Mentens tu bien sot rasoty
 Lequel si friant ie trouuay
 Qua peu tint que ie nen creuay
 Dieu que ien mengay bien mon sot
 Mais te diray ie poure sot
 De quoy aussi pour abreger
 Jay maintenant fain de menger
 Enten villain rabarbatif
 Iay fain de te menger tout vif
 Pour donc mener a fin mon compte
 Que tout ce iour duy ie te compte
 Si tu mas tresbien escoute
 Ie tay dit viellart redote
 Quil y a ie tasseure bien
 Des crestiens fort gens de bien
 Sans nombre auiourdhuy sur la terre
 Quoy que ie leur face grant guerre.

Sign. V i rect.

These arch-devils now begin to grow furious with each other ; and Satan is quite outrageous with his master.

‘ Comment lucifer pour tout saillaire a sathan donne plusieurs maledictions.

Chapi. cc.xv.

Lucifer.

athan ie suis de toy content
 f Merueilleusement en mon ame
 Si requerer dieu villain infame
 Apres que tay bien escoute

De despit et de malle rage
 A bien peu tient que ie nenrage
 Que dyable faistu la dedans
 Vienca tost.

Sathan

Iarrache les dens

Quil tenuoye mal au coste
 Es rains, en laine et es deux cuysses
 Si grant que mourir tu en puisses
 Car iamais ie neuz tant de ioye
 Ne de plaisance a grant monioye
 Que tu mas donnee aujourd'huy
 Pourquoi de vray bien tenu suy
 Et oblige nen doute point
 De prier pour toy en ce point
 Mais quoy parlons encore vng poy
 De ces chrestiens par ta foy
 Pour dieu acheue le surplus

• Comment Sathan dit a lucifer quon fait pechez infinis par le monde.

Chapitre. cc.xvi.

Sathan.

e ne ten diray iamis plus
 i Ne ten ay ie pas chien mastin
 Assez dit depuis le matin.

X. v. rect.

The concluding reply of Lucifer to the latter part of Satan's remarks (here extracted) is as follows :

Iamais donc plus ne men demande
 Ie men vois et te recommaunde
 Trabistre murtrir faulx lucifer
 A tous les grans dyables denfer
 De ceste heure a mon partement

Lucifer.

Si fay ie toy semblablement
 Mauldit sathan vaten ta voye
 Que le grant dyable te conuoye.

.
 Et y vaquant tant longue espace
 Il luy plaise de sa grant grace
 De men faire pour mon guerdon
 Misericorde et vray pardon

A vne sorciere esdentee
 Que belial ma presentee
 Maintenant en vne chaudiere. (Sign. B iii.)

Tant que ma poure ame lassus
 En soit avec le doux iesus
 Sauluee en fin non pas perie
Icy finit la dyablerie.

A very little onward we read the colophon, thus :

Maistre guillaume dequercu
 Et maistre pierre charpentier
 Ce liure icy tout entier
 Ont visite deligemment
 Et postille semblablement
 Cest la dyablerie deloy
 Et lont trouuee de bon aloy
 Et approuue il lont ainsi
 Fidel et catholique aussi
 Et chascun deulx par son beau signe
 Testifie que il est digne
 Destre Imprime honnestement
 Car maint y a enseignement
Limprimeur est Michel le noir
Qui a paris a son manoir
En la rue saint Jaques en somme
A la roze blanche cest homme
Et vray libraire et vsite
Jure en luniuersite
Qui la mis en impression
Et tout a bonne intencion
Lan mil cinq cens et huytsans faulte
 La matiere en est fort haults
 Mais pardonnez a lacteur
 Et depriez le createur
 Quan la fin luy soit amyable
 Et quil ait ioye pardurable
 Souuiengne a tous de ces ditz
 Dieu doint aux lisans paradis.
 Amen.

Icy finist la deablerie. (X vj rect.)

The foregoing account is taken from a very beautiful copy of this curious work, in purple morocco binding, in the possession of Messrs. I. and A. Arch, booksellers.

The other work of drollery, alluded to, is entitled ‘*Upon the Fidelity of Concubines towards Priests*’—but I find it is left behind. No matter: I am sure it is quite unfit for the unreserved examination of female eyes; but such bibliographical enthusiasts as Lysander and Lisardo, may find ‘a pleasant grove for their wits to walk in’ when they choose to give a close attention to that rare and curious volume.* For the rest, you may notice the drolleries in the

* *a close attention to that rare and curious volume.*] That ‘close attention’ which might be censurable in female readers (even were they masters of the Latin and German languages in which this work is written) becomes a sort of prescribed duty to the inquisitive and thorough-bred antiquary; and my best thanks are due to the Chapter of Lincoln Cathedral, for the loan of a volume, of which perhaps not three collectors, since the time of Dean Honeywood, (who may be called the founder of Lincoln-Cathedral library) ever possessed a copy—in this country. The title of the volume, above alluded to by Philemon, is thus: ‘*De Fide Concubinarum in Sacerdotes. Questio accessoria causa ioci et urbanitatis in quodlibeto Heidelbergëss determinata a magistro Paulo oleario Heidelbergensi.*’ It is a thin quarto, without date, is printed in a small and rather rude gothic type, and contains signatures A, B, C, in sixes, and D with 8 leaves; a blank leaf forming the eighth. I had prepared myself with numerous specimens of the contents of this droll book, but the limits of my work and the patience of my reader must be equally attended to. Let us first listen to the description of the pangs and miseries of love—as described in the hexameters and pentameters of the renowned Philip Beroaldus. It belongs to a part beginning—‘*Questio minus principalis ad me data fuit hec. Cur ceci amatores mulierum easdem plus colunt venerantur et amant quam deum optimum et verum.*’...

Philippi Beroaldi cupido.

Ut sine febre dolet, sine morbo languet amator
 Et somni vigiles, irrequieta quies
 Ut rubet vt pallet subito, mutatque colores
 Siue pudor vexet pectora, siue timor.
 Nunc scio vt infracte voces, mutilataque verba
 Et coram domina cor salit atque tremit.
 Ut quam longa graui suspiria corde trahuntur
 Ut modicus risus, multas amaror inest.
 Ut gaudet leta, plorat plorante puella
 Induit et vultus vultibus alterius.
 Nunc scio vt infelix domine vestigia querit
 Et reperisse timet, mobilitate leuis,

frontispieces of the books printed at Basil; which were usually designed by Holbein, and printed in the office of Froben. Take the following, which appears indeed in three different publications to my own knowledge.



Genua labant, quotiens fastose limen amice
Transit, et in toto corpore membra tremunt.
Nunc scio quantus amor supra caput instet amantum.
Atque omnem sophiam consiliūque fuget.
Condita quam paruo sint larga absynthia melle
Lurida vel quantum pocula fellis habent.

I shall next present a specimen of the mellifluous intermixture of the German with the Latin language.

‘ De concubinarijs ordine tertijs materno amore minime affectis turpi ut meruere meretrico vocabulo Bredā suā insignientibus.

‘ Nunc de sacerdotibus, qui non habent vsque adeo molles & effeminatos animos: scz müterliche hertzer, qualis fuit quidam canonicus herbipolensis, cuius concubina balneum intrans audiuit ceteras canonicorum famulas ex cognominibus & familiis dominorum suorum appellari (verbi gratia) cum exituri essent balneas, clamabat lotrix pedum aut fricatrix posteriorum. Langent myner frowen von schwartzenberg ein tüch. Et iterum. Langent myner frowen von finsterloch ein tüch. Et rursus. Langent myner frowen von weyting ein tüch. Canonici vero illius qui de grünbach erat concubina nominabat solo nomine suo Dorothea, neque adiectum fuit mein frow von grünbach, venit domum, flet, lachrymat, plangit, spretam se dicit, sese a domino suo nequaquam diligi conqueritur, is causam inuestigat, respondet illa: ecce iam in balneo omnes mee professionis mulieres pfaffen kellerin vnd thümherren frowen erber geschlecht a dominorum suorum cognominibus meruerunt appellari, his auribus enim audiui, Langent myner

The *Basil Books* must not be dismissed without begging you to seize every opportunity of enriching your cabinets

frowen von schwartzenberg ein tüch. Langent myner frowen von finsterloch ein tüch Und langent myner frowen von weytengen ein tüch. Ego autem sola sicut scabellum pedum vestrorum Dorothea vocata sum. Respondit canonicus, quia cor matris non habuit. Sunder er hat ein mansz hertz. O bestia, interruptit illa e vestigio. O frylich bin ich die best woltent irs anderst glouben : prosequit canonicus. Ecce bona Dorothea mater mea adhuc superstes est que vulgo die grünbechin appellatur ; si tu in hoc cognomine cum ea concurreres, fieret confusum chaos, aut enim tu pro matre aut mater pro concubina mea apud ignoto posset dijudicari. Verum ne te omnino defraudem, restant adhuc alia duo cognomina, sum enim archidiaconus, inde vocor ein landtztichter. Sum et archipresbyter, inde vocor ein ertzpriester. Optionem habeas eligendi quod vis e duobus, vt aut appelleris a primo, Ein lands hür, aut a secundo, ein ertzhür. Et tantum de his qui materno in concubinas non afficiuntur affectu. A v. rect.

It is perhaps time to give the curious a specimen of the 'graphic decorations' in this amusing volume. They are pretty much in the style of art of some of the Basil books towards the very beginning of the xvth century.



with fair specimens of the same. Sometimes, I admit, they are very coarsely executed; but in general there is a felicity of invention, and a spirit of execution about them, which

Take what follows in good part, gentle reader. Thou shalt rarely find subject-matter of the like nature in other tomes: 'Fuit insuper quedam matrona que eligit sibi studentem quendam stolidum alliciens eundem paruis munusculis putamitris ligis pectoralibus plicalis zonis ex serico confectis & si qua sunt similia. At ille, multum gauisus, ex ea quesivit, cur nam mihi tantum honorem exhibes cum tamen de te nihil bene meritus sim nec tibi quicquam impendi. Respondit amasia, fraudis & doli plena, non vellem reuera me aliquid abs te recepisse nec cupio sed tantum de tua presentia & aspectu lector & exulto. Ille autem bonus homo, fini eius intentum & latentem animum non intellexit. Paruo vero tempore transacto, excogitauerat ipsa viam qua per paruis maiora esset receptura. Appropinquabat ei gemens, & lachrymans, quesivit ille cuculus. Eya quid mali pateris: in quibus rogo deficis? Respondit. O mi socie, ceterorum charissime, te in meis anxietatibus nolo molestare, quoniam si certior de meo dolore efficereris pro me plurimum dolores. Esto igitur letus, & desine contristari, quoniam satis est me mestam & consternatam esse. At denuo post pusillum temporis abunde fleuit. Ipse vero contristatus, tandem his verbis eam alloquitur. Angorem animi tui atque defectum scire desydero; & quam breuiter abs te enarrari cupio. At illa obticuit, nihil ei respondens. O vesanum hominem. O stultorum numerum infinitum, de quorum numero tu vnus existis. Consyderasti ne vnquam vulgi illud dicterium communissimum. *Hund hincken, frowen weinen, vnd kremer schweren, daran sol sich nieman keren.* Ille non minus pristinum repetens verbum collachrymando dixit. Eya mea amasia, quid nam contristaris. Subiunxit ipsa dicens. Ach ach causam doloris mei tibi enarrare est mihi difficile. Est quidam pannicida quam sine parata pecunia, sub bona solum spe mihi ante hac dederat septem vlnas panni pro facienda tunica, & vlnarum quelibet floreno constat: terminus autem solutionis mihi ab eodem impositus effluxit: et nisi hodie ei satisfecer extra ciuitatem sum expellenda. Id autem mihi inter cetera tamen dolorem affert quantum verbis vix consequi possum, quod a te separari debeo, & tuum deinceps aspectum minime contemplari. Ad hec omnia cuculus retulit. "Eya sis leta, sy frölich myn Hreta. Ich wil dich nitt lassen in dynen nöten." Mox itaque iudeos ac christianos iudaizantes visitare intra se cogitans & suam dilectam iuuare, impignorauit tunicas: vendidit libros: vt ei succurrere posset. Cum seipsum rebus suis ita spoliasset, sedet in cubiculo inspiciens mitram, pectorale & reliqua parua munera a sua amasia recepta, ingeminiscensque dixit. "Au au wee gsteest du mich so thiure, ich gauch ich narr, was hon ich daran zu steüre, ich hab mein kleider versetzt vnd verkaufft, was thun ich nun au ich armer narrischer mann wie ist es ein ding vmb derbuler fan, wol hin tüfel hab dir das halb teil daran."

'Post pusillum vero temporis precepta illius sueui stulticia a parentibus suis ab alma vniuersitate reuocatus ex fatuo tamen amore perligatum pectus habens &

render them objects of attention to the curious. In particular, fail not to secure a fine copy of *Polydore Vergil's History of England*, printed by Bebelius at Basil, in 1534, folio. That volume has generally an inviting aspect, and is also intrinsically curious and valuable; notwithstanding it is obtainable at a very low price, from the present want of a proper taste for early publications relating to our History. The decorations which surround the first page of the dedication to Henry the Eighth, and more especially those of the

prorsus excecatur discedere ab ea nequit nisi ei prius ultimum vale dixisset, obtulit se hora qua vna esse poterant. Cum audit illa profectionem cuculi, iterum in fontem lachrymarum resoluta est his verbis. "*Au we au we hüt vnd nymerme, dyn abscheid bricht mir mein hertz in tausent stuck vnd macht mir gro hertzen leidt, Fatuus, collachrymans dixit Ach mein Brett, kan ich esgeschicken, so darffest mein nit lang beyten so wil ich dir bringen der kirhwych, es sy dansach das der tüfel darinnen sye.*" Nolens ergo arripere iter versus patriam, veniens ad rheni fluium cogitabat intra se, & verbis seipsum alloquitur. "*O miserabilis homo, est ne tibi hodie trans hoc mare magnum & spaciosum nauigio transeundum: neque tua dilecta tibi hodie reuisitanda. Au wie ist mir dasso ein grokie sach.* Mox sibi in mentem venit cum reuersus fuerit ad eam. O quam magno gaudio afficietur redit festinansque serotino tempore venit ad locum fetoribus & stercoribus plenissimum, inter duos domus inclusum in *eynen schönen palast mit erckern von cloacken wol besetzt, darin iss allein hoch trappen eyer vnd winckel wurst.* Ascendit iuxta morem pristinum prope amasie cubiculum. Fuerant autem fenestre serate ac clause tandem introspectans per rimas vidit in cubiculo lumen cereum ardentem, aliumque socium illic sedentem & caligas suas exuentem iuxta. l. accedat alter. ff. de concubitu clericorum & mulierum. §. narrabo. Mox ipse cum tristitia magna descendens, pergit ad coquine foramen circa locum lauapdarum scutellarum, *zu gutem tütsch vor das Kuchen w'ch*, vocem paruam & gracilem emittens qua ab ea dinosci posset. Ipsa vero eundem audire nolens dixit, "*vsz hundert das dich der narrisch ritt schut,*" respondit ipse: "*Au gretlin fyn ich sich wol wie es zu gadt in dynem kemerlin, du haltest an mir als ein ful armbrust, wol hin zum tüfel do du hin solt vn müst,* Ipsa huiusmodi percipiens altissima voce cantauit. *Sichstu sur do schlag der tüfel zü noch dann wil ich mynem willen thiün vnd solt es mich immer geruwen.* Pariter & ipse in suo recessu canendo inquit. *Ich truw der lieben nit wol, ich truw der lieben nit wol, sye hat mich grantz verlossen dye wylich kein gelt mer hon.*" &c. &c. &c.

I am not sure whether the preceding extract should have occupied the place here assigned to it; but the following embellishment seems to belong, in some measure, to the subject of which it treats—namely, the hard-heartedness, indifference, and cruelty of that sex, who are generally and more justly called

first page of the work itself, are quite beautiful and magnificent.* Let me also, in the course of chit-chat, urge you to take particular notice of some of the title-pages of the earlier editions

tender, attentive, and affectionate. The story in this cut is represented with some humour; but it is a little too much perhaps in the *Hogarthian* style.



The reader is here treated with a column of Latin and German: and shall then be dismissed from the toil of further perusal:

T vt cognoscas latius
 E Ludi magister fatuus
 Se multum ratus amari
 Amore volens cremari
 Replentur vini veteris
 Iocus hic fuit celebris

So nym gar eben war
 Dasist wyt offenbar
 Von eynem wyblin schon
 Hiefz sye mit im heim gon
 And woren güter ding
 Garscon sye yn vmfieng

of *Erasmus's Greek Testament*; * and indeed to the greater number of pieces from the pen of Erasmus, put forth from

Non immemor rei sue
 Gratulando illi suaue
 Multos hinc extorquet nummos
 Abit & querit alios
 Nec hunc curabit miserum
 Necuit post huic lintheolum
 W. U. H. M. G.
 Sic speculans Poetice
 Omne delesti gaudium
 Graue paris cordolium
 Non fuerat autem ita
 Illi prius non audita
 Sonabat. Mira dicam
 Iudeo portat tunicam
 Ut eam posset adire
 Quo placentur eius ire
 Ad ipsam vbi venerat
 Illa blandiri non cessat
 Mox aperit stultus peram
 Rem refero vobis veram
 In cubiculum ducitur
 Subter lectum absconditur

Ir schantzen nam sye acht
 Bald yn züm narren macht
 Das ist ir aller art
 Lag im an sicher hart
 Die wil sye pfennig hat
 Do in geschriben stat
 Er kuntz vszlegen fyn
 Das was dye gattung syn
 Weinen Vnd hertenleidt
 Iamer Mencklich Gespreit
 W. U. H. wild vnd hert
 I. M. G. ist meyn gefert
 Der güt gesell was ein gauch
 Zwo sergen den mantel auch
 Mit seckel wol beschwert
 Gar bald er zü irfert
 Do was es gar noch nacht
 Bifz sye das gelt raufz bracht
 Wolt also gelieben sich
 Sye sprach heb dich an mich
 Hoffet ein güten müt
 Er meint es wer als güt

&c. &c. &c.

Sign. D v, rev.

I cannot dismiss the notice of this very curious and uncommon book, without intreating the forgiveness of the philologist for occasional errors, I fear, in the transcription of the German: the original being printed in a very barbarous style.

* *quite beautiful and magnificent.*] The reader will think me *Basil-mad* in the frequent mention of this fine book: see *Typog. Antiq.* vol. i. p. xlv. I secured my own copy, in its old binding, but a little worm-eaten, for 5s.—at the sale of Mr. Goldsmid's library.

† *title-pages of the earlier editions of Erasmus's Greek Testament.*] A copy of the third edition, 1522, folio, is now before me. The title is entirely enclosed by an elaborate wood-cut border; having at top 'the citadel of happiness,' and at bottom a walled arena—into which Genius, in the character of an old man, with a stick in his hand, seems to be forbidding the intrusion of a parcel of frolicksome boys. 'Fortune,' 'Opinions,' 'Persuasion,' personified by females, are within this arena. The evil passions are represented round it; while the side compartments are filled by representations of the discipline, or afflictions, of human nature in its progress to the happy citadel. The reverse is occupied by a border, nearly equally elaborate, but in a different style of art. The dedication

the office of Froben.* It is true, almost all the engravers, engaged in these works, flinched from the difficulties of

to Leo X. follows on the second leaf, with a third and different embellishment. In short, the several parts of the New Testament are distinguished by these bold embellishments; but *one* of them, in the beginning of St. Mark's Gospel, might have been *spared* with great credit to the publisher of so serious a work. Indeed, one can scarcely trust one's eyes in viewing some of the *bizarre* ornaments in impressions of the sacred text. Did the publishers put their wits, or their sense of shame, in their pockets?

* *pieces from the pen of Erasmus, put forth from the office of Froben.*] The *Basil* School of Art seems to me to have quite an exclusive and peculiar character. I select the following—from the *Encomium Moriae* of 1521, 8vo. There is much prettiness in this top-and-bottom decoration of the title-page of the edition just mentioned.



It is due however to the name of FROBEN to observe, that the whole length wood-cut of ERASMUS, which (in my copy) faces the title-page of the 1st volume of the *Opera Omnia* of the same illustrious character—of the date of 1540—published by Froben's son Jerom, and his son-in-law Episcopus—is, as well in itself as its accompaniments, one of the most delicate and brilliant performances which the artists of that school and period ever produced. Look, tasteful reader, at the OPPOSITE FAC-SIMILE—and admit at least the correct outline and propriety of expression in the portrait of the great philologist! I do not fear the comparison—



cross hatching; but they exhibited, nevertheless, a considerable degree of boldness of effect. If you happen to possess the works of *Ptolemy*, in the Latin language, printed by Petrus at Basil, in 1551, folio *—you will find it to be not only a very curious volume in itself, but to present you with a number of embellishments particularly corroborative of the foregoing remark.

LISARDO. Pray do not forget *Sebastian Munster*.

PHILEMON. Nor *Geyler*, either. They shall each have a transient notice of approbation; but the latter being first in chronological order, claims our earliest attention in consequence. What!—do I yet witness those writhings of vexation which possessed you, Lisardo, on finding a great portion of the works of *Geyler*, crowded with wood-cuts to excess,† carried off in a late sale, at the point of the bayonet

if you should even remember the bronze whole length at Rotterdam:—nor will I take off my cap to the supposed superior representation of him, from the burin of Albert Durer. Why is the lively and sagacious Erasmus usually represented with a sleepy or downcast eye? and why are his features marked with a grossness, or severity, fit only for an half-starved Eremite? I will not even exempt the small profile of him, in wood, on the reverse of the title-page of the *Adagia*, (printed in Froben's office in 1536, folio) from the application of this criticism; although this latter, upon the whole, when well printed, is a very desirable resemblance of the great original.

* *Works of Ptolemy—printed by Petrus at Basil, in 1551, folio.*] Mr. Triphook shewed me a complete copy, in fine condition, and in its ancient vellum surtout, of the respective pieces above alluded to. Are most of these title-page decorations executed by the artist whom the initials I. F. are intended to designate? These initials (certainly not intended for I.EAN FRANCESCO, or I.EAN FISCHER, as we might suppose from Christ's *Dict. des Monogrammes*, p. 174-5) occur in one of the border ornaments of the Polydore Virgil, mentioned at page 235, ante. If so, the same artist executed the magnificent wood-cut (from the design of Hans Holbein) which is republished in the third volume of my edition of the *Typog. Antiquities*, facing p. 462; and his productions appear in the edition of the *Salisbury Prymer*, noticed at page 527 of the same volume, in which a fac-simile of one of the cuts (but not by the same artist) is also given.

† *a great portion of the works of Geyler, crowded with wood cuts to excess.*] The

by Atticus?! They were treasures, undoubtedly, in their way—and published at Strasbourg full twenty years before the ‘Universal Cosmography’ of Munster.

portion of the works of Geyler, above mentioned, are thus described in the Catalogue of the sale by auction (by Mr. Evans) alluded to by Philemon :

400 Geyler's Commentary on the Four Evangelists, in German; with very curious wood-cuts, *Strasb. Gruninger*. 1522.

401 Geyler's Pater Noster, a Collection of Moral Discourses, with three large wood-cuts, *Strasb.* 1515. Geyler's Questions and Answers for the Conduct of Life from the ten commandments, *curious wood-cuts*, in German, *Strasb.* 1520. Geyler's Sermons, in German, with three large wood-cuts, *Strasb.* 1510. Geyler's Sermons for Easter Day, in German, with *curious wood-cuts*, *Strasb. Gruninger*, 1520.

402 Geyler's Pomegranate, a Collection of Moral Discourses in German, with *curious wood-cuts*, and a portrait of Geyler inserted, *Strasb.* 1516.

403 Geyler de Arbore Humana, Moral Discourses in German, with *curious wood-cuts*, *Strasb.* 1521.

404 Geyler's Ant, a Collection of Moral Discourses, with *wood-cuts*, *Strasb.* 1517.

These articles, collectively, produced the sum of 15*l.* 13*s.* 6*d.*; and were purchased by my friend Mr. Heber; whose name all the book-world now knows to be synonymous with that of ATTICUS.

Geyler is also the author of the *Navicula sive Speculum Fatuorum*, published at Strasbourg in 1511, 4to. from which a few extracts are given in the *Bibliomania*, p. 158; and of which a copy, at the forementioned sale, (no. 510) was sold for 10*l.* 10*s.*; although Grolier's copy of this same work produced the enormous sum of 43*l.* at the sale of Mr. Edwards's library in 1815: see no. 163. The wood-cuts in it are full of spirit and drollery. It is a sorrowfully printed performance, in a close black letter; containing cuts, which for the most part are copies of those in the *Navis Stultifera* of Sebastian Brandt; and those which we observe on *sign. r i, rev.* and *sign. t vj, rev.* (not to mention others) will be found in the *Bibl. Spencer.* vol. iii. p. 211, 212, copied from this latter work. There is, at the end, a short biography of Geyler, by B. R. Selestatinus: from which we learn that he was born in 1445, and died in 1510; leaving behind ‘a library filled with books of all kinds... not wanting either in poetry or history; but chiefly rich in the theological department.’ The ‘Sermons’ which were found on his decease we might probably dispense with; but the loss of a ‘*Navis Sapientum*’ and of a ‘*Navis Pœnitentum*’ (which are reported to have survived him) is not so easily to be reconciled. Geyler seems to have been a man of great simplicity of habits and generosity of disposition—‘*nemini vnquam sine munere passus est abire: quicquid enim ex sacerdotij censu, vltra vitæ necessaria supererat, id omne in vsus pauperum erogabat.*’ Sebastian Brandt was his intimate friend; and even the Emperor

LISARDO. No more of Geyler, I entreat you. I have scarcely yet recovered the shock which that defeat occasioned me. But of Munster, speak long and largely: for I revelled even in the loan of a copy of it, bound in vellum, and stamped upon the exterior with golden ornaments, belonging to that worthy biblioplist, Mr. Robert Triphook. That copy had been once——

LYSANDER. Order! Order! Here is digression as well as interruption. Proceed with your 'Universal Cosmography,' good Philemon.

PHILEMON. That work was first printed at Basil in 1544 and 1548, in the German tongue; and first in 1550, in the Latin—always in folio—and if I were to say it contains hundreds of cuts, of one description or other, I should not greatly exaggerate. Maps, towns, animals; human beings of every degree and station; portraits of eminent men—in short, we have here a rich but rough harvest of every species of graphic entertainment. I say rough—because these cuts, you observe, are executed in rather a rough but most spirited manner. The original drawings, probably made upon the blocks themselves, must have had a beautiful appearance—or, if upon paper, and now in existence, I hardly know what sum

Maximilian treated him as 'a familiar' and companion; consulting him also in matters of state-importance. His biographer describes him as 'of a lofty stature, with curly hair, of a spare countenance, and with a slender body; but healthy, and subject to few complaints. He made two meals a day, and loved a moderate glass of wine. A great number of clergymen and every member of the senate attended his funeral. His death was indeed lamented by the whole of Alsace.' Rest his ashes in peace! His works will long survive him, and deserve to be better known. I must however observe (what appears a little extraordinary) that a French translation of the work of Geyler was printed at Strasbourg, in the same year with the Latin impression just mentioned, under the title of 'La Néeef ou l'Embarquement des fols par Geyler, de Kayserberg, avec beaucoup de fig. en bois.' in 4to. So says the *Catalogue de Mariette*, p. 374, no. 1129.

ought *not* to be given for them ! I will just point out a few of the more striking specimens of the human figure, and leave you to draw your own conclusions. We have here the soldier, the mechanic, the labourer, and the nobleman—each in appropriate attire and with appropriate expression.







Animals and Plants are also admirably executed in this volume; but it is now time to lay it aside.* Perhaps too much attention has been already bestowed upon it; although I own it to be a great favourite.

BELINDA. And I too; for it seems to be a repertory of much that is both curious and useful. Yet my love of natural history, and of plants in particular, induces me to ask you whether the period, in which you have at present placed us, be remarkable for good productions in the *botanical* department?—for a slight inspection of a recent specimen of a *Mentz Herbal*, of the xvth century,† has rather produced wonder than satisfaction.

* It may be necessary to mention that the above fac-similes are not arranged in the order in which they appear in the original; and I have, in three instances, placed two within one frame.

† a *Mentz Herbal of the xvth century*.] I presume Belinda to allude to an edition of an *Herbal* in the German language, published at Mentz in 1485, folio; and described, with fac-similes of the cuts, in the *Bibl. Spenceriana*, vol. iv. p. 503-8. Let the botanical virtuoso beware of giving credence to the cuts which appear in the German version of the *Ortus Sanitatis*, printed at Augsburg in 1486, 4to. 'It exhibits such objects (says Jungendres) as the sun never before shone upon.' *Disquisit.* &c. 1740, 4to. p. 38, 9.

PHILEMON. As my partiality for the same pursuit is not so decisive as your own, you will the more readily forgive but a very slight notice of this subject. I remember however to have been formerly much pleased and astonished with a folio volume of the History of Plants, printed in the office of the immortal Plantin* (you know how I love that man's memory !) about the middle of the sixteenth century. Indeed the earlier writers upon botany, whose works have had the good fortune to be well embellished, are without number ; yet I must observe that few productions of this kind have been published in a more pleasing as well as more commodious form than those of *Fuschi* ; † whose portrait strikes

* *History of Plants—printed in the office of Plantin.*] The volume above alluded to is the '*Historia Plantarum, seu Stirpium*' of Matthias de Lobel, with an appendix of notes by the same author, and by Pena, of the date of 1576, in folio. It is briefly noticed by De Bure, vol. ii. no. 1560 ; but I shall not easily forget the pleasure I derived from an attentive examination of a fine copy of it in the Library of York Cathedral. Few botanical volumes contain such accurate and well-executed representations of the original subjects. This work, however, was preceded by '*Stirpium Adversaria nova perfacilis vestigatio luculentaque accessio ad priscorum præsertim Dioscoridis et recentiorum materiam medicam*,' &c. by the same authors, and published at London in 1571, folio, according to the *Biblioth. Vanderiana*, pt. i. p. 258, no. 761 ; 1729, 8vo. De Bure has by no means exhausted the subject of curious botanical publications ; as a glance at the pages of Los-Rios may testify. See his *Bibliographie Instructive*, p. 29-30.

† *in a more pleasing as well as more commodious form than Fuschi.*] The little volume from which the above portrait, as well as the ensuing fac-similes are taken, is entitled '*Plantarum Effigies, e Leonartheo Fuschio, ac quinque diuersis linguis redditæ*,' 1549, 12mo. Beneath the portrait (on the reverse of the title-page) are the ensuing verses :

*Hic Fuschi effigies, quo videas virum
 Quî plantas variè pinxit et optimè.
 Nonaginta mea hæc pagina quinque habet,
 Cui quaterna cadit post numerum parè.
 Num frontem caperas è vice tantula?*

Let the reader next examine and admire what is here given as specimens of the style of art in this little volume. The *Fir-Species* (always a magnificent tribe, and with which, whoever chooses to delight himself to satiety, must examine the costly pages of a publication relating to the '*Genus Pinus*'—by Mr. A. B. Lambert

us, with no small satisfaction, in this little botanical manual, executed in the middle of the same century ; and perhaps from an anterior publication.



and Dr. Maton ; wherein these erudite writers have covered themselves with the very foliage of immortality !) has a very neat appearance in these representations.



For the rest, consult the Catalogue of Botanical Writers by Seguiet, with the appendix of Bumaldus, published in 1740, quarto: but more especially the very excellent catalogue, by the late Mr. Dryander, of the incomparable library of Natural History of *Sir Joseph Banks*; in which—as in a wood of ancient growth and primæval grandeur, amidst insects of all hues, reptiles either nocuous or innocuous, and wild beasts that walk abroad or ‘love the lair—’ you may disport at ease, and solace yourselves without injury, and to your heart’s delight. Such a collection should not be suffered to be dissipated; as neither years nor centuries can erase the name of the Owner of it from the records of

The birds have here a pretty effect; although the whole be probably borrowed from one of Matthiolus’s editions of Dioscorides:—and with these we may take leave of master Leonarthus Fuschius.



The work of Fuschius was first printed in 1542, folio. Let me only here advise the reader, in his pursuit after volumes of this description, to avoid coloured copies; in spite of the eulogy pronounced by De Bure upon a copy of the *Ortus Sanitatis* of 1491, of that description, in the *Bibl. Instructive*, vol. ii. no. 1554. I will also just add, that the wood-cut decorations of our Herbals, by TURNER, GERARD, &c. are uniformly (from the year 1569 to 1600) of foreign workmanship, and very admirably executed.

imperishable fame. You see, although I know nothing of botanical subjects myself, I am disposed to speak with due reverence of the cultivators of that branch of science.

ALMANSA. Did you not promise us some account of Books which contained specimens of the favourite *Sports and Pastimes* of the day?

PHILEMON. Have you then forgotten what was yesterday placed before your eyes from the Missals of the xvith century? or has Strutt written in vain?

ALMANSA. I have forgotten neither; but books of *Hawking or Hunting* —

PHILEMON. Your servant, Lady Almansa! I see you are bitten with the *Hawking and Hunting-Mania*; and have been wading through the introduction to the reprint of your sex's ancient treatise upon these subjects—JULIANA BERNERS.* Turbervile (as Lysander well knows) rendered these pursuits very fashionable in the times of Elizabeth and the First James; and the cuts in his publication, evidently of foreign execution, shew a master in the art of design. Lorenzo happens to possess the second impression, of the date of 1611,†

* — JULIANA BERNERS.] The first edition of the Book of Hawking, Hunting, and Coat Armour, supposed to have been compiled or superintended by the fair Dame just mentioned, was printed at St. Alban's in 1486: see the *Bibl. Spenceriana*, vol. iv. p. 373. Lord Spencer's copy is the only perfect one of which I have accurate intelligence. Its value may be judged accordingly. This work, with the addition of a treatise upon Fishing, was reprinted by W. de Worde in 1496, folio; and Mr. Grenville is the fortunate possessor of an unique copy of this impression UPON VELLUM. The latter impression, with 'Biographical and Bibliographical Notices' was reprinted, in the black-letter, with facsimile embellishments, by my friend Mr. Joseph Haslewood, in 1810, folio; who may be said to have therein exhausted the subject of early editions of the work under notice. Since that publication, however, an edition of the date of 1586, 4to. printed by E. Alde, and which had hitherto escaped him, has been submitted to the same friend: whose bibliographical hawk-ardour yet continues unabated.

† the second impression of the date of 1611.] The first impression was in

which came out in the reign of James I.; and in which the courtesy of the Publisher substituted the figure of the Anglo-Scotch monarch for that of the Virgin Queen in the previous edition—wherever such figure occurred. Of these two works, that upon *Hunting* is thought to be from the pen of *Gascoigne* and not of *Turberville*. The ornaments in it are undoubtedly much inferior to those which we see in the *Book of Falconry*:* where the Bewick of his day has thus represented the king of birds—called the *Brown or*

1575, 4to. The second is said to be ‘augmented with many new additions,’ but inaccurately; as it is a mere reprint of the first. The design of ‘*The Booke of Fauconerie or Hawking, by George Turberville Gentleman,*’ is pretty stiffly laid down in the ‘Induction or Proeme’ to the work itself, thus: ‘mine Author in this treatise, and Booke of Falconrie, following the accustomed order of the learned, and common practise of such as doe write, hath layde downe a Hawke, the Subject of his deuise, of which he is determined at large to speake, with full shew and declaration of the true nature and properties of all Hawkes,’ &c. Enough of this dry detail.

* ornaments in it—much inferior to those in the *Book of Faulconry*.] The wood-cuts of the animals, both in the works of *Hunting* and *Faulconry*, are copies of those in *Vennerie et Fauconnirie* of *Jaques du Fovilloux*, Paris 1535, 1562, folio; of which latter work my friend Mr. Douce possesses a copy of each edition here noticed. After all, the old works upon *Faulconry* have been clumsily embellished. The same cut has been made to represent various birds; and it should seem that the ornaments have been uniformly badly worked at the press. Perhaps our Bewick would have wanted *force* for such illustrations; but there can be no question as to the effect which the burin of *Scott* would produce. His animals are quite wonderful. Yet, what are all the *books*, in black letter, and in roman letter, united, compared with a good *picture* by *Wouvermans*, upon the subject of hawking? I should rather have said, with the picture, by the same artist, in the possession of Mr. Duncombe of Duncombe Park! It was in the summer of 1806 when I saw this wonderful picture (then the property of ‘*Hastings Elwyn, Esq.*’) sold by auction by Mr. Phillips: Heaven, earth, air, birds, horses, ladies, and gentlemen—everything therein was gay, joyous, harmonious, and captivating: a serenity, a transparency, a tone and colour throughout the whole—quite unprecedented and unequalled. It was well called ‘*The Grand Hawking*: a matchless picture of this charming painter’—finished with a delicacy and spirit of pencil that cannot be surpassed—and well might it bring the sum of 900 guineas!

Yellow Eagle. The author's description partakes, I think, of the spirit of the artist's representation.



‘ The browne or yellow Eagle after Aristotle’s opinion, is called in Greek *Guyseon*, which doth signifie in the French tong “kindly and no bastard born,” because it is of al other kinds of eagles, the true and right eagle, and he doth cal him by y^e Greek word *Chrysaitos*, by reason of his golden mayle; and in Latin he is termed *Stellaris*, and *Herodus*.

This is that Eagle, whome we call the Eagle royall, king of birds, and sometimes the Bird of *Jupiter*; and that Eagle which ought to bee taken and accounted the principall best, being more huge and large then the best, and besides more rare and daintie to be seene. For she doth haunt most commonly the toppes of high and craggie mountaines, and doth there prey vpon all sorts of fowles, as also Hares, Kidds, Goats, and such other like wild and sauage beasts of the field.'

A little onward we find this Eagle performing all the offices of the Hawk—but we must hasten to an exhibition of the figure of KING JAMES. You see it here, at the bottom of a large cut, entitled 'How to flee a Hearon.'



His Majesty is approached by two of his attendants, who are also occupied in viewing the 'aery contest' which goes on over their heads. A group of *poursuivants* is behind him.* Whether James gave an extraordinary fee to the artist to represent him a *second* time within the pages of the popular volume under discussion, I will not take upon me to affirm; but I can safely promise you a *graphic treat* of no ordinary kind, in requesting your attention to the ensuing representation of the same Monarch.† You

* *group of pursuivants is behind him.*] The size of the entire cut, in which the figure of James is introduced, is five inches and six eighths, by nearly four inches and seven eighths, of an inch: facing p. 113.

† *ensuing representation of the same Monarch.*] I consider the cut at page 252 to be a fine specimen of the art of engraving; and notwithstanding the impression of it, in my imperfect copy of this edition (see p. 362, 1611, 4to.) be extremely defective, yet Mr. Ebenezer Byfield, in the fac-simile here referred to, has done wonders for this fascinating embellishment.

There are few works, at all connected with exhibitions of the human figure, in which the hawk is not introduced. The old schools of engraving abound with instances of this kind; and the dry touches of Mechlin, Schoen, Boticelli, and other brethren of the *burin*, three centuries ago, are oftentimes relieved by the stately and graceful figure of the hawk perched upon the fist. It even appears in the fresco paintings of Andrea Orgagna at the *Campo Santo* at Pisa — of the fourteenth century: but in few printed volumes will this winning animal be found, more varied in attitude and occupation, than in the *Cosmography* of Sebastian Munster: see p. 242, and what here follows:



observe it comes immediately beneath the title of 'A Treatise and briefe discourse of the cure of Spaniels when they be any way ouer-heat: deuised and written by M. Francesco Sforzino Vicentino the Italian Gentleman Falconer.'



Whatever be your regrets or mortification, we must now really bid adieu to Hawking,* and look about for other subjects of amusement in the ornaments of books printed

* *bid adieu to Hawking.*] Yet a word before we 'bid adieu;' as I have a strong propensity to make the reader acquainted with a French treatise entitled *La Fauconnerie de Charles D'Arcussia de Capre, Seigneur D'Esparron, de Pallieres, et du Revest, en Prouence. A Rouen.* 1644, 4to. A writer in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, in the month of June, 1813, bewails the absence of poetry upon the

during the sixteenth century. But time is running on—and we shall lose our ‘garden-promenade.’ See, the horizon is filled by black-clouds !

enchancing subject of Hawking. He had probably never looked into the pages of this gossiping work ; if so, at page 327, he might have read as follows :

Poeme de la Fauconnerie.

Je n'escry les effects d'une amoureuse flame ;
 Libre et sans passion j'ay possédé mon ame,
 Je n'ay iamais senty vn langoureux soucy,
 M'estimant fortuné d'avoir peu viure ainsi,
 Et me voir occupé en meilleur exercice :
 Sçachant que l'ocioux ne peut estre sans vice
 — — — — —
 Le plaisir du berger est à la bergerie,
 Le soin du mesnager à la mesnagerie,
 Du soldat aux butins, de l'amant aux amours,
 Et ma felicité c'est de chasser tousiours.
 Tousiours ie suis aux champs trauersant les campagnes,
 Chassant, courant, volant, imitant les compaignes
 Du troupeau Delien : exerçant tel deduit,
 Depuis l'aube du iour iusqu'à ce qu'il est nuict.
 Trois fois vingt ans n'ont peu me lasser de la chasse :
 Car en chose qui plaist iamais on ne se lasse.
 Je suis tousiours plus frais quand avec le doux vent
 Je voy haut vn oyseau qui se bande & se pent
 Droit sur mes espaigneux, faisant la Cresserelle :
 Lors si la Perdrix part, on voit en deux coups d'aisle
 Descendre cet oyseau, sans laisser plus aller
 Cette pauvre Perdrix, qui ne peut reuoler.
 Mais combien de plaisir auons nous pour riuere
 A uoler les Pié-plats, bien qu'il ne dure guere ?
 Voyant nos trois Faucons dans le ciel se porter,
 Les iettant contre vent pour les faire monter :

&c. &c. &c.

This work has some tolerably good copper-plate embellishments. Subjoined to my copy of it is ‘*La Fauconnerie Du Roy, avec La Conference des Fauconniers*,’ by the same author, of the same date. This comprehends only 51 pages ; of which the last 11 are devoted to ‘Instructions Domestiques’ in very sorry metre. In the third place, and of the same date, is the ‘*Discours de Chasse : ou sont representez les vols faits en vne assemblée de Fauconniers*.’ There is much quaintness and amusement in this third portion ; and the opening of the viith Discourse, at p. 71, entitled ‘Comme le Fauconnier se doit comporter en ses plaisirs, au declin de son age, en quoy les femmes doiuent estre maistresses, et en quoy non,’

LORENZO. For that reason abandon all thoughts of a walk before dinner. Indeed, if you finish the topics which you proposed to select as the concluding portion of your *Decameron* labours, we must even postpone the repast of dinner a full hour beyond sun-set. But do not let us trespass. You are absolute Sovereign of the day.

PHILEMON. Nothing, my amiable friends, could more effectually contribute to my gratification, than the assurance of your being well-pleased with the exertions that have been already made—even without advancing a single additional step towards the discussion of any other subject however popular. But as you have given me an arbitrary power, and as I find the topics selected to-day more various and more perplexing than those of yesterday, I must really conclude with the notice of only *two other* additional subjects.

LISARDO. *Two hundred* additional ones—if your tongue and lungs allow of it. But mention the two.

PHILEMON. They are, first, *Books of Emblems*; and secondly, *Italian Classics*; but remember, I must be brief upon both subjects: as each of them is capable of affording a little volume of illustration. I see the countenances of the ladies sparkling with gay anticipation! What gems, what

—in which a gentleman complains of the stinginess of a wife in retrenching the hunting and hawking establishment of his particular friend—has a good deal of naïveté and humor about it. There are also anecdotes of chases, and hawk amusements, which occurred in the vicinities of certain towns. Nor is this portion without poetry, but of a very sombre complexion. The last treatise is entitled '*Lettres de Philoierax a Philofulco*'; and in the 14th letter we read 'D'un oyseau troublé la nuit des esprits.' This 4th treatise concludes with a Summary of the Royal Falconry, and of the Birds which his Majesty (Louis XIIIth) had discovered. It is a curious document; and the king seems to have been one of the most active and ardent falconers in Europe: 'rising at break of day, saying his prayers in the oratory, then breakfasting, going to his cabinet of birds, and afterwards partaking of the amusements of the chase, or of hawking.' It concludes with three poetical stanzas by Esparron '*Sur la Favconnerie dv Roy.*'

singularities, what amusing conceits are they likely to behold!—and which two observers of the same subject shall draw the same conclusion? But to the point: and where shall we commence our remarks? 'Tis like a menagerie of exotic birds: of species without number; and of colours, bright as the sun, or soft and varied as the rainbow! Here comes ancient and honest *Alciatus*—with the almost endless impressions of his works;* some with copper-plate, others with wood-engraving, decorations. Upon the whole, however,

* *Alciatus, with the almost endless impressions of his works.*] The library of the Marquis of Blandford is supposed to contain the richest collection of emblems in this country. This department of it is called 'Symbola et Emblemata,' and forms the seventh 'Fasciculus' in the privately-printed catalogue of the *Bibliotheca Blandfordiensis*. I gather the following editions of *ALCIATUS'S EMBLEMS* from the same pages: Paris, 1542, 12mo.: Paris, 1544, 12mo.: Lugd. 1551, 8vo.: Lugd. 1564, 18mo.: Antv. 1565, 18mo.: Antv. 1566, 24mo.: Franc. 1583, 12mo.: Antv. 1584, 18mo.: Lng. Bat. 1591, 18mo.: Paris, 1602, 18mo.: Antv. 1608, 8vo.: Paris, 1608, 8vo.: Patav. 1621, 4to.: Batav. 1622, 12mo.: Antv. 1648, 18mo. There are, however, earlier and rarer impressions. Gerdes, Vogt, and De Bure omit the mention of Alciatus altogether, in their respective works upon bibliography; but Bauer notices a Latin impression of the Emblems as early as the year 1532, in 12mo. It is however very summarily noticed. *Bibl. Libror. Rarior.* vol. i. p. 12. Yet that an edition existed before the year 1534, is quite certain; for in a prefatory dedication, dated 1534, accompanying the Parisian edition of 1535, in Latin, (in the collection of Mr. Freeling) it is expressly observed that there was 'a previous edition published in Germany, extremely incorrect, and without the consent of the author.' Los-Rios mentions a French edition of the date of 1536, in 8vo.—'en rimes Françaises,' and adds: 'On a donné plusieurs éditions de cet ouvrage qui ne valent pas, à beaucoup près, celle-ci, qui d'ailleurs est exécutée en vers François. Les curieux en recherchent les exemplaires qui sont absolument rares.' *Bibl. Instruct.* p. 106. This probably may be the first French edition. An edition of the date of 1540, printed at Paris by C. Wechel, and in the possession of Mr. R. Triphook, is now before me. It is in Latin and French verse, and contains a dedication to Philippe Chabot, Conte de Burancoys et Charny, &c &c. by Jehan le Feure; in which the writer thus pleasantly observes—'Iay ainsi choisy pour ceste fois, au moyen de ce que plusieurs gentils hommes de la court, se delectent nō seulement a faire paindre, ains a faire effigier de orfaurerie dinersitez de ymages, quilz nommēt deuses, y adjoystans quelques sentences propres et cōsonantes: A quoy

I am not sure that I should place him quite upon the pinnacle of *emblematic* reputation—if you will allow of this substantive-adjective. But soft....what interesting little volume—published just at the time of the earlier impressions of Alciatus—in its faded yellow morocco surtout, do I here hold in my hand? 'Tis the *Hecatographie* of Corrozet.* The embellishments, you observe, are within pretty arabesque borders, and are little more than what may

me semble ce present liuret estre tres conforme, et dont ma hardiesse a cueilly occasion de le faire comparoir pardeuant vous. Toutesfois si ce petit besoiing se treuve debilement pourueu dauctorite pour assister soubz vostre lecture, il pourra paruenir deuant ma dame vostre treschiere amye et espouse : Laquelle (ainsi que promet mon espoir) conuertira sa bonne grace deuers quelque feuillet de ce liure.' The embellishments are without borders, and rather coarsely executed. At page 42, we see the Emblem ('In occasione') which Cratander used for his device at Basil.

It remains to mention the Aldine edition, in Latin, of the date of 1546, 8vo., and of very considerable rarity. It is the only impression noticed by Brunet. *Manuel du Libraire* ; vol. i. p. 32. Renouard says it contains 47 leaves of text, and a 48th leaf for the anchor ; and that the 84 wood-cuts contained in it, form, in later editions, the second part of the book. Notwithstanding (according to the same authority) Rhosithinus, the editor of it, chooses to speak rather contemptuously of the work, the public appear to have entertained a different and a better regulated opinion. *L'Imprimerie des Alde* ; vol. i. p. 246.

* *the Hecatographie of Corrozet.*] The title of this desirable little volume is as follows : 'Hecatographie. c'est à dire les descriptions de cent figures & hystoires, contenant plusieurs appophthegmes, proverbes, sentences & dictz tant des anciens, que des modernes. Le tout reueu par son autheur. Auecq' Priuilege. A Paris chez Denys Ianot Imprimeur & Libraire. 1543,' 8vo. On the reverse is a petition from Ianot, stating the expenses of the work, and requesting permission for exclusive printing and selling. The permission, dated 1540, is granted for 3 years exclusive sale. This privilege is followed by a poetical address of Giles Corrozet 'aux bons espritz et Amatevrs de lettres'—concluding thus :

Aussi pourront Ymagers & Tailleurs
 Paintres, Brodeurs, Orfeures, Emaillleurs,
 Prendre en ce liure aulcune fantasie,
 Comme ilz feroient d'une tapisserie.
 Recepez doncq' le liure tel qu'il est,
 E s'il vous vient à gré, & il vous plaist,

be called outline performances. The descriptions of the subjects are uniformly in French metre. Let us first read

De vray, sera occasion entiere
De mettre au iour quelle belle matiere.
Plus que moins.

HVICTAIN.

Quand vous serez à vostre bon loysir,
Et que na'urez pas grandement affaire :
Quand vous voudrez prendre quelque plaisir,
Et à l'esprit par lecture complaire :
Quand vous voudrez scauoir quelque exemplaire,
Propos moraux de la philosophie,
Et ce qui est maintesfois necessaire,
Lisez dedans cest Hecatographie.

Nicéron makes mention of a previous edition of it, in 1540 ; concluding this to be the second. See his *Mémoires des Hommes Illustres*, vol. xxiv. p. 154. where a much more ample account is given of the productions of Corrozet than in Du Verdier, &c. (*Bibl. Française*, vol. ii. p. 286-9.—iv. p. 50) or Goujet, *Bibl. Française*, vol. xiii. p. 98-103. I shall probably introduce this poet, bookseller, and printer, to the reader's attention, in the FIFTH DAY of this work ; and shall here only beg leave to remark, that precisely the same decorations, as to the frames or borders of each print, appear in '*Le Theatre des bons engins, auquel sont contenus cent emblems*,' also printed by Janot at Paris, but without date, in 8vo. The privilege conceded to the printer is dated 1539 ; and Los-Rios mentions an edition of the date of 1546 : *Bibl. Instructive*, p. 105. The dateless edition, and most probably the first, is at this moment 'sub oculis.' It is dedicated by Guillaume de la Perriere to Margaret queen of Navarre ; and Perriere seems to have composed the verses, which are less copious than those of Corrozet. The central cut within each border is larger and more shaded than in the Hecatographie ; although I am not sure that the style of art be quite so good. Upon the whole, this is a curious and covetable volume. In the possession of Mr. R. Triphook.

I have cursorily noticed '*the style of art*' in each of the preceding works. About the middle of the xvth century, in France, a profusion of publications, exhibiting nearly the same character of ornament, made their appearance : distinguished for the neatness, or sharpness, or general brilliancy of their execution ; and Wechel and Janot seem to have been the popular publishers of such works. The curious collector has no doubt more than once, in the course of his '*voyage autour de sa bibliothèque*,' taken down '*Le Grand Combat des Ratz et des Grenovilles*'—published by Chrestien Wechel in 1540, in a tiny quarto

what is said beneath this inviting subject of '*Douceur en mariage*'—to which every lady present has such good reason to assent.



Combien qu'en mariage on trouue
Espines, chardons, plainctz, & pleurs,
Il y a aussi espreuue
Grās plaisirs, fruictz, fueilles, & fleurs.

E iii, rev.

volume—and viewed with astonishment or delight the wood-cut, representing the aforesaid combat, on the reverse of the title-page! 'Tis a mightily spirited performance. Yet rather more akin to the style of art observable in the fac-similes above introduced by Philemon, are the wood-cuts in the French version of the *first ten books of Homer*, by Maistre Huges Salel, Abbé de Saint Cheron, printed at Paris, in 1545, folio, by Iehan Loys, and containing a privilege for 10 years exclusive sale. To confirm this remark, let the reader cast a critical eye upon the ensuing specimen; being a portion only of the central compartment within a wood-cut border.



But where would this *Emblem-Illustrating Spirit* cease? 'Dixi.'

There is something very pleasing in the following illustration of '*Amytié entre les freres,*'



Si amytié se treuve es estrangers,
De combien plus entre amys & parēs
Doit elle auoir ses effectz apparens,
Nō pas faintifz, dessoysqlx ne legiers?

E viij, rev.

Suppose we adapt one of the borders from another ornament, to this central piece—representing a man before a chess-board? Take it altogether, there is much prettiness of effect.*

* *much prettiness of effect.*] The 'prettiness of effect' must alas! be purely ideal. A tale of woe belongs hereto. Know then, gentle and generous reader, that upwards of twelve months ago, *the cut*, which was here to have gratified thine eye, was executed with all due care and precision; and a rare and comely embellishment it was! But know further, in the management of such a *host* of embellishments as grace the pages of this, and the preceding book, of my Decameron, *that cut*, rare and precious and comely as it was—is now *found missing*! Five guineas were devoted to it; and Dame Prudence will not suffer another like sum to be advanced! What must be done? Read the subjoined verses, and *fancy* the man to be playing at chess, and the arabesque border around him:

Le fin nous faict tous egaulx.
La terre est egale a chascun,
Par tout les pays & prouinces,
Aussi tost faict pourrir les princes,
Que les corps du pauvre commun.

Sign. D iiii, rev.

Let us now put Master Giles Corrozet aside, to make room for a performance which exhibits rather more finished specimens of art. Observe, dear Lorenzo, the facility and freedom of execution which every where pervade the ornaments to the explanation of *Egyptian Hieroglyphics* by a learned wight, who has the sonorous name of *Orus Apollo*.*

* *Orus Apollo*.] This gentleman is mentioned by name in Perriere's preface to the 'Theatre des bons engins.' Whether the above edition, of the date of 1543, be the earliest, I cannot take upon me to determine; but I can safely affirm that the embellishments contained in it present us with uniformly beautiful specimens of engraving upon wood. The title of it is thus: '*Orus Apollo de Egypte de la signification des notes Hieroglyphiques des Aegyptiens, cest a dire des figures par les quelles ilz escripuoient leurs mysteres secretz, et les choses saintes & divines, &c. On les vend a Paris a la rue saint Jacques a l'enseigne des deux Coches par Jacques Kerver. 1543.*' A privilege for six years exclusive sale is on the reverse of the title-page; and, at the conclusion of the address '*Aux lecteurs francays,*' which ensues on the following page, it is said '*si ie congnoys quæ ce myen labour uous soit agreable uous aures bien tost le grec & le latin de ceste oeuvre & aultres choses ou uous prendres plaisir.*' I am surprised how Philemon omitted to notice the very first emblem; which, for delicacy and effect, is exceeded by none. It is called '*Comment & par quelles figures ils signifoient laage et les ans du temps.*'



The embellishment facing it has equal cleverness; but some of the landscapes are of uncommon beauty and effect. For a masterly specimen of cross-hatching, examine the lioness and her whelp, on the reverse of *k viij*. The animals, throughout signature *l*, are of peculiar spirit; although a few of them are not

We have here too, I conceive, the earliest edition—printed in 1543, by our old acquaintance Jacques Kerver. Where the impressions are not too powerful or heavy, we cannot fail to be struck with their beauty, force, and truth; as the ensuing, among many others which may be brought forward, abundantly prove. Let us first see the human figure well represented; although the subjoined text be rather dull and

represented in the most graceful or delicate manner: and titles are given to subjects of embellishment which might defy the most cunning observer, or the most deeply-read hieroglyphist, to connect. The first cut of signature *m* has perhaps greater superiority of design and execution than either of those selected by Philemon. It represents a falcon in the act of destroying a bird—emblematic of those who leave their children to perish by desertion. Will my friend BERNARDO venture to ‘match me’ a falcon, in all the lore of Berners and Turbervile, which shall dare to measure beaks with this magnificent creature?



The ‘bit of landscape,’ forming the back-ground, on sign. *m* *ijj*, recto, has great merit. Philemon is right in observing that these cuts are not all executed by the same hand. There is evidence of at least two different styles of execution. My own copy of this interesting volume, in yellow morocco binding, but not free from stain, was obtained of Messrs. Payne and Foss for 2*l.* 2*s.* The curious library of my friend Mr. Freeling has supplied me with the notice of a Parisian edition of the date of 1574, 8vo.; containing the very same cuts, somewhat differently arranged, within fanciful borders, not always remarkable for being appropriate. This edition is executed on thin and coarse paper, but has a comparatively copious text both in Latin and French. The bottom compartment of the ornamental title-page partakes of the style of art of Benvenuto Cellini.

obscure. None but a superior artist could have executed this morceau.



*Cōment ilz demonstroient celluy qui cōpte les heures
& y prend garde que les grecz appellent horoscope.*

There is a vast deal of spirit in some of the animals introduced; yet it is evident that they are not all executed by the same hand. This salamander, however, spits fire in capital style!



*Comment ilz signifioient ung homme brusle du feu.
Pour signifier vng homme brusle du feu ilz paignoient
vne salemandre pource que chascune teste elle occit.*

Sign. i vj, rev.

Of *Birds*, perhaps the most finished specimen is what you here behold: yet I admit that it is preceded and succeeded by some very pretty exhibitions of ornithological skill.



*Comment ilz signifioient celluy qui se garde des
aguetz & trahisons de ses ennemys.*

As a companion to the preceding, look how prettily the *Puet* is made to sing upon the vine stocks; indicative of an abundant approaching vintage.



Let us bring forward only one more specimen; of greater merit perhaps than any which has preceded it, on the

score of drawing and composition. You will smile at the subjoined text; although the story have received pretty general assent.



Comment ilz signifioient l'homme appetant & desirant les belles choses.

Quânt ilz voulloiēt signifier vng homme qui appete choses belles & pour ceste cause choit en dommage ilz paignoient vng poisson appelle Seche pource que la Seche quant elle cognoit quelle est chassée & quon la veult prendre elle iecte hors celle humeur noyre quelle a dedans son ventre & trouble leau tant que lon ne la peut veoir & ainsi eschappe.

Sign. m. viij, rev.

But adieu now to Orus Apollo:—and let my old favourite Claude Paradin come forward with his ‘Heroic Emblems!’*

* Claude Paradin—with his Heroic Emblems.] The joint name of Gabriel Symeon might also have been added. In the collection of the Marquis of Blandford, the earliest edition of the devices of these authors is of the date of 1551, at Lyons, 18mo. in the French language. I possess two Latin editions, each printed in the office of Plantin: one of the date of 1562, the other of that of 1567. The impressions are generally better in the latter. Of the first appearance of this work, in either language, I am unable to speak with accuracy. It seems to have been attended with uncommon success and popularity: delighting the fancies of the young, and refreshing the memories of the old. Indeed it

I love the *capriccios* with which his little work is embellished. There is more boldness in the designs, but less delicacy in the engravings, than what we observe in those of the previous

presented a very instructive picture of historical information. Thus, take the following; from page 68, edit. 1567, entitled '*Vltorem vlciscitur vltor*'—and elucidated by the subjoined story from Froissard.



Charles the VIth of France being intent upon invading Britany, to revenge himself upon the Duke of that province, threatened to demolish every town which shut its gates against him. He was inflexible in this determination; and in a weak state of health, on a hot day, set out from Mans with a large retinue to carry it into effect—As he rode forward in the forest of Mans, a great sygnifycacyon fell to hym Sodaynly there came to the kynge a poore man, bare heeded, bare legged, and bare footed, and on his body a poore whyte cote: he semed rather to be a foole than wyse, and boldely sodaynly he toke the brydell of the kynges horse in his handes, and stopped the horse, and sayd: Syr kyng, ryde no further forward for thou arte betrayed The kynges herte and his blode was moued and as he rode vpon a fayre playne in the heate of the sonne, whiche was as than of a marueylous heyght, he had on a iacke couered with a blacke ueluet, whiche sore chafed hym, and on his heed a syngle bonet of

works: but the fault may probably lie at the doors of the printers of the various editions—for it is rarely that you observe a dozen cuts well struck off. Yet beware of being deceived by priority of dates; examine copies with your

scarlet, and a chaplet of great perles, whiche the quene had gyuen hym at his departure, and he had a page that rode behynde hym, bearynge on his heed a chapewe of Montaban, bright and clere shyneynge agaynst the soune: and behynde that page rode another bearing the kynges speare, paynted redde, and frynged with sylke, with a sharp heed of stele: . . . and as they rode thus forth, the page that bare the speare, whether it were by neclygence, or that he fell aslepe, he lette the speare fall on the other pages heed that rode before hym, and the heed of the speare made a great classhe on the bright chapewe of stele: the kyng, (who rode but afore them) with the noyse sodaynly started, and his herte trymbled, and into his imagynacion ranne the impressyon of the wordes of the man that stopped his horse in the forest of Mans, and . . . wenyng in hymselfe to be in a batayle inclosed with his enemyes, he lyfte vp his sworde to stryke, he cared nat where, and cryed and sayd: 'On, on vpon these traytours,' &c. See Mr. Utterson's edition of Lord Berner's version of Froissart, 1812, 4to. vol. ii. p. 572-4. Poor Charles had a brain fever; and this was the incipient cause of his death. So much for 'the helmet and spear.'

What a comical looking symbol or device have we here—with the quaint title of '*Colligauit nemo?*'



own eyes, and choose those in which the cuts happen to be the more delicately executed. See, here, in this edition of 1567, how successfully the following appears to be represented. I am much pleased both with the quaintness of the motto, and the felicity of the illustration—the latter from St. Gregory : in which we are informed that ‘ the pompous and vain attempts of the ostrich to fly, resemble the imposing exteriors of the religious hypocrite, who would make you believe that his interior sanctity was equal to his external pomp : but all within is base and treacherous.’

Nil penna sed vsus.



A little onward we have the following representation of the well-known adage of ‘ The Snake in the Grass ;’ which teaches us to think upon the probable future ‘ visitings’ of

In the subjoined text we are told that such an object was attached to Augustus Cæsar’s triumph after his conquest of Egypt : by which Cæsar wished it to be understood that ‘ no one had before so vanquished the country of the Crocodile.’ Fol. 71, edit. 1567. But there is no end to these apt and interesting ‘ HEROICA SYMBOLA.’ Yet before you say farewell to them, take a peep, curious reader, into the pages of Mr. Douce’s *Illustrations of Shakspeare, &c.* ; and view three pleasing fac-similes from the same work—in vol. ii. p. 126-8.

conscience, while we are heedlessly perusing works of a suspicious and even dangerous tendency.* Sir Joshua Reynolds, as you may remember, has treated the subject in a very different, and somewhat more captivating, style.



The whimsicality of the ensuing has always much gratified me. I should tell you before-hand, on the authority of the text of Paradin, that it happened that a serpent had twined itself round a key belonging to one of the houses of the Lacedemonian senator, Leontychidas. The circumstance being related to the soothsayers, they contended that this was some prodigy which affected the senator. But Leontychidas very shrewdly remarked: that ‘to him there appeared

* *works of a suspicious and even dangerous tendency.*] I subjoin a specimen of the original. ‘Dum legimus flores, et humi nascentia fraga, tam accuratè a colubro nobis cauendum est, quàm is facilè nos mortifero veneno suo perimere potest. Sic et speciosas ac plausibilibus autoribus librisue legendis vigilandum, ne in absurdus aut minus æquas sententias, opinionesue incurrentes, animorum iacturam faciamus. Edit. 1562, fol. 42, rev.

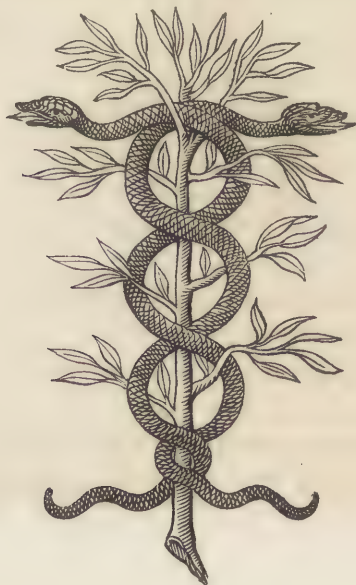
nothing whatever portentous in the occurrence—had the key (says he) entwined itself *round the serpent* the inference might indeed have been of a very ominous nature!’ By this facetious reply (adds Paradin) the wary senator ridicules the foolish superstition of the soothsayers. Apply it also, my friends, to half of the superstitious fooleries of the times in which we live. The key and the snake shall now speak for themselves.



Among the more striking embellishments, which combine both grace and intelligence, we observe the two following. Indeed the Snake seems to be the perpetual symbol, in the artist's imagination, of every thing cunning, clever, and permanent. The first is made to illustrate the text of the *sixty-fifth Psalm*—of the Almighty's 'crowning the year with his goodness.'



The second is called 'Wisdom the Keeper of Things ; indicating the true government of all things to be best preserved by the key of wisdom and prudence.'



And so farewell to thee—Master Claude Paradin . . . Why do you so temptingly provoke me to continue this discussion, by holding up my favourite Plantin edition of the EMBLEMS OF JUNIUS? * I see both Belinda and Almansa, although neither of them be Latinists, are recreating themselves with that interesting impression. The composition and execu-

* *The Emblems of Junius.*] The Emblems of Adrian Junius, the champion of Laurence Coster, appear to have been first published in the office of Plantin, in 1565, 8vo. This volume is dedicated to Arnoldus Cobelius; and contains, in the latter part of it, fuller explanations, (or 'Ænigmaticum Libellus') dedicated to Arnoldus Rosenberg. Every page is surrounded by the same fanciful and not inelegant border. The text, in the Italic type, is beautifully executed; but the engravings, which seem to have been very finely cut upon the blocks of wood, are rather blurred in the impressions. There is a short and pleasing letter of Sambucus to Junius, facing the first Emblem, and dated February 1564, beginning thus: 'I have received your Emblems; of which you entertain too modest an opinion, as the judgment of the public will shortly convince you: for they are equally distinguished for their propriety, elegance, and variety; and are worthy both of the author and of the press from which they issue. In regard to my own, [Emblems] which you seem so anxious to possess, they will scarcely be published before April, on account of the delay in executing drawings and engravings—and when you see them, you will have little inclination to read them; justly considering them as 'the refuse of rubbish,' &c. Let me here further observe that the subscriptions to the cuts are in Latin verse; as thus—to the one first given in the following page:

Impunitas ferociæ parens.
Insultant pauca hic natio musculi
Clausis muscipulæ carcere felibus.
Sublato quæ metu fortè periculi
Crescit tunc animus degeneri insolens.

The second emblem, given in the same page, the xxxiiiith in number, is thus described:

Vinum ingenij fomes.
Vuiferum Bromiū, volucrem sed præpete penna,
Quid tacitæ posuistis Amyclæ?
Tollit humo ingeniū Bacchus, mentē erigit altā
Pegaseâque velut vehit ala.

Upon the whole, the style of art does not equal that which we see in the work of Orus Apollo; although there be greater richness of light and shade in some of the more finished specimens. A beautiful copy of this desirable volume, from the library of Mr. Freeling, has supplied me with the foregoing description.

tion of many of the embellishments appear to be close copies of those in Orus Apollo. There is something very diverting in the 4th emblem—representing ‘Impunity to be the parent of ferocity.’ Grimalkin is rarely made to act such a part; and will take ‘sweet revenge’ anon.



The ensuing is, in every respect, a charming composition. The young Bacchus seems to revel in his enchanting cup.



But farewell now to Authors of Emblems. Farewell to the *Hugos, Boissards, De Brys, Othos, Sambucuses, Quarleses, Brunes, and Cats*,* of the sixteenth and seventeenth

* *Hugo, Boissard, De Bry, Otho (Vænius), Sambucus, Quarles, Brune, Cat.*] What a cluster of quizzicals have we here! They shall be briefly dispatched. And first of *SAMBUCUS*. The library of the Marquis of Blandford contains the following editions of his Emblems: 1564, 1566, 1584; each in duodecimo, printed at Antwerp: again at Leyden in 1599. Subsequent impressions contain only repetitions of the foregoing, of inferior workmanship. The ornaments are executed upon wood. *BOISSARD* claims our notice next. The same library supplies us with impressions of the dates of 1588, 1595, each in quarto. The ornaments are of copper: inferior to those of Brune and Cat. *DE BRY*'s well known reputation will bespeak the reader's attention to his Emblems, published at Franckfort in 1593, 1596, each in quarto. The latter are called 'Emblemata Sæcularia' and are the work of John de Bry; the former, of Thomas de Bry. When these copper-plate productions happen to be well printed, they are estimable acquisitions to the curious. *OTHO VÆNIUS* is a most prolific author in the way of Emblems. His 'Amorum Emblemata,' were first published in quarto, without date: the 'Emblemata Divini Amoris,' in 1615 and 1660; each at Antwerp, in 4to.: the 'Emblemata Amatoria,' in 1618, 18mo. at Amsterdam: the same, 'Selectiora,' in oblong octodecimo, in the same year: the 'Emblemata Horatiana,' at Antwerp in 1612, 4to.: and Brussels, 1683, 4to.: again at Amsterdam in 1684, 12mo. and large 8vo. These publications are quite sufficient to prove the intellectual fecundity of Otho Vænius. The style of art observable in his emblems, which are executed upon copper, is generally coarse and inelegant: the figures are fat and short; and the masses of light and shade are too heavy and abrupt.

The 'Pia Desideria' of *HUGO*, were probably the most popular work of this description in the xviith century. The city of Antwerp produced four editions from the year 1623 to 1632: again in 1676; each in duodecimo. The earlier editions have probably the more desirable impressions of the cuts, which are upon copper; and, in spite of an occasionally ludicrous effect, are very pleasingly and successfully executed. The figures are usually too short and thick. This popular performance was republished by Edward Arwaker at London, in 1686, 1690, 12mo. but with inferior skill. The 'Proteus, ofte Minnebeelden in Sinnebeelden' of *J. CATS*, was published in 1627, 4to. at Rotterdam. The ornaments are upon copper; and very brilliantly and strikingly executed. The subjects are sometimes droll, ludicrous, and terrific; always well engraved; and in compositions of a quiet and natural cast of character, I hardly know where to recommend the reader to more pleasing specimens of the Dutch School. *Cats*'s 'Spiegel,' &c. was published at Dort in 1636, and at Briel in 1652: each in 12mo. Let not the Emblems of our old friend *QUARLES* (whose 'Judgment

centuries. They form a rare set of diverting book-wights: and when the sun withdraws his beams, and the heavens are obscured by clouds, and the rains descend in torrents, let me betake myself to their quaint and ludicrous, but not unamusing, illustrations. The fashion of Emblems seems to have expired with the productions of Quarles.

I come now, as the last topic selected for my share of this Decameronian discussion, to notice the ornamental publications of *Italian Classics*; because, generally speaking, the great authors of Italy have had more justice done to them, in the way of graphic embellishment, than those of Greece

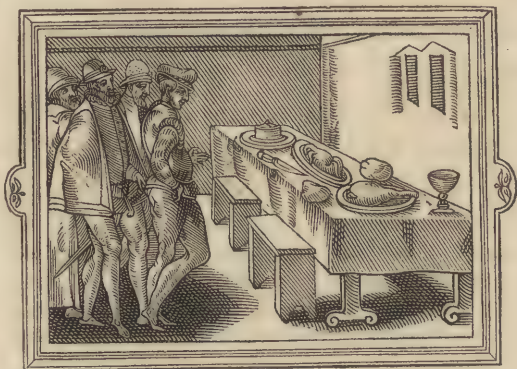
and Mercy for afflicted Souls' was reprinted, with an introduction, &c. by a descendant of Reginald Wolfe, Esq. King's Printer, in 1809, 8vo.) be here forgotten. They may vie with those of Hugo for popularity—in this country. Whether the *dateless* edition, or the one printed in 1635, 12mo. be the first, I will not pretend to determine: but the artist who engraved them was WILLIAM MARSHALL—and whoever has had the felicity of examining my friend Mr. Douce's copy of this *dateless* impression, will be abundantly convinced of the beauty and spirit of the ornaments. A clean copy of this ancient impression is of the rarest occurrence. The Emblems of Quarles have been lately republished at Bristol—with wood-cut embellishments—but when one thinks of their author, and looks into *this* impression of his once-popular work, the exclamation of

————— quantum mutatus ab illo

comes instantly 'ab imo pectore.' A brief word for Master BRUNES, and we hasten to close this emblematic discussion: for I have no inclination to extend the catalogue of works of that description. Brunus's Emblems were printed in 1661, at Amsterdam in 4to.; accompanied, like those of Cats, by a Dutch text; and, like the same work, with copper-plate embellishments. What has been said of Cats may apply to the work of Brunus: and fine clear impressions should be cherished by the curious. Why are the Emblems of BEZA omitted by Philemon? Was he forgetful of their being attached to the *Icones*, or *Vera Imagines Virorum*, &c. *Illustrium*, of the same writer, in 1580, 4to.? These Emblems are XLIII. in number, and are of peculiar delicacy of execution; but being heavily printed upon a thin and coarse grained paper, they lose much of the merit of their execution. The borders are elaborate, and perhaps of rather too much importance for the subjects contained within them—so as, in some degree, to injure the effect. I select a very prettily composed subject, forming the viith Emblem.

and Rome. Therefore, without stopping even to mention by name those works which exhibit *Portraits of Eminent*

The subjoined verses are a specimen of the moral strain which pervades each description.



Nil spectasse dapes, nil deglutisse iuuabit,
 Hæc nisi ventriculi cuncta calore coquas.
 Sic cœtus spectasse pios, diuinaque verba
 Audisse attenta nil licet aure iuuat,
 Hæc nisi percipiatque fides, imòque reposita
 Pectore, diuino freta calore coquat.

Why has Philemon forgotten to mention the '*Choice of Emblems*' of GEFREY WHITNEY? Had he seen the delectable copy of that amusing book in the possession of my friend Mr. Bolland, it would have made an impression upon his mind, at least of a no quickly-perishable nature. Whitney printed his copious quarto in 1586, at Leyden, '*In the House of Christopher Plantyn*,' by his son-in-law, Raphelengius; and this is probably the *only English book* which owes its existence to the matrices and puncheons of the immortal Plantin. I wish it were better executed—for the love I bear towards the memory of that great typographer: but the embellishments are generally indifferent, and almost all of them are copies of what had appeared in previous publications, especially in Paradin. Yet we have sometimes original designs, and not despicably executed engravings. The text, in verse, is generally a translation of the Latin; and almost every subject or version is dedicated to a particular individual—principally 'to Cheshire and Lancashire Gentlemen.' See the *Censura Litteraria*; vol. v. p. 233-5; and the dry but accurate account of the book in Herbert, vol. iii. p. 1675. Perfect and clean copies are of the greatest rarity.

*Men**—without balancing the *Basilioologia* against the *Heroologia*—(connected as you may conceive these works to be with what has been previously advanced) I shall beg leave to remind you of some of the more elegant publications of Italian Authors, in the sixteenth century, which display no mean proficiency in the arts both of design and of engraving. Not that you must expect any thing like a

* *works which exhibit portraits of eminent men.*] There would scarcely be any reasonable limits to a catalogue of works of this description. At any rate they must here be only briefly alluded to; or rather I choose to notice but four eminent authors, whose productions of this kind are probably deserving of particular mention. I mean ROVILLIUS, BEZA, BOISSARD, and HOLLAND.

First then, of Gulielmus Rovillius. His '*Promptuarium Iconum Insigniorum à Seculo Hominum, subjectis eorum vitis, per compendium ex probatissimis autoribus desumptis,*' was first published, I believe, at Lyons in 1553, 4to. From the preface, it appears that Charles V., Henry II., and Solymán the Great, were all reigning at the time of the publication. My copy is of the second edition—'*Editio secunda, illustrium virorum, qui à prima successerunt, imaginibus aucta atque locupletata.*' 1578. The work is divided into two parts. The first part contains portraits, with subjoined biographical sketches, from Adam to Christ: the second, from the nativity of Christ to the year 1580: concluding with the portraits of Gorraeus and Joubert. (The portrait of Gorraeus is precisely similar to what is prefixed to the account of Richard Pynson, in my edition of our *Typog. Antiquit.* vol. ii. p. 400-1). Let us 'begin at the beginning.' After a dedication to Henry II. of France, the publisher discloses the object of his work, and speaks of the advantages of *medallic* representations: (the entire ornaments being circular, and generally of the dimensions first above given). '*Sunt etenim, (says he) vt à sapientibus dictum, vultus animorum indices: in quarum rerum considerationem nos Antiquariis, et studiosis omnibus gratificari cupientes nulli neque labori, neque sumptui pepercimus ad eiusmodi eiconas cephalicas vndique conquirendas, ex diuersis gentium oris, et à magnatibus viris auro, ære, argento, conflatas percussasve aut gemmis exculptas, prout maximo cuique visum fuit sui, et suæ charissimæ antiquitatis memoriam conservare. . . Metallinas illas seu Medallinas effigies lineamentis ad Archetypum deduci, ac deinde imprimi curauimus: suscripto ad singulas summario rerum memorabilium argumento ex optimis quibusque Historiographis et Chronicis breuiter collecto: servatoque temporum, ætatum, Imperiorum, ac Regnorum sibi succedentium, aut concurrentium ordine. Totumque opus ab rerum & personarum inuestigatione prompta, PROMPTUARIUM dici placuit.*'

There is a great deal of delicacy and even brilliancy in most of these embellishments; and it is much to be regretted that the name of the artist who engraved them is studiously suppressed. I know of no similar performances which come

methodised account of the early progress of good taste among the Italian publications here alluded to: although I may

near them on the score of merit. The female heads are sometimes of peculiar grace and spirit. Take the supposed portraits of DALILA and the ERYTHRÆAN SIBYL, from pages 57 and 83.



The head of CHRIST, at page 9 of the second part, is the largest in the work, and shall here speak for itself: the heads of CAIAPHAS and PONTIUS PILATE, from the preceding page but one, being placed beneath.



remind you of the *Monte Sancto di Dio* of 1477, and of the *Dante* of 1481, each containing very admirable designs and

I make no doubt that a great number of the more modern characters were taken from very faithful medals of the originals. Thus, at page 252, the portraits of CARDINAL BEMBO and PAULUS JOVIUS, are placed side by side—



and at page 282, we have a similar arrangement of FRANCIS II. and his unfortunate consort and widow, the well known and ever lamented MARY STUART, Queen of Scotland. The portrait of Mary seems to me to have a very genuine air. It is curious to read the cautious description of her by a contemporary, publishing her portrait :



'MARIA STUART, defuncti Regis Scotiæ filia, Christianissimo Francorum Regi Francisco secundo, nupsit, antequam Regni gubernacula is teneret, superstite Henrico patre eius inuictissimo. Cum hæc esset Franciæ Regina, habita est ab omnibus omnium formosissima et virtute præstantissima : verum fortunæ iniuriis, post regis obitum, in patriam reuersa, fuit obnoxia, et hodie, ob suspicionem alicuius facinoris, in carcere detinetur.' There is an appendix, with portraits of eminent Greek and Roman learned men, and a few of the middle ages ; and each part contains an index of the characters represented. Upon the whole, this is one of the most elegant and successful publications of the kind with which I am acquainted. The collector will do well to attend carefully to the impressions ; as they are from very delicately executed engravings upon wood, Such a

engravings upon copper. You will also remember that editions of the *Ancient Classics*, when put forth in Italy,

copy as that in the collection of Sir Hudson Lowe (see p. 165, ante) does not frequently occur for purchase.

Secondly, of Theodore Beza. His work, under the title of '*Icones, id est Vere Imagines Virorum Doctrina simul et Pietate Illustrium, &c.*' (to which XLIIII Emblems are attached—see p. 274 ante) was first published at Geneva in 1580, by I. Laon, in 4to.: the volume being frequently cut down to the size of a large octavo. The work is dedicated to James the VIth of Scotland; and a portrait of that monarch, when a youth, is on the reverse of the title-page. This cut, like all the rest, is executed upon wood; and however dissimilar may be the youth from the manhood of James, I make no doubt of the engraving having been executed from a faithful original. It is here again introduced to the reader's acquaintance, divested of its ponderous oval frame and circumscription — ['IACOBVS. 6. DEI. GRA. REX. SCOTOR.'] as the recent and successful researches of Mr. D'Israeli, connected with the literary and political character of our James I., may give an additional interest to the physiognomy.



Beneath, we read '*IN VTRVQUE PARATVS.*' The dedication of the author, which follows, like almost all the prefatory prefixes to the older works containing graphic embellishments, is provokingly silent respecting the artists by whom the

frequently partake of the elegant taste prevailing in the particular place in which they were published; and while

portraits were executed. Not a painter or engraver is mentioned by Beza. He says: 'Me quidem certè testari possum tantorum hominum non modò libros legentem, sed etiam expressos vultus intuentem, haud multò aliter affici, et ad sanctas cogitationes impelli, quàm si coram adhuc ipsos docentes, admonentes, increpantes, his oculis aspicerem. Hanc igitur causam habui cur istas (non omnium quidem, quod iusta fortasse reprehensione non careret, sed præstantissimorum, et quidem mortuorum dūtaxat, ne viviis adulatus videar) imagines partim iam nactus, partim adhuc nancisci sperans, vacuo nondum repertis spatio relicto, alteras, addita breui singulorum vitæ ac studiorum descriptione edendas putarem.' All this is well of its kind; but the *authenticity* of those ornaments which constitute (as in this instance) the chief value of a work, should doubtless receive some distinct notice by the author. As to the portraits themselves, generally speaking, I consider them to have been executed from faithful originals; but they are 'stale, flat, and unprofitable.' No half-tint—no gradation of light and shade—no flow of outline—and a uniform ignorance of good drawing. The countenances are rather spotted, than made mellow by light and shade; and the flesh and draperies receive most injudiciously the same characteristic touch. They have all white back-grounds and elaborated borders: the worst possible accompaniments of an engraved portrait. I should think (with the exception of the heads of Peter Martyr and Simler,—sign. P i. P iij.—which nearly resemble porcupines as much as human beings) that the same artist engraved all the ornaments. This work was translated into French by Simon Goulart, and republished with the same heads, under the title of '*Vrais Pourtraits des Hommes Illustres*,' &c. at Geneva, in 1581, 4to.: see *Cat. de la Valliere*, vol. iii. p. 377, no. 5625. It is rather extraordinary that the original work of Beza is not noticed by De Bure or Brunet.

Thirdly, for the '*Icones Virorum Illustrum*,' &c. of I. I. BOISSARD; with copper-plate engravings by De Bry. I shall only here notice the first and best edition, in 5 parts, in 4to. of the date of 1597—1532. The accurate Brunet (vol. i. p. 192) tells us that the first 4 parts contain each 50 portraits, with biographical sketches, composed, in the first 2 parts, by Boissard: and in the 3rd and 4th parts, by I. A. Lonicus; the 5th part has only 20 portraits, without any accompanying biography. There is another similar work of Boissard, under the title of *Bibliotheca Chalcographica Illustrum Virorum*, &c. with engravings by De Bry, Furcius, and Ammonius; 3 vols. in 4: 4to. The first volume contains the portraits of the 5 parts in the preceding work, without biographical notices. The remaining volumes are composed of 4 parts in continuation: in the whole work, 430 portraits. The imprint of Heidelberg, 1669, is in some copies. I candidly own my indifference to these works of Boissard. The engravings have a brassy and cold effect; and there is too great a sameness of

the *Verona Valturinus* of 1472 remains fresh in remembrance, we need not seek other instances to confirm this position.

expression in the generality of them. Boissard is a fine illustrating fellow for cutting up!

Fourthly of HOLLAND, and his *Heroologia*, containing portraits of some of the more eminent and learned men who have flourished in our own country from the year 1500 to 1620: in folio—with engravings chiefly by Pass and Janson. In the whole, 66 plates. This is the favourite volume of a thorough-bred Grangerite; who, without pity or remorse, plunges his trenchant scissars into the very abdomen of the tome. I shall here however address myself to the collector of books, and not of prints: and begin by observing that there are *other* portraits which please me better than those published by Henry Holland. I admit the mechanical skill with which these are executed: softness, brilliancy, splendour—you have them all here—to perfection! But there are some portraits, in human nature, which are neither soft, nor brilliant, nor splendid: and honest JOHN BAYNE, in the ancient wood-cut representations of him, with his quick eye and bushy beard, 'likes me better' than the silken touches bestowed upon his visage by the burin of Simon Pass. I could mention several other illustrations which support—either my prejudice, or my fair criticism. . . The women and men have also too close a resemblance to each other: that is to say, the male portraits are too much effeminised. There is another objection to this fascinating volume. The paper is thin, and the text is printed on the reverse of the plates: so that you sometimes see, across the breast, or the forehead of the most delicate portrait, a staring word, in capitals or otherwise, which reminds one of gun-powder inscriptions upon the skin of sailors. There are, I believe, a few copies without letter-press; and Mariette's was of this number. The late Mr. Edwards obtained this copy, which 'had annexed to each portrait, the name of the collection from whence it was taken.' See *Bibl. Edwards*, no. 50. It was sold for 13*l*. Another copy in the same collection (no. 49.) 'formerly belonged to Buchelius, who wrote the Latin verses signed A. B. under each portrait; and who made corrections and additions in a very neat hand, throughout the volume, apparently with a view to a new edition'—and was purchased by Mr. Miller for 15*l*.

From the *Heroologia* it seems but a natural and short step to go to the *Basilioologia*; a work, of which it is not surprising that foreign bibliographers are ignorant. It is called 'Basilioologia: a Book of Kings; being the true and lively effigies of all our ancient Kings,' &c. 1618, folio: but the *royal* embellishments of the volume form only the first 29 articles, including the frontispiece. The remaining embellishments contain portraits of eminent or singular characters of various classes and degrees. The volume is 'of most extreme rarity'—to borrow the late Mr. Brand's favourite mode of expression. A copy of it, 'preserved 150 years in the Delabere Family, and cited by the Revd. Mr. Granger,' was (*misérable dictu*!) 'cut up,' and sold in detached lots by Mr. Christie, on March 29th, 1811. That volume I had cursorily seen, some fifteen years ago, quietly reposing

But of *indigenous* authors, if I may so speak, I cannot at this moment recollect any thing, of an early period, which

upon the shelves within the venerable mansion of the DELABERES——‘situate and being’ about half way up the bosky eminence called ‘Cleeve Hill,’ in Gloucestershire: a link of no mean magnitude in the chain of the Cotswold Hills. The mansion is one of the few now existing containing architectural specimens of the early part of the xvith century—preserving much of its characteristic peculiarity, and overlooking a gloriously-spreading landscape, where the eye may revel or repose as gayer or as more tranquil objects delight it. But for the *Basilicologia*——

I subjoin merely the number, the price, and the name of the purchaser of each lot: for the comfort and satisfaction of those who possess copies of the catalogue without such pleasant appendages.

Number.	Price. <i>L. s. d.</i>	Purchaser.	Number.	Price. <i>L. s. d.</i>	Purchaser.
1	1 11 6	Manson	30	4 0 0	Colnaghi
2	1 17 0	Lloyd	31	3 18 0	Scott
3	0 7 6	Manson	32	5 5 0	Graves
4	0 16 0	Manson	33	4 6 0	Woodburn
5	0 12 0	Manson	34	1 9 0	Woodburn
6	1 17 0	Manson	35	0 13 0	Buego
7	0 15 0	Graves	36	5 5 0	Woodburn
8	0 16 0	Miller	37	1 11 6	Lloyd
9	0 16 0	Richardson	38	18 18 0	Lord Ossulston
10	0 15 0	Lloyd	39	2 2 0	Woodburn
11	0 18 0	Lloyd	40	4 1 0	Manson
12	0 19 0	Lloyd	41	8 8 0	Manson
13	1 2 0	Lloyd	42	3 15 0	Graves
14	0 10 6	Manson	43	6 10 0	Richardson
15	0 16 0	Manson	44	7 7 0	Richardson
16	0 19 0	Woodburn	45	7 0 0	Lloyd
17	0 10 6	Graves	46	8 18 6	Richardson
18	0 14 0	Manson	47	13 2 6	Richardson
19	1 0 0	Manson	48	5 0 0	Woodburn
20	0 19 0	Lloyd	49	9 0 0	Scott
21	1 13 0	Woodburn	50	5 5 0	Manson
22	4 13 0	Woodburn	51	3 12 0	Miller
23	3 3 0	Thane	52	2 10 0	Woodburn
24	0 15 0	Thane	53	14 0 0	Richardson
25	4 0 0	Woodburn	54	30 9 0	Manson
26	3 17 0	Woodburn	55	2 2 0	Woodburn
27	5 18 0	Woodburn	56	8 18 6	Lloyd
28	1 0 0	Thane	57	1 12 0	Thane
29	5 0 0	Woodburn	58	2 3 0	Thane

has stronger claims upon our admiration than the *Novellino of Masuccio*, of the date of 1492: and which is the more worthy of notice, inasmuch as it presents us with wood engrav-

Number.	Price.	Purchaser.	Number.	Price.	Purchaser.
	<i>L. s. d.</i>			<i>L. s. d.</i>	
59	11 0 6	Lloyd	97	0 7 0	Collins
60	5 5 0	Manson	98	0 5 6	Miller
61	3 10 0	Manson	99	0 10 6	Colnaghi
62	8 8 0	Manson	100	0 2 6	Manson
63	34 2 6	Richardson	101	0 12 6	Manson
64	32 11 0	Woodburn	102	1 0 0	Woodburn
65	1 15 0	Richardson	103	3 15 0	Lloyd
66	3 0 0	Manson	104	1 1 0	Woodburn
67	1 11 6	Woodburn	105	9 9 0	Manson
68	2 2 0	Lloyd	106	17 17 0	Woodburn
69	3 18 0	Thane	107	1 16 0	Manson
70	6 0 0	Graves	108	1 2 0	Thane
71	5 8 0	Graves	109	1 17 0	Woodburn
72	5 15 6	Woodburn	110	0 8 0	Buego
73	6 10 0	Lloyd	111	0 7 0	Buego
74	22 11 6	Lloyd	112	0 10 0	Bentham
75	2 3 0	Manson	113	0 14 0	Manson
76	2 10 0	Graves	114	0 15 0	Manson
77	0 18 0	Woodburn	115	1 2 0	Whitaker
78	5 10 0	Richardson	116	0 5 0	Manson
79	0 16 0	Woodburn	117	4 0 0	Lord Ossulston
80	1 7 0	Graves	118	5 10 0	Lord Ossulston
81	2 2 0	Manson	119	4 0 0	Graves
82	4 4 0	Manson	120	1 1 0	Graves
83	1 15 0	Lloyd	121	1 0 0	Woodburn
84	1 13 0	Manson	122	2 15 0	Lloyd
85	1 11 6	Richardson	123	0 10 0	Buego
86	3 0 0	Manson	124	3 13 6	Collins
87	1 11 6	Manson	125	1 9 0	Graves
88	1 11 6	Manson	126	1 7 0	Lord Ossulston
89	0 14 0	Woodburn	127	0 17 0	Lord Ossulston
90	10 10 0	Manson	128	0 15 0	Colnaghi
91	3 12 0	Scott	129	0 3 0	Thane
92	2 10 0	Miller	130	0 9 0	Colnaghi
93	0 5 0	Manson	131	1 0 0	Manson
94	1 9 0	Manson	132	0 15 0	Col. Durrant
95	6 6 0	Manson	133	1 3 0	Woodburn
96	0 12 0	Buego	134	5 5 0	Scott

ings of that style of art so particularly observable in the *Poliphilo* of 1499.*

Number.	Price.	Purchaser.	Number.	Price.	Purchaser.
	<i>L. s. d.</i>			<i>L. s. d.</i>	
135	2 5 0	Graves	144	0 2 6	Manson
136	0 7 0	Graves	145	0 2 6	Woodburn
137	0 8 0	Scott	146	0 3 0	Scott
138	0 8 0	Woodburn	147	1 1 0	Scott
139	0 11 0	Woodburn	148	0 5 0	Scott
140	1 3 0	Colnaghi	149	9 9 0	Woodburn
141	0 3 0	Woodburn	150	11 0 6	Woodburn
142	0 16 0	Lord	151	1 14 0	Graves
143	0 2 6	Graves	152	42 10 6	Richardson

Be it further known that no. 53 is *Lord Munjoy Bhunt*, by Droeshout and Jenner: no. 54, *Henry Veere, Earle of Oxford*, by Payne; with another 'small, in a border with figures' by W. Pass and Jenner: (see *Bibliomania*, p. 684) no. 59 is *Lord Edmond Baron Sheffield* by R. E.: no. 63, *General Cecyll son to the Right Hon. ye Earle of Exceter, &c.* by S. Pass: (*Bibliomania*, p. 684) no. 64: *Dominus Johannes Harrington, Baro de Exton* by Balaam and Elstracke: no. 74 *Sir Julius Cesar*, by Elstracke; (*Bibliomania*, p. 678) and no. 152, is *Mull'd Sack*, sold by Compton Holland; and erroneously said to be unique; as the Bodleian library, which possesses a copy of the *Basiliologia*, has also this 'fantastic and humourous Chimney Sweeper' called 'Mull'd Sack.' See the *Bibliomania*, p. 684: *Granger*, vol. ii. p. 61. The Delabere copy, in the whole, produced 601l. 12s. 6d. Manson purchased for the late Mr. John Towneley, and Mr. Woodburn chiefly for the late Viscount Fitzwilliam. Upon the whole, it was scarcity rather than beauty which caused the well-garnished purses of the foregoing collectors to be opened upon this occasion. The reader may expect me to finish this tremendous note by mentioning the heads of VERTUE and HOUBRAKEN—but 'dixi.' Nor shall the 'Illustrious Portraits' now publishing by Messrs. Lackington and Harding draw me an inch beyond the line here rigidly laid down. May the latter work be prosperous! Yet who does not bewail the absence of the burin of Schiavonetti?

* *style of art so particularly observable in the Poliphilo of 1499.*] Of the *Poliphilo*, not a word more shall be said in the present place. I can readily be supposed to be almost wearied of this volume: see p. 194 ante. Philemon appears to be correct in his criticism upon the *Novellino* of Masuccio, printed by Joanni and Gregorio de Gregorii at Venice in 1492 folio; but both the cuts and the figures themselves are smaller than those in the *Poliphilo*. The style of art is, I think, very much similar. The same may be almost said of the Boccaccio printed by the same printers, of the date of 1492 folio. The choice library of Mr. R. Wilbraham supplies me with the notice of this edition of Masuccio; of which a copy, wanting the table, was sold for 36l. at the sale of Colonel's Stanley's library: see *Bibl. Stanl.*

I know not whether I can mention editions of the great Italian authors, published in the fifteenth century, which exhibit ornaments of a particularly commendable style of execution; but in the very dawn, as it were, of the sixteenth century—and just before the rival presses of the *Giunti*, the *Sessa*, and of *Giolito*, began to be put in motion—we have evidence of a tolerable degree of merit in editions of that period. Of my beloved *ARIOSTO* (the first edition of whose immortal poem is yet a bone to be picked among bibliographers*) I apprehend the impression of 1540 to be the first

no. 500. The outline manner of decoration is observable in a prodigious number of miscellaneous authors of about the termination of the xvth century. Thus we see a very elegant specimen of it (not unlike, in composition and arrangement of light and shade, to what is seen at pages 140-2 ante) in the '*Libri di Giocho di Scacchi intitolato de costumi deglhuomini et degli offitii de nobili*' printed by Miscomino at Florence, in 1493, 4to.—containing outlines with shaded backgrounds: in the possession of Mr. S.W. Singer. And early in the xvth century a trifling specimen of this style is seen in the frontispiece of that prodigiously rare volume entitled: '*Opera de Andrea Stagi Anconitano Intitolata Amazonida La Qual Tracta Le gva Bataglie e Triumphì che Fece Queste Döne Amazone*,' printed at Venice in 1503, 8vo.—containing Q v in eights. At the end of it is a tournament, with a shaded background; which is uncommon. Mr. Wilbraham possesses a copy of this very rare gem.

A more complete, and extremely fine, specimen of it (and almost equal to the best ornaments in the Poliphilo) is seen in the frontispiece of the *Settanta Nouelle* of Sabadino, of the date of 1510, folio; while the decorations which accompany the text are of a different and much inferior character, and are moreover not always remarkable for delicacy of conception. Again, we observe these outline embellishments in the frontispieces of the *Triumphì honori e feste chebbe Julio Cesaro nela città di Roma*, of 1510, 4to. printed by Simo de Luere at Venice—and of the *Inamoramento de Re Carlo*, printed at Venice in 1514, 4to.: but perhaps the most satisfactory exemplification of the style of art, prevailing in the Poliphilo, may be seen in the Venetian edition of the *Metamorphoses* of Ovid, of the date of 1509—of which Mr. Douce possesses an imperfect copy; and upon which my friend Mr. Ottley has expatiated in a very interesting manner in his *Enquiry*, &c. vol. ii. p. 576, note †. A work in the same character of design, and by the same supposed artist (*John Andrea*) is noticed at p. 87, ante. In short, there would be no end to the specification of similar specimens of art. The shaded wood-cut ornaments are rarely seen before the year 1540.

* *Ariosto*: (the first edition of whose immortal poem is yet a bone to be picked

ornamented one; that is, the first which contains wood-cut embellishments—and which embellishments were repeated in

among bibliographers.] With the submission of Philemon, I think there is no longer any picking to be found. Controversy itself may be said to be weary of this discussion. I well remember the very pleasant bibliographical chase which took place about three years ago, under the glow of a range of Argand lamps, in the Althorp library, towards midnight—in ascertaining this knotty point: how my Lord Spencer, Mr. Ochéda, (his Lordship's librarian) and myself, darted along from Haym to Quadrio, from Quadrio to Fontanini, from Fontanini to Crescimbeni, and from this latter to Mazzuchelli and Orlandi: and after an anxious *beating* after a supposed impression of 1515, we were quite certain of the cover in which the *animal* was to be found. In other words, the first edition of Ariosto's 'immortal poem' is of the date of 1516; and is only to be found, in this country, upon the shelves of the ALTHORP COLLECTION. It is a small quarto, and has the following title: '*Orlando Furioso da Ludovico Ariosto de Ferrara.*' This is above the printer's device, (a crown, with the initials I M beneath) having, below, '*Con gratia e priuilegio.*' It should however be observed that the title-page, in the copy under description, is a fac-simile manuscript: yet it is certain that the volume was published in 1516, for on the recto of the following leaf we read the privilege, thus:

LEO PAPA DECIMUS.

Dilecte fili salutem et apostolicam benedictionem, Singularis tua et peruetus erga nos familiāq; nostram obseruātia, egregiaq; bonarum artium et litterarū doctrina, atq; in studiis mītoribus, præsertimq; poetices elegans ac preclarū ingenū, iure prope suo a nobis exposcere nīdētur, ut quæ tibi usui futura sunt, iusta presertim et honesta petenti, ea tibi liberaliter et gratiose cōcedamus. Quāobrem cum libros uernaculo sermone et carmine quos Orlādi furiosi titulo inscripsisti, ludicro more, lōgo tamen studio et cogitatione, multisq; uigiliis cōfeceris, eosq; conductis abs te impressoribus ac librariis edere cupias. Cū ut cura diligentiaq; tua emendatiores exeant, tum ut si quis fructus ea de causa percipi pōt. Is ad te potius, qui cōficiendi poematis laborem pertulisti quod ad alienos deferatur. Volumus et mandamus ne quis te uiuente eos tuos libros imprimere aut imprimi facere, aut impressos uenundare, uendēdosue tradere ullis in locis audeat, sine tuo iussu et cōcessionē.' [Then follows the punishment: the forfeiture of the entire impression and 100 ducats] *Dat. Romę apud sanctum Petrum sub annulo piscatoris die. xxvii. Martii. m.d.xvi. pontificatus nostri. Anno Quarto.*

Iacobus Sadoletus.

a tergo

Dilecto filio Ludouico de Ariostis Ferrariensi.

Upon the very face of this privilege (which is followed by an intimation of a similar privilege from the King of France and the Doge of Venice) there seems abundant proof of the present being the *earliest* impression; as no previous one

the edition of 1546. *Petrarch* has had no small share of justice rendered him in the edition of 1545, by Gabriel

is mentioned, and as, in the privilege attached to the third edition of the date of 1532, (also in the Althorp library) the work is said to be 'diu editum, et impressorum vitio mendorum.' On the recto of the following leaf, a 3, numbered 3, the text of the poem begins thus—after a prefix of 4 lines in capital letters, and a 5th line of 'CANTO PRIMO':

I DONNE E
CAVALLIER
LI ANTIQVI
d AMORI
LE CORTESIE
LAVDACI IM
prese io canto
che furo al tempo che passaro i Mori
d Aphrica il mare, e in Fràcia nocquer
tratti da lire e giouenil furori (tato
&c. &c. &c.

The xliith Canto concludes on the reverse of folio 262, at the bottom of the second column, with this imprint:

Finisce Orlando furioso de Lu-
douico Ariosto da Ferrara.

On the recto of the following and last leaf (not numbered) is a list of the errors to be corrected; beneath which are two Latin hexameter, and one pentameter verse, and the register. Then the colophon, thus:

*Impresso in Ferrara per Maestro Giouāni
Mazocco dal Bondeno adi xxii.
de Aprile. M.D.XVI.*

The reverse is blank. The copy under description is bound in dark green morocco, and presents us with one of the most beautiful specimens of the skill of Mr. Mackinlay. Mr. Wilbraham, (whose choice collection of Italian books has been before noticed, and who possesses, as well as Earl Spencer, copies of Ariosto of the dates of 1535 and 1542) has made the following memorandum respecting the *first* edition, in his copy of the one of 1542—which, contains the device of the two serpents. 'This emblem of the two serpents is found for the first time in the edition of Ariosto, of 1521, which proves that there was only one edition anterior to that year, and consequently that the editions of 1515 and 1516, are in fact only one and the same edition. The emblem first described by Dolce (*Dialogo di Colori de Lud. Dolce*, in 8vo. 1565, p. 50) is repeated in this edition; which, together with its not being mentioned by Haym, Quadrio, Fontanini, Apostolo Zeno, Crescimbeni, Mazzuchelli, nor even by Orlandi (the editor of the *Orlando Furioso* in 2 vol. folio) makes this edition (1542) peculiarly

Giolito;* and *Boiardo* shines pre-eminent in the impression of *Orlando Inamorato* of 1553, by Comin da Trino.† The inimitable *Boccaccio* cannot fail to delight you in the edition

valuable.' Orlandi correctly observes that mention is made of a privilege of the 25th of October, 1515 (granted by the duke of Ferrara), in the impression of 1532; but this privilege is *only alluded to* in a privilege of the date of 1527, reprinted on the reverse of the last leaf but one of the impression of 1532: and I think the inference is, that Ariosto applied first for the privilege of the duke, and afterwards for that of the pope, before he published his work. Let me enquire of the curious whether the portrait of the poet, introduced within wood-cut borders, and executed by Francisco de Nanto, at the end of the Ferrara edition of 1532, 4to. be not the *first cut* of the head of Ariosto? It is well-known that Titian is supposed to have made the drawing upon the block upon which this head was cut. Mr. Heber and Mr. Singer possess copies of this precious impression.

* the edition of 1545, by *Gabriel Giolito*.] The title is thus: 'Il Petrarca con l'expositione d'Alessandro Velutello—di novo ristampato—Con le figure a i Triomphi. In Vinegia Appresso Gabriel Giolito de Ferrari, 1545, 4to. Prefixed to a sonnet 'upon the sacred ashes of Petrarch and Laura,' on the 3rd leaf, sign. A iij, is the following very elegant decoration.



of 1553, from the Giolito press;* while the folio Dante of 1577, where the *Great Cat* of *Giovambatista de Sessa* sits like an eastern monarch upon his throne, has always afforded me a fund of entertainment from the general splendor of style in which that publication is 'got up.'

There is a pleasing wood-cut portrait of Laura, in profile, on the reverse of the title of the *Discorso sopra il principio di tutti Canti d'Orlando Furioso*, &c. of the date of 1559, 8vo; of which Mr. Singer has a very neat copy, and in which we see again some of the decorations that grace the editions of Ariosto of the dates of 1540 and 1546. Gabriel Giolito published a very elegant little edition, in the italic type, in 1553, 12mo., containing wood-cuts only to the '*Trionfi*;' and executed apparently by the same artist who furnished the ornaments for the edition of Dante, of the same size, and of a date two years subsequent: but let us not forget the very pretty outline decorations which accompany the French version of the *Trionfi*, of the early date of 1509, 12mo. printed by Denis Janot.

While upon the subject of editions of *Petrarch*, let me not omit to press strongly upon the reader's notice a very elaborate and highly-ornamented impression of that author's work '*De Remediis utriusque Fortune*, translated into the German language, and published at Frankfort upon the Main, in 1584, folio. We have in this volume all the spirit and diablerie of the German school of art in the middle of the sixteenth century; and many brilliant cuts, which adorned the German version of the *Offices of Cicero*, noticed at page 212 ante, are again introduced in the volume under description. I should say, at the first sight, our old friend Hans Burgmair had a hand in many of these cuts. The freedom and power of design, in the greater number of them, are perfectly surprising; but a reference may be somewhat puzzling, as the leaves are most carelessly numbered. Yet pause a moment, graphic virtuoso, at the poignant satire levelled against the Romish church at folio 10, recto; at the burlesque representation of Amphion, on the reverse of fol. 20; at the surprising group which surrounds a rencontre of wild beasts, on the reverse of folio 27; at the march of warriors on the reverse of folio 32; at the school of art, on the recto of folio 38; at the admirable group of figures which are seen on the recto of folio 48—and yet I am scarcely a fourth part through the volume!

† *Orlando Innamorato* of 1553, 4to.] Mr. Wilbraham has a beautiful copy of this desirable impression; in the frontispiece or title-page of which we observe a most delicately-executed head, upon wood, of Boiardo himself. The smaller cuts in the volume are very spirited, but are common to the productions of the time

* the edition of 1553 from the Giolito press.] Let not the reader omit to purchase, when he is able, the elegant little edition of the *Decameron*, put forth under the editorial care of Antonio Brucioli, in 1542, 12mo.; where, however, a laureated portrait of a Roman Emperor is foisted in for that of the author—in the frontispiece. The device of Gabriel Giolito is at the end of the volume.

Look for one moment at the cut which represents the Demon devouring his victims in the fiery lake of Avernus !*



* *Demon devouring his victims in the fiery lake of Avernus.*] This embellishment is of ancient date : see the *Bibl. Spenceriana*, vol. iv. p. 130. Mr. Singer's copy of the above volume, from which the fac-simile was executed, is a very fine one ; in ornamented old red-morocco binding. There are however two pretty anterior editions of Dante:—one, with his head only, in the frontispiece, published by Tournes at Lyons, in 1547, 12mo: the other, by Gabriel Giolito, at Venice in 1555, 12mo. The latter has numerous embellishments, in a very

It may be generally remarked that towards the middle of the sixteenth century, not only the same style of art prevailed in the editions of the more popular authors of Italy, but that the cuts used for one author were oftentimes appropriated to an impression of another: but, upon the whole, every thing is in good taste—* chastely designed and delicately executed: and making the printers and publishers of our own country, at the same interesting period, blush for the paucity and poverty of their engraved decorations. The little book called *Doni's Libreria*, of the date of 1557, is quite a gem in the way of tasteful engravings upon wood.†

But it is time to pause, as I begin to feel exhaustion.

elegant style: the text, throughout, is in the italic type. A copy of each is in the *Cracherode Library* in the British Museum. The latter edition was no doubt published by Gabriel Giolito as a companion to the Petrarch of 1553; noticed at p. 289 ante.

* *every thing is in good taste.*] Philemon would have qualified this assertion if he had happened to have remembered the *Guerino Il Meschino* of 1560, 4to. printed by Giovambatista and Melchior Sessa, 'Fratelli,' with the device of the flying Pegasus. Let us suppose that no fair reader of that work ever deigned to cast even a momentary glance upon some of the revolting decorations which disgrace this impression.

† *Doni's Libreria of 1557—quite a gem in the way of tasteful engravings upon wood.*] The portraits of BEMBO and ARIOSTO are among the more beautiful decorations of this volume; but of the latter portrait there seems to have been no end—in the manual publications of the sixteenth century. They are all in profile, and appear to have been executed from the same block. I have not forgotten the tough contest I had with Mr. Singer, at a late sale in Pall Mall, to obtain a clean vellum-bound copy of this edition of the *Libreria of Doni*; which copy had been in the Pinelli collection, and was sold, at the sale of that library, (see *Sale Catalogue*, no. 4672) for the enormous sum of one shilling! At the sale first mentioned, the combatants 'hacked and hewed' each other till the 'fair object' of their contention had reached the trifling sum of *two guineas*—when I yielded; but my adversary suffered severely for his conquest. 'Another such victory,' said Pyrrhus!—Soberly speaking, I consider this contest to have been one of the most glorious ones upon record for the cause of bibliography. Seven and twenty years ago, the lovely work under description (in his very choice copy of which Mr. Wilbraham may justly rejoice) produced only the sum of one shilling!—'Where were ye, O ye Muses in that hour?' Information, taste, utility, and elegance are all combined in it.

Re-consider, my dear friends, at a future day, the rough outline which has this morning been submitted to you. Correct its disproportions; and, what will strike you as more essentially necessary, supply its obvious deficiencies. He, who in taking up a well written, well printed, and well ornamented book,* does not immediately partake of the three-fold advantages to be gained from such a treasure — does not find his taste gratified, his mind improved, and his

* *a well written, well printed, and well ornamented book.*] ‘La gravure a prêté son secours à l'imprimerie. Ces deux professions réunies ne laissent rien à imaginer pour l'ornement des livres. Elles fournissent sans cesse de nouveaux sujets de tentation à la délicatesse de nos Bibliophiles.’ *De La Bibliomanie*; p. 73: edit 1761, 8vo. Not however that Philemon could wish every book in his library to be distinguished (as the author of the foregoing rare treatise observes) ‘par-tout des frontispices allégoriques, des portraits de chaque auteur, des vignettes, des lettres grises, des cu-de-lampes, des attributs, des cartouches, des bordures symboliques.’ p. 74. The charm, or ‘miraculous’ appearance, of a newly printed book, together with a lively description of the mechanical process by which it is produced, is not inaptly expressed in the verses of Tilenus:

. Sunt, humentem quævis cura papyrus
Sternere, & adversis habilem protendere signis,
Ne quis apex obsit. Tum ferrea clauditur alvus
Itque reductæ viam sub prælo at concipit intus
Charta nitens simulacra modis nigrantia miris.
Jamque palam exeat spatii æqualibus ora,
Ostentans specimen; subit acris censor, et omnes
Explorat latebrasque situsque, & squalida si qua est,
Si qua minus lucet nota, vel latet obsita nube,
E medio movet, & turbam execratur inertem;
Succedunt aliæ in numerum, & data munia præstant.
Emeritis maculas ferventi flumine tollunt,
Mutuaque in teneris indulgent ocia nidis.
Tum demum membris perfectum et fronte serena
Exit opus, perque ora virum volat impete læto;
Blanditis Musæ excipiunt, anus ipsa virenti
Fama sinu fovet, et seros defendit in annos
Ornans vivaci genio, ac Parnasside lauru.
Salve, magna parens librorum, ars Dædala salve!

The worthy schoolmaster, Elias Major, has recreated himself with a long Sapphic ode in commendation of this ‘book miracle;’ from which the following are excerpts:

heart mended—has but slender pretensions to the distinction of an accomplished character—shall I add, to be admitted within the circle which now surrounds me? Away with false

Ille labentis moderator ævi
Phœbus, hinc atque hinc sola firma cœli
Permeans, longo duo jam peregit

Sæcula cursu.

Cum Camenarum studiosus orbis
Aere conflatis modulis typorum
Optimos prælis didicit premendo

Scribere libros.

Mille vix scriptum hi dare, quod diurni
Vel decem possint specie typorum.
Scilicet pennam subigi repentem,

Vincere prælum.

O characterum peramica virtus!
Utile o cunctis studiis repertum!
Perpetim o fama celebrandus, istam

Qui colit artem!

Christophorus Colerus thus carols in praise of this 'divine art,' and 'golden discovery.'

Diva supremi Soboles Tonantis,
Cælitus porrecta manus lyceis,
Prisca servandi monumenta & orbis

Mustea nostri:

Aureum inventum sequioris ævi,
Artis humanæ genus invidendum,
Ala Musarum, monitrix Minervæ,

Vitaque Phœbi.

Aloysius Babinus, in his *Palinodia ad Germaniam Typographiæ Inventricem*, is vehement in his eulogy of the puncheon and matrix:—

O felix Typus! in nigro repertæ
Tandem flumine, prodeunt, & atrum
Velut sepiolæ vomunt liquorem.

O si nunc gelida resurgat urna
Siren Attica Isocrates, et ore
Divino celebrata vis Platonis,
Et quæ sceptrâ tulit scientiarum
Felix Græcia lucubrationum!

&c. &c. &c.

And if we want demonstration, in prose, of the charms of a book, let us read the testimony of Lucas de Penna, as extracted by Salmuth in his notes upon the

shame and false delicacy: and acknowledge that the union of Lysander with Belinda, and of Lisardo with Almansa, would never have taken place had there not been a perfect sympathy in taste, head, and heart, between them. These things beget a felicity which few other terrestrial gratifications are capable of producing: a felicity, which

‘ Grows with our growth, and strengthens with our strength ;’

and of which death, or disasters equally sudden and severe, can only dispossess us. I envy not that man, dear Lorenzo, who generally moves along in pomp, with a retinue, and with a velocity which sufficiently bespeak the littleness or étourderie of the intellect that guides such motion; but I do, from my heart, think *that man* an object of venial envy, who, in his walks, or rides, or movements, holds converse as it were with

—— Nature’s volume wide displayed,
And to peruse therein his sole delight.’

who, beneath every sky, whether clear or cloudy—whether in hazel copses, upon boldly swelling hills, or on widely extended plains; whether by the river’s side, musing along the daisy-sprinkled meadow—or in the umbrageous recesses of the interminable forest—whether in some one, or the whole of these situations—at the rising, or setting sun—at noon day, or by moon-light—constantly finds subject of

xxiii title (‘ De Librariis sive Bibliothecis’) of the work of Pancirollus, *De Rebus Memorabilibus et Deperditis*. Herein we find it called—‘ vas plenum sapientiae — hortus plenus fructibus, pratum fluens floribus, mare sine fluctibus — hostis oblivionis, amicus recordationis,’ &c. pt. i. p. 67, 4to. edit.

But — ‘ jam satis.’ Consult the *Monumenta Typographica* of Wolfius, vol. i. p. 936 to 1014; where there are poetical bouquets of all colours and qualities for the court dress of a Bibliographer, to be worn at the approaching TYPOGRAPHICAL JUBILEE: being THE FOURTH from the era of the discovery of the art of printing.

meditation, of admiration, and of gratitude: finds *himself* *harmonising* with every thing about him; finds the author of his own being, and of the world which is surrounding him, an object of

———‘wonder, love, and praise.’

I might here make bolder allusions, and touch a chord which might vibrate to more delightful harmonies. I might mention, what many worthy souls feel in such conjunctures, those sweet and secret intimations—those ‘longings after immortality’—those deep, strong, and heart-consoling assurances of ‘another and a better world’—but the theme is fitted for a ‘higher strain’... and I desist. Yet not to be wholly irrelevant in the foregoing ‘musings,’ let me add, as the truly rational and accomplished character finds delight in the situations just described, so, THE MAN OF BOOKS finds equal gratification in the furniture of his library; in which size and splendor are made subordinate to elegance and utility. He views, in them, treasures at once attractive and inexhaustible, be they in manuscript or in print; be they decorated by the pencil of Veronesi, or by the burin of Durer or Bernard. Whether they display the earliest or the latest efforts of the Art of Printing, whether from the press of Fust or of Bulmer, he searches alike for amusement and instruction: whether the margin be narrow or ample, the page clean or soiled, the binding of oak or of leather, he is content in the possession of such treasures—yet that man would approximate to a dolt, in my conception; who should say, if the volumes happen to be large, and clean, and well bound, *therefore* it is that the owner of them never ‘looketh therein.’

A well-printed book, whether ornamented or plain, may be called a species of miracle; when we come to consider the

results which often follow its perusal, the process by which it is produced, and the length of time which elapsed before such process was discovered. We also create a world of our own when in the possession of such a treasure; and, what is more delightful to think upon, our dearest friends and relatives, whether distant or near, whether beneath African [suns, or amidst Lapland snows, may sympathise in the enjoyments which we derive from the perusal of it: may mix with us in the battles of Homer, or wander with us in the Elysium of Milton; may sigh with us over the sorrows of Petrarch, or be transported with us into the world of Shakspeare's exclusive creation. You see I am becoming at least grandiloquent—in the cause of printed books! But it is now really time to say farewell... When you open an instructive volume, with appropriate and well executed embellishments, think upon the exertions of PHILEMON to render such object worthy even of an enthusiastic attachment. . . . I now resign the sceptre of command into hands more capable of wielding it with effect,

So saying, Philemon left his seat, and invested Lysander with the insignia of office; to be borne by the latter on the following day. The discussion terminated too late to enjoy 'the garden-promenade' before dinner; and the parties, in retiring to prepare themselves for that repast, expressed their thanks again and again, in the warmest manner, for the rich and varied entertainment afforded them by the conversation of Philemon. 'Lorenzo's viands (said Lisardo, evidently affected, and pausing ere he made the remark) will have now lost half their relish. The entertainment of

Philemon should have lasted till midnight. Who would fear repletion at such a banquet?’

The day passed tranquilly and happily. An evening stroll in the garden, by moon-light, supplied the inconvenience of previous abstinence from exercise; and while making the circuit of a grove of lauristinus, intermingled with the arbutus and woodbine, Lisardo and Almansa expressed to each other, in terms not to be heard by profane ears, the peculiar gratification they had that day experienced from the discourse of Philemon:—‘but I think, dear Lisardo,’ said the latter, (while the moon shone full upon a countenance which might have blunted the point of every nail in the iron-bound belt of Giovanni Gualberto*) ‘that our orator should have dilated somewhat upon books containing *Portraits of Eminent Men*—At any rate let us rejoice that we possess so charming a copy of *Queen Elizabeth’s Prayer Book*. We shall now duly appreciate its worth. I trust however that you will persevere in obtaining the pieces of *Bernard Salomon*: remembering what faulty impressions you possess:—and do, dear Lisardo, extend your collection of *Emblems*!’ ‘For my part,’ exclaimed Lisardo, (drily, and somewhat peevishly) ‘I shall be more anxious to secure copies of *Translations of the Ancient Classics into the German language*; the wood-cut embellishments in them have quite transported me.’ Belinda now approached; and on enquiry for Lysander, he was described as sitting upon a bench, beside a grove of pine and birch, preparing, in imagination, his materials for the morrow’s discussion. The evening was indeed unusually tranquil and warm: well suiting the meditations of a thoughtful mind. But it is time to drop the curtain upon such scenery—

* Vide p. 80 ante.

‘ Night wanes—the vapours round the mountains curl’d
Melt into morn, and Light awakes the world.’

Lara ; Canto II.

Lysander is in his chair of presidency. He has thrice waved his wand of office ; and the Decameron circle, now collected within the Library, are listening with delight as he fulfils the duties of his station.



FOURTH DAY.

ARGUMENT.

Origin and Early Progress of Printing.



Fourth Day.



WHAT a task has been consigned to me! After the delightful topics selected by Philemon, after wandering 'midst what may be called the faery-land of bibliography, and culling flowers of every hue and fragrance, I am to discourse upon the **ORIGIN AND EARLY PROGRESS OF PRINTING!** I am to lead this joyous circle through the dark and difficult mazes which involve the question respecting the first use of the *Puncheon* and *Matrix*! Yet I shall purposely forbear from all indirect and secondary subjects of consideration: from conducting you into the fruitless and wearisome labyrinths of controversy, or into those obscure and interminable 'passages, walks, and alleys' which appear as cheerless as they are void. On the contrary, it is my wish simply to convey you to an eminence from which you may have a distinct view of the leading features of the landscape before you: from

which you may see the chateau (if metaphorical expression be allowable) where the first great typographical triumvirate—*Gutenberg, Fust, and Schoiffher*—fixed their distinguished residence; and, a little to the right, the turrets of the monastery wherein *Sweynheym and Pannartz* worked their infant press; while, looking proudly in the blue expanse of distance, the ancient residences of *Zel, Mentelin*, and *Ulric Han*, rear their venerable fronts, and claim your notice and admiration. Nor shall the humbler abode of *Pfister*, in his old mansion at Bamberg, be concealed from view. So that you see, my friends, here is a tolerably inviting panorama for the exercise of your bibliographical observation!

LORENZO. You omit to point out the residence of my well-beloved *Laurence Coster*, of Harlem?

LYSANDER. I know that Seiz has published a view of that worthy old gentleman's mansion; and I feel the force of your correction. I will take care that due attention be paid to Coster. First however, my friends, survey the treasures that surround you in this well-selected library! They are speaking evidences of the importance of the art, whose origin is about to be discussed; and where would Philemon have gathered those beautiful flowers, with which, for the last two days, he has entwined so fragrant a chaplet, if such treasures had not been in existence? Do not let us spurn the fountain-head, because the waters that have issued from it have taken a bolder course, and fructified capacious domains: and when I tell you that nearly as many cities have contended for the honour of having given birth to *Printing*, as did for that of being the birth-place of *Homer*, you will necessarily admit the subject to assume an important and interesting shape. At the same time, I feel the

force of Daunou's remark;* namely, that we are too remote from the period in which the art, here alluded to, actually began to be exercised, to be exactly ascertained of its earliest fruits:—and we live too near the same period to form an accurate estimate of the immense results of which it is likely to be productive. Some again, you know, gravely make a quære, whether printing, upon the whole, have not done greater harm than good?†—and the same has been said of knowledge of all kinds: but this is assuredly the *ne plus ultra* of conceit and absurdity... To the point.

Leaving the more curious or learned part of my auditory to examine, at leisure, the pages of Fischer—how far the art of printing appears to have been known to the ancients—‡

* the force of Daunou's remark.] See the first sentence of his '*Analyse des Opinions diverses sur L'Origine de L'Imprimerie*. It had also been said, probably before the birth of Monsieur Daunou's grandfather: 'L'Imprimerie, qui nous apprend des nouvelles de tant de choses, ne nous parle presque point de son origine. Vous diriez, qu'elle se plaist à passer cela sous silence. C'est un secret, qu'elle tient caché, pour donner lieu à nostre curiosité, d'en faire une plus exacte recherche, et pour couronner nos travaux par quelque heureuse découverte.' *Extraordinaire du Mercure Galant*; Octobre 1679: vol. viii. p. 216: from the *Mon. Typog.* of Wolfius: vol. ii. p. 1117.

† printing—done greater harm than good?] That a cold and calculating philosopher should consume even a whole winter's season in endeavouring to settle this momentous question, is possibly very conceivable: but that a lively French author (ycleped Mons. Bollioud-Mermet—see *Barbier's Dict. des Oeuvr. Anon. et Pseud.* vol. i. p. 64, edit. 1806) should, in his treatise 'De La Bibliomanie,' be guilty of the following indiscreet remark, is almost inconceivable. 'C'est une question encore indécise, que de savoir si l'invention de l'imprimerie a plus contribué aux progrès des lettres et à la perfection de la morale, qu'elle ne leur a nuï. Ce n'est pas ici (continues this saucy declaimer) le lieu de l'examiner ni de la résoudre: tout ce qu'on peut dire est, que le nombre des livres est immense, et que celui des bons livres est très-petit,' p. 52.

‡ how far the art of Printing appears to have been known to the ancients.] The words of Cicero, as thrown into the mouth of Balbus the Stoic, in the second book 'Of the Nature of the Gods,' is familiar to most typographical antiquaries. Those, however, who are not antiquaries, but mere lovers of researches of this kind, may be pleased to read what it is that master Balbus, 'of a meruaylous

I shall proceed to inform you that, towards the beginning of the fifteenth century, there lived, in the city of Mentz, one JOHN GAENSEFLEISCH or GENSFLEISCH of SORGENLOCH,

cunninge,' is made to say: 'I should not be surprised (observes he) if some human being were found, who could persuade himself that certain solid and separate bodies, propelled by their force and gravity, had, in their course, been so consolidated and arranged, that this beautiful and well-furnished world were the result of such union! He however who should reason thus, might, in my opinion, just as well say that innumerable forms or pieces, whether of gold or otherwise, of the one and twenty letters of the alphabet, may be so cast upon the ground that the *Annals of Ennius* should be the result of such an action! Quintilian also, in his *Institutes of Oratory*, (book 1st) mentions 'pieces of ivory, in the shape of letters, to be used as a game by children, in order to make them learn.' Boetius is thought to have had a prophetic glimpse of the mechanism of the press, in the following lines from the 6th book of his *Consolatio Philosophiæ*:

Quondam Porticus attulit—
Obscuros nimium Senes,
Qui sensus et imagines
E corporibus extimis.
Credant mentibus imprimi;
Ut quondam, celeri stylo,
Mos est æquore paginæ
Quæ nullas habet notas; - - -
- - - - -
- - - quæ - - - modo
Impressas patitur notas;

and St. Jerom, in an epistle to his fair correspondent, Læta, shrewdly remarks: 'Let letters be made for her, (the young Paulina) of box, or of ivory, and let them have specific denominations. Let her play with these letters, and thus the game itself becomes productive of erudition.' I frankly own there appears to me to be little or nothing in these passages, as connected with the mechanism of printing, beyond what might have been collected from the knowledge which has reached us of the ancient *hypogrammatic tablets* or *dipticha*, and *stigmata*, upon which Pitiscus, Schwarz, Derling, Groebelius, and Rhodiginus may be advantageously consulted. John Toland—whose conjectures, both in Latin and in English, upon the probable origin of printing, are known to most curious readers—makes a great outcry (as I read him in *Wolfii Monumenta Typographica*, vol. ii. p. 905) upon the first passage, from Cicero; suspecting the expression 'formæ litterarum' to have first suggested to John Gutenberg of Strasbourg, or to John Fust of Mentz, or to Laurence Coster of Harlem, or to any other sagacious and not incurious citizen or artisa—the idea of printing?' 'Multo pressius et clarius (adds he) ad rem Typographicam faciunt "innumerabiles" illæ omnium Alpha-

called *Zum Gutenberg*; of an illustrious family, but who, on a revolution at Mentz, in the time of Conrad III. retired to Strasburg; where it is thought, about the year 1420, or 1423, he made his first experiments connected with the art of printing. An authentic document, corroborative of his being at Strasbourg in 1424,* has been discovered in the archives of the city of Mentz; to which city Gutenberg was invited to return by the aforesaid Conrad—but in which it is supposed he never made his re-appearance till about the year 1434.† It is certain that misfortunes had then reduced this

beti “literarum formæ” metallicæ, quales “aureæ” sunt, vel adhuc cum Cicerone nostro “quales libet” (quasi ligneas insuper innueret) quam locus ullus, qui ex antiquioribus citari possit, aliud.’ I differ ‘toto cælo’ from John Toland. Schoepflin however has very sensibly remarked: ‘Typographiam manibus fere tenuerunt Romani. Equidem sigilla eorum, literis prominentibus sculpta, et quidem sculpta retrorsus, quibus vasa signarunt, quoties in supellectile mea antiquaria contemplor, toties omnem fere typographicam formam in illis reperio, cui nihil defuerat, nisi literarum mobilitas; quam artifex si addidisset Romanus, id est, literas, quod facile factu, si formasset solutiles; Roma vetus typographiæ jam fuisset inventrix: quæ præcipuas ejus partes, prominentiam et inversionem typorum jam noverat; mobilitatem, quæ addenda, non vidit.’ *Vindiciæ Typographica*, p. 4-5. See Würdtwein’s *Bibl. Mogunt.* p. 39; upon the contention for the birth-place of Homer, and of the art of printing.

* *An authentic document corroborative of his being at Strasbourg in 1424.*] This document was discovered by Bodmann, and is published by Fischer (*Essai sur les Mon. Typog. de Gutenberg*) p. 24. There is nothing upon the face of this ‘document’ which justifies Fischer in observing that, when it was written, Gutenberg was ‘occupied with his project’ of perfecting his discovery of the art of printing. See post. I forgot before to observe that Würdtwein is ‘most learned’ upon Gutenberg’s surname *SORGENLOCH*: see the *Bibl. Mogunt.* p. 37.

† *re-appearance till about the year 1434.*] This is faintly affirmed by Fischer, p. 25, on the authority of Köhler’s *Ehrenkettung*, p. 82. We are to suppose he revisited Mentz ‘pour quelques arrangemens d’intérêts avec ses frères.’ I own there is some little difficulty in settling this point: for Mons. Née de la Rochelle says (and Monsieur Née de la Rochelle is a very eloquent, and peradventure ‘honorable’ man) ‘on le trouve en 1424, et mieux encore en 1434 à Strasbourg, où, mécontent de ce que les officiers municipaux de Mayence ne lui faisaient pas payer une portion de rente et de cens, montant alors à 310 florins du Rhin qu’ils lui devaient, il se permit de faire mettre en prison un nommé Nicolas, scribe ou secrétaire de cette ville, jusqu’à ce que cette somme lui eût été comptée.’ A little

enterprising genius to poverty; for he seems to have had pretty distinct notions of the mechanism of a printing-press, without the means of carrying his views into effect. Somewhere about this time he appears to have attached himself to a young lady called *ISERNEN THURE*, of the christian name of *Anne*, and whom, there is every reason to think, he

onward, the compassionate feelings of Monsieur Née de la Rochelle induce that writer to call Nicholas 'le pauvre Nicolas!' *Eloge Historique de Guttenberg*; 1811, 8vo. p. 23. My friend Mr. Singer, who has advocated the cause of Gutenberg and of Mentz with all the zeal of a partisan, and all the skill of an ingenious practitioner, observes hereupon: 'we have further evidence that he [Gutenberg] was at *Strasburg* in 1434, for at the instance of the senate of Mentz, he releases Nicholas the Greffier, whom he had caused to be arrested for 310 florins, due to him by that city.' Schoepflin is quoted in support of this position.

The authority of Schoepflin is most respectable: but I own I do not 'see my way clearly' through the labyrinth of this law-suit. Schoepflin observes—'We gather, from a public document preserved at *Strasbourg*, (which document, no. 1, is given by this writer himself, in his Appendix, p. 3-4) that Gutenberg, in the year 1434, had resided several years at *Strasbourg*: he preferred some heavy complaints against the city of Mentz, to the *Strasbourg* senate, that the former had withheld from him certain annual sums then long due; (the instrument, from which the debt arose, is technically called '*Ettwie vil vergessener zinsse von der obgenantem Statt Menze ussestat*') and in order to compel the people of Mentz to discharge their debts, he moved the court to throw Nicholas, the head clerk, ('*Archigrammateus*') then conducting business in some parts of *Alsace*, into prison; and that he should continue imprisoned until he had sworn to pay 310 *Rhenish florins*, the amount of the sum then due.' What, gentle reader, dost thou anticipate to be the result? That 'le pauvre Nicolas' found bail—or was 'cast into prison?' Neither. The good people of Mentz, knowing the humane feelings of the senate of *Strasbourg*, or of John Gutenberg, write at once to the former that the miserable Nicholas 'may be unconditionally dismissed from all obligation whatever;' and to this, Gutenberg immediately assents! Was there ever a legal demand so compromised?—and on the part of one, too, who wanted money to complete the important experiments he was then making! How the senate of *Strasbourg* could control that of Mentz—or why Gutenberg should not go to Mentz, to prosecute his claims arising out of that city, appears certainly extraordinary.

Schoepflin adds 'we know that, on the death of his father in 1430, Gutenberg quitted Mentz for *Strasbourg*.' p. 16. We know also, from Bodmann, that he had been before at *Strasbourg* in 1424. Thus difficulties arrest us at the very threshold of our enquiries!

eventually married. Whether she brought him any property, or whether the sweets of love gave a more fortunate as well as more ardent turn to his genius, may possibly be questioned; but on returning to Strasbourg, and about the year 1439, it seems clear that Gutenberg established a sort of partnership, which is known to have existed under the firm of himself, *Riffe*, *Heilman*, and *Dritzen*; and that in this year *something like a printing-press* was probably established. Who made the drawing, or whether Master Finiguera ever produced an engraving of it, must, alas, I fear, remain in eternal obscurity! Who first *primed* the balls, who first *wetted the sheet*, who first laid it upon the *frisket*—

BELINDA. What strange terms are these?—

LYSANDER. Purely technical ones — and perhaps untunable to ladies' ears. Who first, Lisardo (for let me finish my picture) seized upon the handle—pressed—and threw off the frisket—and then held up the typographical miracle—waving in the wind, and glittering in the sun-beam?

LISARDO. You distract me! Talk not of copies of the *Original Play-Bills*, in which Shakspeare was announced to act—in plays which he himself had written—

PHILEMON. Order! We have nothing to do with *William Shakspeare* but with *John Gensfleisch of Sorgenloch*, commonly called *John Gutenberg*. . . .

LORENZO. Philemon is right. Pursue your narrative, my brave Lysander.

LYSANDER. I can forgive our convert. Indeed, I addressed myself more particularly to him, knowing he would have parted with one of the wings of his mansion for a genuine copy of the first sheet ever pulled in a printing-

office ! But we must not lose sight of Gutenberg ; who is supposed by Laguille, in his *Histoire d'Alsace*, pt. i. p. 333, (according to Fischer) to have first tried his press in the house of Dritzehen.* It is thought, however, that these earliest efforts were not with fusile types, but either with pieces, or from blocks, of wood. Be this as it may ; it seems certain that, about the year 1443, Gutenberg returned to Mentz, and there hired a house called *Zum Jungen*,†

* First tried his press in the house of Dritzehen.] Gutenberg himself lived in the faubourg of St. Arbogast. *Née De La Rochelle*, p. 37, note.

† there hired an house called *Zum Jungen*.] ' For the satisfaction of those (says (Fischer) who are acquainted with Mentz, and who interest themselves in the changes which ' time and circumstance ' have made in a city, that may be called the cradle of the art of printing, I shall here offer a few remarks upon the house formerly known by the name of *Zum Jungen*. This house was in ancient times a large hotel, with a considerable court, near that called *Lorscheroef*, opposite the *Recollets*. On one side of it there was a house called *Hanauerhof*, and on the other there was a street ; so that it comprehended the residence named *Färberof*, and all the other houses as far as the ancient street of *Marktstrasse*. See *Gudenus's Codex Diplom.* vol. ii. p. 513, 532. It took the title of *Zum Jungen* from an ancient family of that name ; who, after the insurrection of 1420, retired to Frankfort. See *Joan. de Patr. Mogun. Comment.* in the *Script. Rer. Mogunt.* vol. iii. p. 460. That family however still kept possession of the house ; and, in the year 1443, let it to Gutenberg, who established his printing office there. In 1462, the Elector Adolphus II. confiscated the whole of the premises, because they had belonged to a partisan of *Diether* ; and gave them in fee to *Brömber of Rudesheim*. On the death of that family, it was disposed of to Mr. de *Greiffclau zu Vollarts*, who lately occupied a part of it ; namely, that which my colleague, the Professor Weidman, possesses. It does not appear improbable to M. Schunk, the Vicar of Mentz, and a learned antiquary in the history of his country, that the *very house*, now occupied by M. *Crass*, a printer, was formerly the principal part of the hotel in which *FUST* and *GUTENBERG* carried on their business as printers.' Let not the reader dispel the charm of such a belief, by a too scrupulous and severe dissection of the evidence by which it is supported. See, however, the *Bibl. Mogunt.* p. 46-7.

Fischer continues his pleasant note thus : ' *Schöpflin* is wrong in supposing the house called *Zum Jungen* to be the one in which Gutenberg resided. See the *Mém. de L'Acad. d'Inscript.* &c. vol. xvii. p. 765. That house, on the contrary, which was in the same place where they afterward built the coffee-house *Schroeder*, belonged certainly to Gutenberg the inventor of printing—and not to

where he probably put in practice his newly-discovered art ; not however, as Fischer seems to intimate, without renewing his practice of printing with wooden blocks.

At Mentz, towards the year 1450, Gutenberg formed his celebrated connection with JOHN FUST, a goldsmith, and man of property. Whether this partnership arose from the poverty of the former, or from the pure wish of the latter to improve the discovery, and to reap more extensive benefits therefrom, remains a matter of uncertainty ; nor do I know why, in the establishment of this firm or partnership, the views of Fust should be considered in a more unfavourable point of view than those of Gutenberg. Where no authentic documents exist, upon which to form a correct judgment,

Gutenberg the treasurer and dynastic—(a family wholly different from *Gutenberg of Sorgenloch*) but was never used as a printing office. It was also confiscated by Adolphus in 1462. In 1656 it was in ruins ; but when Jean Philippe, the Elector, declared himself proprietor of all such places as were not repaired within a certain time, it was given by him to Mehl, Chancellor of Wurtzburg. Mehl made a present of it to the faculty of law of the University of Mentz, in 1666, and the latter fixed there their library and establishment in 1713. It was in this same house that WITTIG erected a monument to Gutenberg with the following inscription :

IO. GVTENBERGENSI MOGVINO, QVI PRIMVS OMNIVM
LITTERAS AERE IMPRIMENDAS INVENTIT, HAC ARTE
DE ORBE TOTO BENE MERENTI IVO WITIGISIS HOC SAXVM
PRO MONVMENTO POSVIT. MDVIII.

Serrarius saw it, (*Rer. Mogunt. lib. 1. cap. 38*) but it was afterwards destroyed. Yet, on the authority of Gudenus, it should seem that Serrarius was in error respecting the date—as Juo Wittig died in 1507. We must consequently correct the principal contents of a letter written to Heineken, by Professor Dürr, respecting these two houses. *Mon. Typog. de Gutenberg*, p. 33-5, note. Consult also Meerman's *Orig. Typog.* vol. i. p. 165, note bb. Notwithstanding however that Gutenberg lived at Mentz in 1434, his name appears on the city rolls of Strasbourg in 1444 : Schoepflin, *Appdx.* p. 40. From this it should seem that he meditated a return to the latter place. Fischer adds—‘Ce qui prouve encore que Gutenberg n'avait pas, à Strasbourg, l'idée des caractères mobiles, c'est qu'il est constant qu'à son retour à Mayence, il imprima d'abord avec des planches fixes en bois.’ p. 35.

the wiser as well as more discreet way will be, to suspend a *positive* opinion; or, at least, not to form a decided one to the prejudice of *either* party. I make this observation (perhaps unnecessary before an audience of such candor as the one I am addressing) because Fischer, somewhat too precipitately, appears to attach sinister views to Fust in the formation of this partnership with Gutenberg.* Let us however pursue the narrative.

Sometime after this alliance, PETER SCHOIFFHER attracted the attention of these discerning geniuses. When he was born, who were his parents, and what were his circumstances and employments, are points wholly unknown, and perhaps likely to continue so.† But this much is certain. Schoiffer was a young man of no mean talents; and appeared, in the

* *sinister views to Fust in the formation of his partnership with Gutenberg.*] 'JEAN FUST, qui moins par ses conseils que par son argent, contribua au développement de l'art.' Fischer, p. 40. Upon what authority does Monsieur Fischer make this assertion? Would Fust have lent his money upon the mere *ipse-dixit* of Gutenberg? On the contrary, as the goldsmiths of that day (and Fust is supposed to have been one) were among the most ingenious as well as wealthy of merchants, it is more probable that Fust not fully comprehended the nature of the art of printing, but suggested ideas of improvement: as it is barely possible he would have lent money upon the prospective advantages to be derived from the mere use of wooden blocks. See post.

* *points wholly unknown, and perhaps likely to continue so.*] Yet the lively fancy of a French bibliographer has undertaken to supply such desiderata: as thus—'Ce PIERRE SCHÖFFER né à Gernsheim (petite ville, quoiqu'enclavée dans le pays de Darmstadt, appartenant à l'électorat de Mayence) était un jeune étudiant qui, ayant déjà acquis beaucoup de connaissances, voyageait et copiait des manuscrits. Soit qu'il en eut préparé pour la presse de GUTENBERG, soit parcequ'il donnait des leçons à la fille de Fust, ces imprimeurs l'invitèrent à leur art. Doué lui-même de beaucoup de génie, il ne tarda pas à pressentir tous les développemens que l'on pouvait donner à cette découverte.' Fischer, p. 41. 'Pierre Schoeffer, Schoeyffer, Schoiffer, qui signifie berger en Allemand, *Petrus Opilio* en Latin, Pierre de *Gernsheim*, lieu de sa naissance—était un familier ou un ouvrier de Fust, comme il le dit lui-même; clerc, c'est-à-dire, scribe, copiste, enlumineur.' Lambinet, vol. i. p. 114. The preceding passage from Fischer is then quoted by Lambinet. Thus, Fischer makes Schoiffer a sort of *private tutor* to Fust's

estimation of Fust, of so much importance to the complete success of the discovery of printing, that, as an inducement to incorporate him in the concern with himself and Gutenberg, he offered him the hand of his daughter in marriage:

daughter—who proved, in turn, a sort of *Eloisa-pupil*! He allows him, however, to have been ‘*doué de beaucoup de génie.*’

Lambinet, of himself, is pretty safe in his deductions; but Monsier Née de la Rochelle, for what reason seems equally unknown and inexplicable, appears to have entertained a very ‘loathing and hate’ against poor Peter Schoiffer! He considers (as I have before observed, *Bibl. Spencer.* vol. iii. p. 36) the passage—‘*quique numero sæpe parvulis revelat quod sapientibus celat*’—as a trait justly lanced against Peter Schoiffer, a young writer; who, without having studied for any length of time the mechanism of the art of printing, was quick enough in conceiving a readier process—upon which Gutenberg had been previously and for a long while meditating without success,’ p. 81. And a little further (p. 83) he says that among the things which prevented Gutenberg from affixing his own name to his productions, was, ‘the notorious ambition of John Schoiffer!’ (Can the son of Peter Schoiffer be here meant?) I shall have occasion presently to shew (and to prove, I trust) that PETER SCHOIFFER is entitled to a little more respectful mention—

Parcius ista viris tamen objicienda memento!

The safer and the more sensible conclusion is, I submit, to speak of Schoiffer as he himself warrants us in speaking: for, previous to his partnership with Fust, we really and truly know nothing about him—except that, from a fac-simile of his hand writing, in an original document, of the date of 1449, as given in the viith plate of Schoepflin, it should seem that he had formerly lived at Paris, and was a calligraphist; or ‘one who taught the art of writing in public schools.’ See Schoepflin, p. 30-1. The plate has this prefix: *Notitia Libri manu Petri de Gernsheim scripti Lutetiæ Parisior. A.1449. Ex Cod. MS. Bibl. Universit. Argent.* and the writing is of that square, bold, gothic cast, or character, with frequent contractions, which is peculiar to the specimens of the age. The date runs thus: ‘Anno. m°.cccc°.xlix. In gloriosissima vniversitate: parisiensi.’ I had thoughts of copying a line or two, by way of fac-simile, but Schoepflin’s book is of sufficiently common occurrence: and I am not sure whether the appearance of such stiff and stately penmanship may not detract somewhat, in the estimation of the fastidious, from the received calligraphic reputation of the writer. At any rate, all Schoiffer’s fame, however great, and once generally acknowledged, as a *Calligraphist*, becomes merged (to borrow a law phrase) in that of a *Printer*. On commencing the business of the latter, Schoiffer tells us, in the colophon of the Psalter of 1457, simply, that he was ‘of Gernszheim:’ in the colophon of the Durandus, 1459, the surname of Schoiffer is omitted (apparently by mistake) and he describes himself ‘a Clerk of the Diocese of Mentz:’ in the Constitutions of Clement V. of 1460, he styles himself precisely as in the Psalter of 1457;

an offer, which seems to have been readily accepted. Of the age, person, and dowry of CHRISTINA FUST (for that was the lady's christian name) I fear it were now in vain to make enquiries. We will however suppose that the husband obtained the consent of the lady, 'nothing loth;' and that, on the day of their union, all 'happy constellations

'Shed their selectest influence.'

It seems conclusive, I think, that the plans of Gutenberg and Fust, whatever they may have been, were fast advancing to maturity on the extension of their partnership; and the *Bible of 1455*, and the *Psalters of 1457 and 1459*, are proud and imperishable monuments of the first fruits of the EARLIEST MENTZ PRESS.

Meanwhile, however, and perhaps before the completion of the Bible, Fust and Gutenberg quarrelled and separated. A law-suit was instituted by the former, on the non-payment of a sum of money advanced by the latter towards carrying on the expenses of their business; and in the answer, 'put in' by Gutenberg, there seems to me to be an appearance of shuffling or evasion. The result was, the withdrawing of Gutenberg;* and the entire surrender of all his right and

while in the colophon of the Bible of 1462, he resumes the distinction of 'Clerk of the Diocese of Mentz.' See Schoepflin's sensible note upon the word 'Clerk.' *Vind. Typog.* p. 30. Below this, it is unnecessary to pursue the enquiry; yet we may observe that Schoeffer spells his name variously: as 'Schoffer,' (*Psalter, 1457*) 'Schoiffer,' (*Bible, 1462, Constitutions of Clement V. 1467, Thomas Aquinas, 1467, 1469*) 'Schoyffer,' (*Justinian, 1468, Valerius Maximus, 1471*) and 'Schoiffer' (*Bible, 1472*).

* *The result was, the withdrawing of Gutenberg.* Let us say a few words about the premises which led to such a conclusion. Ulric Zell told the author of the Cologne Chronicle, (printed in 1499) that 'in the Jubilee year, 1450, they began to print a Bible, in a large letter, like the type used for Missals.' Peter Schoeffer told Trithemius, about the year 1485, that before the *third quaternion* (a quaternion is *four sheets*) or before *twelve sheets* were printed of this very Bible, they had expended not less than 400 [golden] florins. Meerman thinks that this sum was consumed in the usual expenses of the office between 1450 and

property, in the materials of the printing office, into the hands of Fust. After this, Fust and Schoiffher appear to have managed their business very cleverly and successfully. Gutenberg is said to have printed works by himself, to which however he was afraid or ashamed to affix his name; and after the year 1460, withdrawing himself totally from business, he was admitted, with a pension, as one of the equeries of Alphonsus II. Elector of Mentz; and is supposed to have died in that city about the year 1468. The materials of his press were purchased of Conrad Humery, one of the Mentz Syndics, by *Bechtermuntze*,* and the

1455—and that it was no ‘unconscionable sum for procuring matrices and puncheons, and other necessary materials.’ He also supposes, but apparently without authority, that this Bible was committed to press before the partnership commenced. See his luminous note in the *Orig. Typog.* vol. i. p. 151, &c. Now for the ‘result’—as stated on the united authorities of Seckenberg and Köhlers; and of which Fournier has given a translation and Oberlin an analysis. See Fischer, p. 43. Mr. Singer, who is a very champion for Gutenberg, has thus fairly stated this result. ‘The sums advanced by Fust to Gutenberg, under whose superintendence the establishment was carried into effect, having become very considerable, the result was a litigation between them: Fust instituting a process against Gutenberg for the recovery of 2020 gold florins, which he had furnished, and the interest accruing thereon. Gutenberg, in his reply, states, that the first 800 florins had not been paid him at once, according to the contract, and that they had been employed in preparations for the work; that in regard to the other sums, he offered to render an account; and he thought he was not liable to pay the interest. The judges, having taken the depositions of each party, Gutenberg was sentenced to pay the interest, as well as that part of the capital which his accounts proved to have been employed for his particular use. Fust obtained the record of this sentence from Helmasperger, the notary, on the 6th of November, 1455.’ *Enquiry into the Origin of Playing Cards*, &c. p. 156.

The consequence was, a dissolution of partnership. Gutenberg was unable to discharge his debt, and ‘was obliged to cede to Fust all the moulds, types, presses, and utensils, which were previously engaged to him as surety for the payment of the sums he had advanced.’ *The same*.

* *materials of his press purchased—by Bechtermuntze.*] ‘Bechtermuntze, the printer, purchased these types of Conrad Humery, a syndic of Mentz, to whom the printing materials of Gutenberg had descended as a species of heir-loom, since he had defrayed almost all the expenses attending the second establishment of the press of Gutenberg.’ (Fischer, p. 51.) *Bibl. Spencer* vol. iii. p. 129.

Vocabulary *Ex-quo** (as it is technically called) of the dates 1467 and 1469, were the fruits of this purchase: fruits, however, almost equally destitute of flavour and beauty.

PHILEMON. Notwithstanding the correctness of your observation respecting the backwardness of pronouncing judgment when the facts of a case appear few or vague, you seem to me, nearly throughout the whole of this narrative, to have delivered your sentiments with rather a strong prepossession or bias against the pretensions of Gutenberg. What will Monsieur Née De La Rochelle say to this treatment of his beloved typographical hero?

LYSANDER. Monsieur Née De La Rochelle may say what he pleases; and I choose to say what appears to me to be the more probable or reasonable inference. No doubt I am open to animadversion, and perhaps deserve correction for an error:† but if such a bias, as the one you describe, seems to have given a *colouring* to the foregoing statement, let me add, in justice to my love of truth, that it is only from facts as they appear ‘upon the record,’ that I entertain the opinion attributed to me. Observe now, I entreat you. Here is, in

* *The Vocabulary ‘Ex-quo.’*] ‘It is a very brief abridgment of parts of the Catholicon; and, as Meerman has observed, is known by the technical title of the *Ex-Quo* Vocabulary—gathered from the first two words of the commencement of it, as follows:

‘[E]x quo vocabularij varij autēfici videlicz.’

Adolphus, the Elector of Mentz, forbade by a decree the selling of this Vocabulary without the walls of Mentz. *Ibid.* It must be admitted that it did not carry, upon its *own face*, very strong letters of recommendation!

† *open to animadversion, and perhaps deserve correction for an error.*] I beg leave to think and speak with Lysander; particularly as, in the *Classical Journal*, no. viii. and *Typog. Antiquities*, vol. i. p. lxxxvii., I may appear to have entertained very different sentiments. The truth is, that an ingenious advocate may argue either side of the case—with almost equal appearance of correctness and chance of success! Besides, we oftentimes see clearer at forty, than we do at thirty two, years of age!

the first place, (and you must forgive a little recapitulation) a very restless and rather litigious gentleman. I put his birth, high or low, quite out of the question; and the consideration of the treatment, whether good or bad, which he received at the hands of Conrad III., weighs not a feather with me. But, somewhere about 1420, Gutenberg leaves Mentz, the place of his birth, and goes to Strasbourg. In the year 1424 he writes to his sister,* upon the non-payment of 'her rents and profits' (bequeathed to her by their brother *Conrad*) to apply to her own uses 20 golden florins of his (John Gutenberg's) property, 'situate and being at Mentz and other places.' The only use of this letter (first discovered by Bodmann in the archives of Mentz) is, in the estimation of Fischer and Née de la Rochelle, to shew that Gutenberg was not then a pauper, but had the means of erecting a press if it pleased him. We must consider the

* *In the year 1424, he writes to his sister.*] As this is the first authenticated document of the composition of Gutenberg, the reader may be pleased with a translation of Oberlin's French version of the original German. It alludes to a previous letter received by Gutenberg from his sister.

To the Worthy Religious Bertha, of the Convent of St. Clair, at Mentz: health, and friendly and brotherly wishes:

Dear Sister,

In respect to your observation of the rents and money, (bequeathed to you by our deceased brother, Conrad) not being regularly paid—and that at present very considerable arrears are due—I beg leave to inform you that you may apply to your own uses, and as in part-payment of such arrears, the sum of twenty florins (of gold), arising from my rents and profits, deposited, as you know, at Mentz and other places, with John Dringelter the wax-chandler, at Seilhoven with Veronica Meysteren, as Pedirmann will inform you; also at Lorzwiller, at Bodenheim, and at Muminheym. I propose, God willing, as I hope to see you in a short time, to arrange this matter with Pedirmann, in order that your property may be quickly and legally made over to you. Let me first have your answer to this proposition.

Signed, HENNE GENSFLEISCH, surnamed
SORGENLOCH.

Strasbourg, Mar. 24, 1424.

latter as a purely gratuitous remark. What follows? About the year 1430, Gutenberg still continues at Strasbourg, notwithstanding Conrad had recalled many noble families to Mentz... And what does he do in that city? Nothing. I beg pardon: about the year 1437, he commences lover, and becomes a husband—yet he cannot even marry without a law-suit!* He now perhaps bethinks him seriously of the art of printing, and engages in some kind of business with Andreas Dritzehen and others; but upon the death of this latter, about the year 1439-40, he gets involved in another law-suit, with the remaining partners, and is again worsted! The recorded depositions of *Riffe*, *Heilman*, and *Dritzehen*, respecting this law suit, are most material and interesting evidence.† Yet, in these depositions, the word ‘press’ is so

* *cannot even marry without a law-suit.*] I suspect there was something in the nature of a breach of promise of marriage in this affair. At any rate, there was a quarrel; and Gutenberg was brought before a judge, who probably told him that he must conduct himself like a man of honour, and keep his word. The sequel however of the litigation with *Miss Iserin Thüre*, or *Ennelin zu der Iserin Thüre*, is not exactly ascertained—‘*cujus exitum (says Schoepflin) charta non docet.*’ ‘*Idem Gutenbergius a 1437. coram Judice Ecclesiastico litem habuit cum Anna, nobili virgine, cive Argentinensi, promissi, ut videtur, matrimonii causa;*’ &c. *Vindic. Typog.* p. 17. Yet a little further Schoepflin adds—‘*Gutenbergii conjugem eam devenisse conjicimus!*’ Of course, the conclusions of Oberlin, and of other bibliographical writers—that a marriage did actually take place—can depend upon no other data than the foregoing. It is ascertained, as Schoepflin has remarked, that the name of *Ennel* or *Ann Gutenberg* appears upon the rolls of contribution in the city of Strasbourg.

† *the depositions of Riffe, Heilman, and Dritzehen—interesting evidence.*] These depositions were first published by Schoepflin, from the original documents existing in the archives of Strasbourg. They have been since reprinted by Oberlin and Fischer, with a French translation; and recently by Mr. Singer, with an English translation—having the German subjoined. A portion of them was published, six years ago, in my edition of the *Typographical Antiquities*; vol. i. p. lxxxvii. Before I introduce them, for the fifth time, to the reader’s acquaintance, it must be remarked that Gutenberg had associated himself with *John Riffe*, *Andreas Heilman* and *Andreas Dritzehen*. The deed of partnership between them is, I believe, no longer in existence; but the circumstances which

indefinitely mentioned, and 'the four pieces,' of which the press is composed, are so inexplicably introduced, that no kind of safe or solid conclusion can be drawn from such premises.

led to it are summarily narrated by Schoepflin : upon which I choose to make a few observations, in the order in which that narrative is given.

While Gutenberg was occupied with his new business at Strasbourg, Andreas Dritzehen importuned him, for the sake of the intimacy which had subsisted between them, to impart to him some of the secrets of the 'craft' in which he was then occupied. The family of Dritzehen, for the thirty preceding years, is proved by Schoepflin to have been highly respectable ; and latterly to have been advanced to the senatorial dignity. 'Gutenberg (continues Schoepflin) moved by the entreaties of his friend, taught him the art of *polishing stones* ; from which he (Dritzehen) might derive no small profit.' Riffe, at that time a judge, living beyond the Rhine, is also induced to become a partner in this concern — 'from which he might return from the next fairs, at Aix La Chapelle, loaded with wealth.' Antony Heilman, a friend of Gutenberg, pleads hard for the admission of his brother, Andrew Heilman, into the partnership. Gutenberg agrees ; and a bargain is struck between them that Gutenberg should receive 160 golden florins as a valuable consideration. Note well, curious reader ; that all this transaction is supposed to relate to the art, or business only, of *polishing stones*.

Shortly afterwards, Dritzehen and Heilman keep a sharp look-out upon Gutenberg, whom they observe to be constantly occupied in other pursuits ; and to be making experiments of a nature very different from those in which they themselves had been taught. They claim a participation of the profits of these new experiments ; and 'the good Gutenberg,' consents ; but not without receiving another *bonus*, of 250 golden florins, of which 100 are paid down as ready money, and the remaining 150 are promised to be paid by future instalments. The whole is paid up within 85 florins ; when Andreas Dritzehen dies, and his brother George, being desirous of standing in the situation of the deceased, and being refused by the remaining partners, summonses Gutenberg, the principal, before the Strasbourg senate.

The result is, the judges determine that, as Andrew Dritzehen, from his premature death, had not received the full advantages of his contract, his heirs should be put in possession of 100 florins as a compensation for such loss ; but on Gutenberg's making it appear that 85 florins were yet due to him, according to the original contract, the court decrees that 15 florins only should be paid as the arrears due. There were 24 witnesses in favour of Dritzehen against Gutenberg, and 14 only in favour of Gutenberg against the plaintiff. The names of the whole are given by Schoepflin. Their depositions are, indeed, (as Mr. Singer well observes) 'too curious and interesting to be omitted ;' but before the substance of them is submitted, I must take the liberty of making an observation or

In the second place, what is the amount of such evidence? Truly, nothing. Were the materials of this press of wood or of metal? If of wood, whether with moveable pieces,

two upon this 'partnership concern;' and upon the degree of 'mala fides' attachable to either party. In the first place, it is quite clear that *money* and not *friendship* was the substratum of the union—in both transactions. When Schoepflin talks of Gutenberg being 'amici precibus commotus,' we may, just as correctly, say, 'lucri odore commotus'—nor is this, of itself, discreditable to either party. Gutenberg had all the talent, without the pecuniary means of bringing it into play. He tells Dritzehen this 'polishing of stones' would be a lucrative thing, if it could be brought fairly into practice.' Dritzehen, and Riffe, and Heilman, join, and give him 160 florins as a *douceur*—for if Gutenberg could have *successfully* carried his experiments into effect, it is but fair to suppose he would have derived those profits from them which he pointed out to his partners as the chief stimulus for *them* to engage in the concern—and, in that case, he would not have stood in need of 160 florins. However, a contract is made—and what is the result? How many mules, laden with bags of gold, return from the fairs of Aix La Chapelle? In other words, what are the fruits of these lapidarian experiments? Not only do they appear to have been *wholly unproductive*, but, shortly after Gutenberg's striking the bargain, he neglects his business and work-shop, and is detected in carrying on some different and 'mysterious' experiments. His lively genius, forsooth, cannot brook the control of one solitary pursuit—he must be 'omnigenus:' and here again he is lucky enough to find credulous, or unusually liberal-minded, supporters of his novel schemes. A new firm, under the same names, is established. 'Rescissa ergo societas vetus, & contracta est nova'—says Schoepflin. Another 250 florins of gold are offered to be given to the needy projector—and Riffe, Heilman, and Dritzehen suffer themselves to be again duped—and to let their imaginations, for a second time, revel in dreams of incalculable and inexhaustible wealth! Can it be possible, in the deposition of the witnesses presently to be adduced, that one man, of the name of Hans Dune, a goldsmith, should gain, through the means of Gutenberg, 300 florins 'merely for what concerned printing'—when the discoverer of this art, and the head partner in the concern, should become a bankrupt in consequence of unsuccessful experiments in the same! This is surely very questionable. Let me however add that I consider the story of Gutenberg's journey to Harlem, and robbery of the materials of Coster's press, as utterly unworthy of credit.

Secondly, as to the law-suit. It has been before observed that the deed of partnership no longer exists. It is also remarkable, that no provision should have been made in it to meet the contingency of *death*. But if the judges awarded any sum to be due to the heirs of Dritzehen, it is rather strange that that sum should not have been equally paid by the surviving partners, and not by Guten-

or in solid blocks? Nothing is known with certainty. But was any thing *actually* printed? It is quite undiscovered. The best bibliographers agree, however, that the experi-

berg exclusively. The exact date of the death of Dritzehen is not known; but the court issued their decree on the 12th of December, 1439. In the prompt and total exclusion of the brother of a partner, so shortly dying after the establishment of the concern—and who, during his life, does not appear to have received the least profit from either the first or the second establishment—there does seem to me, on the part of Gutenberg, to be a decisive demonstration of a selfish and impetuous spirit!—especially as the deceased had become surety for the payment of quantities of lead purchased by the defendant! I speak of Gutenberg as being the head partner; and of having his associates in suberviency to himself. It is Gutenberg too, only, who is cited before the court. Let us now, in the third place, extract ‘the pith and marrow’ of the depositions of the witnesses—as translated by Mr. Singer, p. 152, apparently from the French version of Oberlin: premising that these witnesses appear to have been actually concerned in the breaking up of the mechanism or component parts of what has been deemed Gutenberg’s press. Suppose we call it a recapitulation of evidence. Anne Scultheiss mention component parts, or ‘four pieces lying in a press:’ ‘to be taken out and separated’—in order to prevent any one from understanding their character and application. The husband of Scultheiss deposes to the same effect—adding, that these four pieces are to be taken out and separated ‘upon the press:’ in order to escape similar knowledge. Conrad Sahspach declares that Conrad Dritzehen ‘made the presses’—that the pieces of which they were made were to be ‘taken out and decomposed’—for the same object. Laurence Beildeck deposes that Gutenberg advised Nicolas Dritzehen ‘not to shew any one the press that he had’—also, to open two screws which kept the press together, and then the pieces, of which it was composed, would separate of themselves; and that these pieces, being laid within or upon the press, would prevent discovery of the nature of the piece of mechanism. Beildeck further deposes that Gutenberg sent ‘for forms’—‘to be recast’—under his eye: afterwards, witness, at the express injunction of Gutenberg, sends his own servant to ‘decompose the press.’

Thus the press is made to consist of four pieces, held together by two screws. Beildeck only deposes to the screws. Anne Scultheiss says, these pieces ‘lie in the press:’ her husband adds, that after being separated they were to be placed ‘upon the press.’ Sahspach describes Conrad Dritzehen as the ‘maker of the presses.’ Beildeck talks of the pieces being laid ‘within or upon the press’—and is the first to mention ‘forms’ as well as ‘screws.’ From this obscure, and somewhat contradictory evidence, it seems to me that no safe or perspicuous charge could be made to a jury of typographical antiquaries; and that a motion for a *new trial*, upon a misdirection of the judge, could not fail to take place. And here I must indulge myself in the impassioned eloquence of Monsieur Née De La Rochelle, and declare—‘Je suis l’ami de la vérité, et fort peu susceptible

ments were *not* made with *metal* or *fusile types* : and it is most material to keep this fact constantly in view. Fischer thinks they were purely xylographical efforts ; or confined to blocks of wood.

The unhappy Gutenberg again becomes involved in difficulties ; * is again compelled to pay a sum of money ; and

de préjugé sur des choses qui se sont passées depuis si long tems ; c'est pourquoi j'avoue de bonne foi que je ne vois pas clairement dans les dépositions de ces témoins, des *caractères mobiles*, soit *de bois*, soit *de métal* ; mais j'y trouve des *formes* ou *pages*, des *vis*, des *écrous*, par conséquent un *châssis* quelconque, et enfin *la presse*, ce qui est déjà beaucoup.' *Eloge de Gutenberg*, p. 33. There appears in truth more of eloquence than of logic in this observation ; for of what could the forms or pages be composed, but of materials of *wood* or of *metal* ? To say that certain square pieces, divided into compartments of four or eight, could, of themselves, give any man a notion of a *printing press*, is, to my humble apprehension, quite absurd : for it is the *application of the component parts* of those very pages which constitute the mystery or miracle of the discovery. Again : when, according to Fischer, (p. 35, note 40) Andreas Dritzehen is said to have 'looked carefully after the lead, and other things thereunto appertaining,' we are not from hence to infer that this had an exclusive reference to the materials of a press ; for it might have been connected with Gutenberg's occupations in preparing glass. Schoepflin, on the contrary, thinks that this 'lead' was applicable exclusively to Gutenberg's press : 'among the expenses (observes he) necessary for carrying on the typographical art, mention is made of *lead* ; hence we must believe that engraved characters of metal were first used at Strasbourg, and afterwards converted into fusile-metal types by Schoeffer at Mentz.' *Vind. Typog.* p. 23. Thus doubtfully do their researches terminate !

* *again becomes involved in difficulties.*] 'On ignore même quel tems dura cette société après le jugement du procès dont nous venons de parler, si elle eut une ou deux années d'existence ou cinq, ce qui nous conduirait jusqu'au départ de J. Gutenberg pour Mayence. Mais soit qu'elle ait pris fin avant cette époque, soit qu'il fallût de nouveaux fonds pour suivre les travaux typographiques entrepris avec Jean Riffe et André Heilmann, il est certain que notre Gutenberg reparait dans un acte du mois de Janvier, 1441, comme débiteur d'une somme de cent livres, argent de Strasbourg, envers le chapitre de Saint-Thomas de cette ville ; et qu'au mois de Décembre 1442, il vendit au même chapitre ses revenus sur la ville de Mayence, déduction faite de l'argent qu'il avait reçu du même chapitre dans l'année précédente.' *Eloge*, &c. p. 37-8. Schoepflin, p. 24. Monsieur Née De La Rochelle adds (at page 53) very justly — 'in all the abovementioned acts, one does not exactly comprehend what Gutenberg was doing from the year 1439 to 1450.' The conclusion that 'he never lost sight of

retires a second time to Mentz — a ruined and a desperate man; without having established the success, or proved the utility, of his newly-invented art: for if it had been matured, or likely to be productive, he would not have wandered to Mentz, leaving Riffe and Heilman to keep their carriages and country-houses (as they probably would have done) from the lucrative trade of a printer! At this juncture, and in this dilemma, he meets with JOHN FUST — not a bookseller, nor a conjuror, but a goldsmith*—and a man of talent and

his favourite project of printing,' is purely gratuitous. 'There is little doubt therefore (observes Bowyer) that all Gutenberg's labours at Strasburgh amounted to no more than a fruitless attempt, which he was at last under a necessity of relinquishing: and there is no certain proof of a single book having been printed in that city till after the dispersion of the printers in 1462,' &c. *Origin of Printing*, 1776, 8vo. p. 96. Mallinkrot is cautious in deciding absolutely for Gutenberg: 'Hæc de Gutenbergio mea opinio est, cui tamen non ita velim pertinaciter inhærere, vt cum quopiam desuper controuertere opus habeam,' &c. *De Ortu*, &c. *Art. Typog.* p. 79, edit. 1640.

* *John Fust* — not a bookseller, nor a conjuror, but a goldsmith.] Naudé is the only one, I believe, who ever called Fust a bookseller; for which Marchand has properly corrected him. *Hist. de l'Imp.* pt. ii. p. 84. The latter writer, in his very interesting and truly curious *Diction. Historique*, &c. has justly shewn the absurdity of confounding Fust, the printer, with Faust of Kundling, or Knitling, the supposed magician:—vol. i. p. 249, note A. The letter of Dürrius (first published in the *Amæn. Literar.* of Schelhorn, vol. v. p. 50-80) and the *Collectanea* of Sulcerus (first published in 1562, again in 1582, 8vo.) upon the subject of this typographical magician, are whimsical and diverting enough; and have been gravely relied upon, by some writers upon the art of printing, as containing matters of fact. See Palmer, p. 88; but the curious reader must be aware of various publications in the German, French, and English languages, relating to the 'damnable Dr. Faustus.' See Marchand, note D. Not, however, that a certain *Dr. Faustus*, a reputed magician, is altogether a non entity; for the Rev. Dr. Marsh, the present Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity at Cambridge, observed to me that, during his residence in Germany, he had seen the cellar from which Faust is supposed to have been propelled, or carried upwards, while sitting across a barrel; and that there is a representation of this subject, cut in stone, over the entrance into the cellar. Schoepflin has devoted a pithy note to the refutation of Fust's being a magician; laughing at the absurdity of La Caille (p. 12) upon this subject. There was indeed a conjuror of the name of Faustus, who practised his necromantic tricks throughout the whole of the Dutchy of Wirtemberg in the xvth

property. It seems (but it is a gratuitous observation) that on Gutenberg's establishment at Mentz, he continued his trials of printing in wood; and a lucky incident perhaps having obtained Fust a sight of these experiments, that generous and active man devoted his time and his wealth to give the discovery every possible degree of perfection and extension. He lent Gutenberg money; but, before this, he had most probably associated himself with Schoeffer; and on a discovery of the superior talents of the latter, threw before him the temptation of the hand of his own daughter

century; as Bierling, in *Pyrrhonism. Histor.* has clearly shewn. This man, (to whom Dr. Marsh alludes) whose real name was *Sabellicus*, was once extremely troublesome to the good Trithemius, (of whom in the next note) when he was returning from the Marquisate of Brandenburg towards Gelnhausen, and whom he calls 'Faustus iunior, fons necromanticorum, astrologus, magus secundus, chiromanticus, agromanticus, pyromanticus, in hydra arte secundus.' *Trithem. Epist. Fam.* 1536, 4to. fol. 312. The Abbé St. Leger calls him 'un impudent frippon.' *Supplément au Marchand*, p. 11, edit. 1775.

'Paullo majora canamus.' Salmuth, according to Daunou, says that Fust was the real inventor of the art of printing. 'As for Gutenberg, he was only an opulent and avaricious man, who, in the hope of gain, associated himself with Fust, and was afterwards faithless to his engagements.' *Analise*: see Lambinet, vol. i. p. 378. This is carrying matters rather too far; but our Palmer (a slippery writer!) is yet more unceremonious in his treatment of Gutenberg. *General History of Printing*, p. 87. Melchior Adam is undoubtedly very pointed both in his encomiums upon Fust, and in his attributing to him the honour of the invention of the art of printing. *Vit. Germ. Philos.* 1706, folio, p. 1. Erasmus, in the preface of the *Livy* published at Mentz in 1519, folio, speaks exclusively of Fust being the inventor; but Erasmus was of too excursive a spirit, was too 'merry a soul' to allow us to receive his testimony, in these matters, as the result of diligent and careful research. Molinettus, in his '*Historia de Fatis Literarum*,' (as alluded to by Morhof, *Polyhist. Literar.* vol. i. p. 730, edit. 1747) is pleased to quote the authority of the Bishop of Aleria in his preface to *St. Jerom's Epistles*, of the date of 1468, as corroborative of Germany being the cradle of the art of typography; but a glance of that interesting preface, in the '*Pauli II. Pont. Max. Vita, Romæ*, 1740, 4to., p. 135, will prove this inference to be as applicable to Fust as to Gutenberg. The authority of Naudé, however, may be adduced in support of those who think that, without Fust, the experiments of Gutenberg would have availed nothing.

in marriage.* Hence the great works of the *Bible* the *Psalters*, and the *Durandus*.

I shrewdly suspect that the father-in-law and the son in

* *superior talents of Schoiffer, and his marriage with Fust's daughter.*] The amusing Marchand has thus expatiated upon this subject: 'Mais Schoiffer, homme adroit, et d'un esprit subtil et inventif, aiant profondément médité sur ce sujet en son particulier, le tourna et retourna de tant de façons, qu'enfin il s'avisâ de tailler des poinçons, de frapper des matrices, de fabriquer et justifier des moules, et de fondre ainsi des lettres mobiles et séparées, dont il pût à son gré composer les mots, les lignes, et les pages entières, dont il auroit besoin; en un mot, de dresser tout l'attirail nécessaire pour former des caractères tels que ceux que nous avons toujours vûs depuis: et il se rendit ainsi l'INVENTEUR ET LE PERE DE LA VERITABLE ET REELLE IMPRIMERIE. Il decouvrit aussitôt à ses maitres cette nouvelle et ingénieuse manier de tailler, frapper, fondre, arranger, et imprimer des caractères: et Fust fut si charmé d'un alphabet complet que Schoiffer leur en présenta, que, pour l'en récompenser, il lui donna sa fille en mariage, et l'associa avec lui. *Hist. de l'Imprimerie*, p. 19, 20.

Let us now see upon what basis these lively inferences are built. The first authority, both in point of weight and of antiquity, is that of TRITHEMIUS; a Benedictine monk of unquestionable talents and integrity, and to whom Fabricius (in his *Bibl. Med. et Inf. Ætat.* vol. iv. p. 154, edit. 1754, (takes off his hat with all the devotion of a pupil, and all the enthusiasm of an antiquary. Brower and Possevin (see *Jugemens des Savans*, 1725, 8vo. vol. ii. pt. i., p. 70-3.) affect to weaken his testimony, but Baillet defends him with considerable adroitness. His evidence has been in part before adduced: see p. 322, ante. Trithemius died in 1516, having nearly attained his 55th year; and having completed his *Annales Monasterii Hirsaugiensis* (or Annals of the Hirsaw monastery) in 1514. The same monastery (in the diocese of Spire) had furnished a chronicle, also incorporated by Trithemius, from the year 830 to 1370, which, with the continuation by Trithemius, was first printed at Basil in 1559 folio. This chronicle, after supplying the materials for various publications, noticed by Fabricius, (*Ibid.*) came forth, a second time, in print, under the editorial care of Mabillon, at St. Gall, in 1690, folio. It is so scarce in this country, that I believe not three copies of it are known here. The lover of bibliographical gossiping will do well to consult the viith volume of Schelhorn's *Amœnitat. Literar.* p. 123-5. for a pleasing notice of it: wherein we find our Francis Junius to have played rather a slippery trick with some short-hand scribbling of Trithemius. Nor must the same reader omit to ramble somewhat in the *Historia Biblioth. August. Hist. of Burckhard*, 1746, 4to. pt. i. p. 68-72. where there is an interesting account of Trithemius. To return to the *Annales*, &c. In this valuable work, the worthy monk relates a piece of intelligence which he had received from Schoiffer himself, about the year 1484-5—which has been in part before narrated: and to

law, apart, voted Gutenberg to be rather a puzzle-headed man; and probably not of a very placable or kind-hearted disposition; for in the law-suit instituted by Fust against

which Trithemius adds: 'This Peter Schoeffer, before mentioned, first the workman or servant, and afterwards the son-in-law, of Fust, an ingenious and judicious man, discovered a more easy method of founding or casting types, and thus perfected the art in the state in which we now practise it.' I wish it were in my power to bring forward any notice of Schoeffer's conversation, from the letters of Trithemius; but a copy of an early edition (1536, 4to.) of these interesting epistles, carefully perused, has not enabled me to throw additional light upon the subject. However, to the preceding well-known evidence, is added that of the colophons of the *Compendium de Orig. Regum. et Gestis Francorum*, 1515, folio, (a sorry work! see *Bibl. Hist. de la France*, vol. ii. no. 15363) and *Breviarium Ecclesie Mündensis*, 1516, 8vo. 2 vols.—each compiled by Trithemius, and printed by John Schoeffer, son of Peter. These authorities, especially that of the *Annales*, &c., have been mentioned again and again, by bibliographical writers, from the time of Chevillier (p. 4) to that of Fischer (p. 37). Chevillier would necessarily be among the first to notice them. But Bergellanus, in poetry, and Salmuth, in prose, (as quoted by Marchand in his *Hist. de l'Imprim.* p. 19), are also not less decisive in their testimonies of the talents of Peter Schoeffer: as indeed are numerous other writers of a later period. Among these, I choose to notice only Monsieur 'Gotthelf-Fischer, Professeur et Bibliothécaire à Mayence,' in his '*Essai sur les Monuments Typographiques de Jean Gutenberg*'; so often before quoted. At page 40, he thus observes: 'Schœffer perfectionna, il est vrai, la fonte des caractères; mais ceux qui ont une idée de cet art et de celui de la gravure se convaincront facilement que ces deux arts, encore à leur naissance, purent recevoir plusieurs améliorations dont le mérite est infiniment subordonné à celui de l'invention.' This double-faced attestation merits severe censure; and the conclusion seems to be, or rather, the author wishes the reader to conclude, that although Schoeffer invented the *matrices*, (which he admits a little before) yet, that invention was only, as it were, an *improvement* of a *previous discovery*; and as 'he who comes after must follow,' so the claims of Schoeffer must be considered as subordinate to those of Gutenberg! This is as false in point of fact, as it is inconclusive in regard to reasoning. Does Monsieur Fischer forget THE PSALTER OF 1457?—'une production miraculeuse'—as Mons. Née De La Rochelle (p. 75) rightly calls it. If he does, let him read Fournier's animated eulogy upon it, in his *Dissertation* &c. 1758, p. 45-7—and *De L'Origine*, &c. 1759, p. 231-4—confirmed by Meerman, vol. i. p. 11-12. Will he call this 'miraculous production' an 'amelioration' only of the invention of Gutenberg? . . . Nor, as I hope by and by to prove, can I consent to his claiming for Gutenberg the honour of having either designed, or cut upon metal, the capital letters with which that glorious volume is so luxuriantly adorned.

Gutenberg, which terminated in the defeat of the latter, Gutenberg has the meanness to allege, against a charge of the first 800 florins advanced by Fust, in the furtherance of

In the second place, *respecting the marriage* of our typographical hero with the daughter of his Master. The earliest evidence of this union is to be found in the colophons of the *Compendium and Breviarium*, &c. above mentioned: the latter colophon being a reprint of the former. The first of these colophons has been noticed by numerous bibliographers; and, among various others, will be found in the works of Maichelius (*De Bibl. Paris.* p. 69.) Schwarz (*Prim. Doc. De Orig. Typ.* pt. i. p. 22.) Struvius (*Introd. in Notit. Rei Lit. Edit. Fischer*, 1754, p. 952); Marchand (pt. ii. p. 9); Meerman (vol. ii. p. 146); and Panzer (vol. vii. p. 409): it being extraordinary that Maittaire (vol. ii. p. 266, 279,) should here appear to have been unacquainted with their importance. The material part of these colophons, connected with our present enquiry, is, that 'the work of printing was effected or completed at Mentz, chiefly by the labour and numerous inventions (or experiments) of Peter Schöffer of Gernsheim; a servant, and afterwards an adopted son, of John Fust; who, as a reward for his numerous labours and experiments, gave the former his daughter, CHRISTINA FUST, in marriage.' Bowyer, in his ingenious essay on the *Origin of Printing*, p. 91, says that Schoeffher 'privately cut *matrices* for the whole alphabet; and, when he shewed his master the letters cast from these matrices, Fust was so pleased with the contrivance, that he promised to give him his only daughter CHRISTINA, in marriage; a promise which he soon after performed.' Mallinkrot, one hundred and thirty years before, had judiciously observed: 'Certè matrices, quæ fundendis typis serviunt, Schœfferus excogitavit, quod cōmentum vti præcipuum totius artis mysterium continet, et in tuto demum post multos et varios exantlatos labores et expensas factas illam collocavit, ita ab exultante Fausto herilis filiæ matrimonio remuneratum est.' *De Ort. et Prog. Art. Typ.* p. 80; and Mr. Willet sensibly remarks: 'if Schoeffher's happy genius had not discovered the art of casting *matrices*, and cutting punches, the art must have remained imperfect and barbarous.' *Archæologia*, vol. xi. p. 309. Meerman, vol. i. p. 183, is quoted by Bowyer; but the better authority is, the Latin translation, by L. Klefekerus, of the German original, '*Relation of the Origin of Printing taken from the Documents belonging to the family of the Fusts of Aschaffenburg*—as given by Wolfius in the *Monument. Typog.* vol. i. p. 452-485. Wolfius is not quite certain of the author of this narrative, which appears to have been drawn up about the year 1600; but he rather thinks 'it was the son of John Frederick Fust: because the author declares that he collected everything which his late father, either traditionally, or by personal knowledge—either from oral or written evidence—had been able to bring together.' See Wolfius's copious and interesting note at p. 452-4.

The result is, there can be no doubt of Schoeffher's having *fairly earned* the

their mutual plans, that they were not advanced 'all at a time!' The court thought Fust an injured man, and awarded restitution of money or of property. A dissolution of partnership immediately took place.* The locomotive

splendid reward which he received at the hands of his master; and I would willingly hope that both the parent and the daughter shewed equal demonstrations of satisfaction—on the auspicious day of their union! As Desdemona forgot the sooty complexion of her brave Othello, in the tales which he told of encountered dangers, and 'hair-breadth escapes,' so, I ween, Christina Fust was wholly unconscious of the raven-tinted skin of Peter Schoiffher (for a workman-printer must be wholly divested of a lily tint) in the contemplation of the beautiful and truly marvellous works which his mechanical talents produced. In truth, I cannot conceive any thing more likely to win the heart of an ingenious young lady, than the manifestation of such extraordinary talent. Oh, for the *assurance* of the very copy of the first Psalter, which the impassioned printer laid, upon a velvet cushion, at the feet of his admiring mistress! Were the couple, however, married before, or after, the year 1457? It is uncertain: but it is well conjectured, in the *Journal des Savans*, 1741, p. 72, that, as in the colophon of the Bible of 1462 Schoiffher is only called 'Clericus,' and in that of the Offices of Cicero of 1465, he is called 'Puer,' so it should seem that the marriage did not take place till in the intervening period of these dates. See the Abbé de St. Leger's *Supplément au Marchand*; p. 5-6, 1775, 4to. This much however is quite certain and indisputable: that, on this very day, and within a few hours of the writing of this note, PRINCE LEOPOLD of SAXE COBURG, 'led to the Hymenæal altar' (to borrow the felicitous phraseology of the '*Morning Post*') the PRINCESS CHARLOTTE OF WALES—and that is, (in case all other depositions should be burnt!) on the second day of May, in the year of our Lord, 1816.

* *dissolution of partnership immediately took place.*] The law-suit has been before mentioned; see p. 324: but on 'this dissolution of partnership,' the feelings of Messieurs Fischer and Née De La Rochelle are wrought up to the most painful pitch. 'Encore (says the former) un procès qu'eut a soutenir l'inventeur de l'imprimerie et cette fois-ci ce fut l'ingratitude la plus noire qui le lui suscita. A quelles réflexions désolantes ne se livre-t-on pas, lorsqu'on réfléchit que presque tous ceux qui ont éclairé les hommes ont été en butte (these two words—'en butte'—were the first of those used in the epistle of Napoleon Buonaparte to the Prince Regent, when the Emperor sued 'in formâ pauperis') à leurs persécutions.' p. 42. Several years ago, I had written in pencil, upon the margin of my copy of Fischer's book—opposite the passage just extracted—'*Flourish of Trumpets*;' and I see no reason why this 'flourish of trumpets' should now be expunged. . . . But for Monsieur Née De La Rochelle—'Le pauvre Guttenberg joue le rôle du navigateur malheureux, qui enfin touche au

genius (or 'roving character,' as Mr. Willet calls it) of Gutenberg again disposes him to travel, and to mend his fortune; and the press of Fust and Schoiffher becomes distinguished through Europe by the magnificent publications before noticed.

In the third place, my good friends, what absolute proofs have we that Gutenberg *ever printed a book?* * Where does

port après divers naufrages consécutifs, p. 81—and this 'dissolution' was one of these 'shipwrecks!' Again I say 'Flourish of trumpets!' . . . I am well aware that Arnoldus Bergellanus, in his metrical panegyric upon Chalcography, gives rather a direct decision in favour of Gutenberg—respecting this quarrel and breaking up of partnership—

Non tulit iniustas mens Guttenbergica rixas;
Testatur superos fœdera rupta deos.

but this testimony did not appear till the year 1541, and poetry is not the most unexceptionable vehicle of truth. Consult Struvii *Introd. in Rei. Lit. Not. Edit. Fischer*, 1754, p. 954: borrowed however from Mallinkrot, p. 77. Yet we must remember that the same Arnoldus Bergellanus (of whose work see also Spoerlius, *Notit. Insig. Typog.* p. 41) had thus chanted the praises of Schoiffher:

Sed quia non poterat propriâ de classe character
Tolli, nec variis usibus aptus erat,
Illis succurrit PETRUS Cognomine SCHAEFFER
Quo vix cælando promptior alter erat.
Ille, sagax animi, præclara Toreumata finxit,
Quæ sanxit *Matris* nomine posteritas.
 &c. &c. &c.

The curious poem of Bergellanus is printed entire in Wolf's *Mon. Typ.* vol. i. p. 13-40; but in a more recommendatory form, and with preliminary pieces, by Marchand, in his *Hist. de l'Imprim.* pt. ii. p. 18-33. It was after this dissolution of partnership, that the pretended journey of Gutenberg to Harlem is supposed to have taken place—a circumstance wholly divested of truth, and treated with proper ridicule by Mercier, *Supplément*, &c. p. 15. I trust and hope that I am among the last of human beings to put my foot upon the neck of a falling creature—or to indulge in asperities for the mere sake of opposition; but, after this picture of Gutenberg, which a love of truth only has compelled me to draw, I really and conscientiously believe that all our pity and admiration should be reserved for Fust, and not for his capricious and puzzle-headed associate.

* *proofs that Gutenberg ever printed a book?*] I quote with satisfaction the

his name appear? In what colophon? In what public act? Yes; I know full well that in a deposition, or rather agreement, between Gutenberg, his brother Friede Gensfleisch,

'sober words' of Monsieur Née De La Rochelle. 'Je ne dirai pas ici d'une manière tranchante quels ont été les premiers livres qu'il fabriqua, puisqu'aucun ne porte son nom, l'indication du lieu, ou de l'année de leur exécution,' p. 55-6. Let us therefore tread cautiously upon ground which presents so treacherous a surface: but let us not withhold from Gutenberg any evidence which may tend to substantiate the fact so strongly doubted by Lysander. In the year 1801, Fischer published a curious document, discovered by Bodmann, relating to the books which Gutenberg is actually supposed to have printed. This document concerns his sister, in the convent of St. Clair, and his brothers, and is dated 1459. It was reprinted by Oberlin with a French version; which French version Fischer again published in his *Monumens Typographiques de Gutenberg*, 1803, 4to. p. 46. The material passage is as follows:

Vnd vmb die bucher, die ich Henne obgen. gegeben han zu der Liberey des vorgen. Closters, die szollen beliben bystendig vnd ewichlichen by derselben liberey, vnd sal vnd will ich Henne obgen. deme selben Closter in ire liberey auch furters geben vnd reichen die bucher, die sie vnd ire Nachkommen gebruchent zu geistlichen frommen werken vnd zu irme Godesdinst, es sy zum lesen zum singen, oder wie sie daz gebruchent nach den Regeln irs ordens, die ich Henne vorgën. HAN TUN TRUCKEN, nu, ODER FURTERS TRUCKEN MAG, als ferre sie der gebruchens, une geuerde, &c.

Et quant aux livres que moi, Henne susdit ai donnés à la Bibliothèque du couvent, ils doivent y rester toujours et à perpetuité, et je me propose, moi, Henne susdit, de donner aussi sans fraude à l'avenir au dit Couvent pour sa Bibliothèque à l'usage des religieuses présentes et futures, pour leur religion et culte; soit pour la lecture ou le chant, ou de quelle manière elles voudront s'en servir d'après les règles de leur ordre, les livres que moi, Henne susdit, AI DEJA IMPRIMES à cette heure, ou que je pourrai imprimer à l'avenir, en tant qu'elles voudront s'en servir.

It must be admitted that this is very strong and positive evidence of the printing of books by Gutenberg; but I own myself to be at a loss to connect it with any *previous* work of which Gutenberg is the *reputed author*: unless, indeed, we conclude the Bible of 1450-5, to be that *previous work*. But this is unquestionably a production of metal and fusile types; and Gutenberg, by his most strenuous supporters, is allowed to have, himself, only worked with blocks of wood. It follows, therefore, that Gutenberg could not have alluded to this Bible. And the same conclusion must be drawn in regard to the Psalter of 1457. However, Melchior de Stambain, the xLth Abbot of the monastery of Udalricus and Afra,

and their sister (a nun of the convent of St. Clair), of the date of 1459—the former agrees to give to the library of the said convent, ‘all such books as he had already printed, or might in future print’—but was this a *bella mensogna*? Was it a mere flourish? For why not *specify* the books printed? They could not have been numerous! It is undoubtedly a very strange and unprecedented circumstance, that a man, by whose genius and enterprise the art of printing with metal types is supposed to have been discovered and exercised, should, in the very fruits of such ‘genius and enterprise,’ studiously have withdrawn his name: and further—should, quietly and without any remonstrance whatever, suffer the names of his partners exclusively to come before the public!? There is something, to say the least, most strange and unaccountable in all this. I am aware that no printer’s name appears to the Bible of the supposed date of 1455; and that the types, with which that work is executed, are rarely seen again till towards the year 1480:* but the suppression of the name of Fust does

is reported ‘to have enlarged the library, and increased the number both of printed books and MSS.: and that the monks might feel an additional stimulus towards literary pursuits, and thus shun the mischievous *ennui* of a monastic life, he (Melchior de Stambain) introduced the art of printing into the said monastery, which had been *lately discovered by Gutenberg*.’ This is mentioned by Struvius (*Not. Hist. Lit.* p. 950, *edit. Fischer*) on the authority of Bernard Hertfelder, in his description of the same monastery, p. 181. Of the chronological weight of this evidence, I am unable to say any thing; as neither Gesner, Morhof, nor Fabricius, vouchsafes to notice the labours of Hertfelder. We have a Bernard, ‘Abbot of the Cold Fountain,’ and another Bernard, ‘Abbot of the Hot Fountain,’ in Fabricius; but nothing of ‘Bernardus Hertfelder.’

* *types, with which that work is executed, are rarely seen again, &c.*] That the reader, in the first place, may have something like a correct notion of what these types really are, let him throw his eye upon the *Bibl. Spenceriana*, vol. i. p. 4; vol. iv. p. 39. Schwarz, who was among the first to describe the Bible to which they are attached, calls them *Missal Types*; or types with which Missals are

not so much affect that ancient printer, as his name appears decidedly in the year 1457, and twice in the year 1459: whereas the name of Gutenberg is no where discoverable in ancient colophons—or, rather, the only manner of allusion to him, in such a document, is in the colophon of the Institutes of Justinian, of the date of 1468,* by Peter Schoiffher;

wont to be printed. *Primaria Quædam*, §c. pt. ii. p. 4, &c. The expression, no doubt, is too general; as Missals are executed in various founts of letter: but when Schwarz, afterwards, explicitly declared that these types ‘appear to him as large as those of the Psalter of 1457,’ Fournier is abundantly justified in observing that, ‘if that were the case, the Bible which Schwarz saw would have extended to 12, rather than to 2, volumes.’ *De l’Origine*, §c. 1759, p. 199. The Abbé Rive, therefore, is wholly unjustified in his attack upon Fournier—in defending the remark of ‘missal types,’ by observing—‘comme si le caractère de ces Bibles avoit besoin, pour porter le nom de caractère de Missel, d’en avoir la grandeur, et s’il ne lui suffisoit pas simplement d’en avoir la forme.’ *Chasse aux Bibliographes*, p. 108. It has been shewn that Schwarz particularised, or qualified, his first observation; and the question of ‘size’ or ‘form’ no longer obtains. The ‘*AGENDA ECCLESIE MOGUNTINE*’ of 1480 (see *Bibl. Spenceriana*, vol. iii. p. 146) is, I apprehend, the work particularly alluded to by Lysander, as containing a late specimen of the types now under discussion.

* colophon of the Institutes of Justinian, of the date of 1468.] The verse, in the colophon of this impression is as follows:

Quos genuit ambos vrbs magitina iohē's.

The ‘two Johns’ are usually thought to be JOHN GUTENBERG and JOHN FUST. Consult the authorities referred to in the *Bibl. Spenceriana*, vol. iii. p. 402, &c. But there is another ‘John’—an associate of Gutenberg or Fust—who possibly might have been here alluded to. Sebastian Munster, (*Cosmog.* lib. iii. c. 180) says that Gutenberg ‘associated himself with two other citizens of Mentz, namely, John Fust and JOHN MEDIMBACH.’ See Wolfii *Monument. Typog.* vol. i. p. 460: and the authority of Mentelius, in vol. ii. p. 296, note x. Melchior Adam, in his *Vite Germanor. Philosophor.* p. 1, admits that this conclusion has been drawn. Marchand says the same thing; but allows that ‘we have no book to which the name of John Meydenbach appears.’ *Hist. de l’Imprim.* p. 49, &c. The Abbé St. Leger, in his *Supplement* to Marchand, edit. 1775, p. 30, has committed an error in substituting the name of John, for that of James, Meydenbach—as the printer of certain works; and the omission of the name of John, in Panzer’s list, vol. v. p. 518, seems to confirm the conclusion of Marchand: yet James, who was related to the former, unquestionably executed two works. See Panzer, vol. v. p. 514; and Marchand and

who, on the death of his old partner, may be supposed to have shewn this charitable feeling towards his memory. It is certain that no good disposition was manifested towards him, while alive, by either of his associates: possibly from a conviction that he had not demeaned himself like a wise or a worthy character.

In the fourth and last place (for I told you I should be somewhat tautologous) consider what is the *typographical appearance* of those books which Gutenberg is really supposed to have executed. It is quite unique. A little barbarous, and certainly wholly dissimilar from any thing we observe in other contemporaneous productions of the Mentz press. You will please to understand that I think very doubtfully of the *Donatuses*, which are considered to have been printed by him;* as well as of the *Speculum*

Leichius, as referred to by Mercier. Schelhorn is quite determined upon the 'two Johns' denoting Gutenberg and Fust. 'Per duos hos Johannes Fustum & Gutenbergium indigitari, quilibet facile, me non monente, videt.' *Amanit. Literar.* vol. iv. p. 303, note (a) Meerman had a whimsical notion: he thought that there was a senior and a junior Gutenberg—the former a workman of Coster, the latter the hero under discussion. *Orig. Typog.* vol. i. p. 176, &c. Monsieur Née De La Rochelle properly corrects this error. *Eloge, &c.* p. 84.

* *doubtfully of the Donatuses considered to have been printed by him.*] A nameless and dateless *DONATUS* is a favourite subject of bibliographical controversy. But what does the reader think of an edition of *Donatus*, printed in the character of the Bible of 1455, in the colophon of which the name of Schoiffher is expressly mentioned?—thus:

Explicit donatus. Arte noua imprimendi. seu caracterizandi. per Petrum de gernszheym. in vrbe Moguntina cū suis capitalibus absque calami exaratione effigiatus.

This precious fragment (for such only it is) was found in Germany, in the cover of an old book (as was the edition of the *Distichs of Cato* described in the *Bibl. Spenceriana*. vol. iv. p. 474) and is deposited in the Royal library at Paris in 1803; after Fischer had published his *Eloge, &c.* The discovery is due to the accurate, the zealous, and indefatigable Mons. Van Praet. A fac-simile of the above colophon, together with a description of the entire fragment, is given by Lambinet, in his first volume, p. 104-5. This is equally important and conclusive.

Sacerdotum, and *Celebratio Missarum*: concluding the *Catholicon* of 1460, and the *Vocabularies* of 1467 and 1469, to be the more genuine productions of his press, or of the

In the first place, it may go to prove that Schoiffer was really the printer of the Bible of 1455. In the second place, if the language of the above colophon be compared with that of the Psalter of 1457, it shews clearly, I submit, that this Donatus was a *very early* effort of the art of printing—with metal types—perhaps the *first effort*?—as Sweynheym and Pannartz chose the same work for the first trial of their own press. In the third place, it shews that a fac-simile of the same characters, belonging to an edition of Donatus, gratuitously given by Fischer to Gutenberg—may as well be a fac-simile of this very edition by Schoiffer—since the name of the printer is not found in the edition selected by Fischer! In the fourth place, Lambinet has proved that *it is* this very edition by Schoiffer. Away, then, with one of the stoutest props which support the hypothesis of Gutenberg's having printed various editions of the Donatus! In the fifth place, Mons. Van Praet's discovery, published by Lambinet, teaches us a very useful lesson. Mons. Née De La Rochelle, in his account of the Gutenbergian Donatuses, begins first by admitting that it is difficult to demonstrate, satisfactorily, the four editions of Donatus, published by his typographical hero. Afterwards, when he comes to *grapple* with these very editions—in speaking of Schoiffer—he admits that 'it appears certain, nevertheless, that P. Schoiffer published a Donatus'—and how, mathematics-or logic-loving reader, dost thou think this 'certainty' appears? Because, forsooth, Freytag in his jejune, but not useless work, entitled *Analecta Literaria*, vol. i. p. 295, has chosen to devote eight lines and a quarter to a description of an old Donatus '*printed by IOHNN SCHÖFFER at Mentz! Eloge, &c. p. 115-6.*

Again; in speaking of the supposed second edition of Donatus by Gutenberg, which Boni and Gamba choose to call 'l' originale, ed il vero primo tentativo dell' arte fatto dal Gutenberg in Argentina tra l' Anno 1436, e 1439.' (*Bibl. Portatile*, vol. ii. p. 270.)—M. Née De La Rochelle adds, 'ces conjectures n'ont aucun appui solide; et il n'est pas à croire qu'on ait exécuté d'abord en petits caractères ce qu'on fit ensuite en plus gros,' p. 116. But why did not Monsieur Née De La Rochelle charge his memory with having read Lambinet's work, and with having seen the forementioned fac-simile—wherein the name of Schoiffer stands **FIXED** and **INDUBITABLE**? Why was he resolved to carry his hero 'through thick and thin,' at the expense of every charitable feeling towards his worthy coadjutors? As to the authority of Messieurs Boni and Gamba, 'in the matter of Donatus,' let it be known that they affirm the fac-simile of the Donatus described in the *Cat. de la Valliere*, vol. ii. p. 8-9, to resemble the types of the Mentz bible of 1455! Their optic nerves were surely much impaired at the time of making the comparison;—or, if they had *actually* seen both, would the observation have been hazarded?

types used by him. Is it not surprising, I ask, that these works are executed in types quite different from any thing we observe in the Mentz productions?—and this, from a man, who is considered as the parent of printing in that city! No wonder, if they *be* the actual productions of Gutenberg, that Fust and Schoiffer thought so meanly of his talents; and that, on a dissolution of partnership, they adopted a different and a very superior character. I know there are many who will start at all this apparent abuse of Gutenberg, and studied eulogy of his associates; but I have spoken my genuine sentiments, and shall at all times be disposed to retract them if they are found contrary to truth.

The union of Fust and his Son-in-law was of short duration. Within ten years from the period of their first dated book, (1457) the plague is supposed to have carried off the former, at Paris; how long, or how soon, after the supposed sale of this Bible, in that city,* is perhaps of no particular

I have yet another bone to pick with a French bibliographer. It is well, perhaps, for the author of the *Dictionnaire Bibliographique choisi du XVme. Siecle*, that 'life's fitful fever' is over—or the spirit of Peter Schoiffer must have haunted his bed-chamber, 'at the middle of night by the castle clock,' in every shape but that of an *angel*! Monsieur De La Serna Santander noticed this Donatus printed by Schoiffer, before the description of it by Lambinet—but what is his inference?—'Mais cette découverte ne porte aucune atteinte à l'opinion de Mr. Fischer, car si ce Donat est imprimé par Schoiffer, les caractères appartiennent à Gutenberg,' vol. ii. p. 380. . . . An inference, to speak the least unmercifully, 'most lame and impotent!'

* *sale of his Bible, in that city.*] This is a favourite subject among bibliographers; but it will not be necessary to retail all the gossiping which minor writers have propagated concerning it. The lively Naudé is among the earliest authors to notice it. 'Naudé (says the coxcomical and waspish Rive) avoit de grandes connoissances en beaucoup d'autres genres, mais il n'entendoit rien à l'histoire des premiers siècles de l'Imprimerie, et le peu qu'il en sçavoit étoit très-erroné.' *Chasse aux Bibliographes*, p. 110, note. Even the gentle Marchand seems inclined to throw—not a stone—but a pebble—at the unoffending head of Gabriel Naudé.

importance: but we are pretty certain that he died the very year in which his second edition of the *Offices of Tully* was printed; namely, in 1466. His age is involved in obscurity;

‘ Quelque grand connoisseur (says he) que fût Naudé, la plus ancienne édition qu’il connût, étoit la Bible de Maience de 1462.’ *Hist. de l’Imprim.* pt. ii, p. 72, note (9). Mark well, sensible reader: the authors of these criticisms lived and wrote one hundred and odd years after Naudé—who is rightly called ‘bibliographe habile’ by Mercier—and who has assured us, in the work presently to be quoted, that he himself saw ‘*more than fifteen thousand old books in twenty-five or thirty libraries at Paris.*’ See the bright cloud of testimonies, in favour of Naudé, which sheds a pleasing lustre upon one of the pages (p. 50) of that bizarre but frightfully high-priced tome cyleped *Bibliomania, a Bibliographical Romance*, edit. 1811: to which, however, might have been added the ‘testimony’ of Jacob, a contemporary and acquaintance, who expatiateth thus: ‘M. Gabriel Naudé, Chanoine de Verdun en Lorraine, et Prieur d’Artige, lequel possède vne parfaite cognoissance des liures: ce qui fait que tous ceux qui ont l’honneur de le cognoistre, l’estiment pour vn autre Demetrius Phalæreus.’ *Traicté des Bibliothèques*, 1644, p. 490. The aforesaid Naudé, then speaks as follows respecting the sale of the Latin Bible of 1462, at Paris, by Fust, ‘The character or type of this Bible (which I have seen and carefully examined at Paris, in the library of St. Croix de la Bretonnerie, where it is printed upon vellum, and bound in two volumes in folio) was so like the hand writing of the times in which it was published, that the said John Fust, having taken a considerable number of copies of it to Paris, for the sake of distribution there, the greater part of which were also upon vellum, and ornamented with capital initials and vignettes, in gold—he sold them at first as MANUSCRIPTS; and would not part with a single copy under sixty crowns. Afterwards, however, he reduced his price to thirty or twenty—and the purchasers of the first copies, perceiving that they were too numerous, and too much like each other, to be the result of hand-writing, called in the aid of the law, and pursued Fust so sharply that he quitted Paris,’ &c. The foregoing is taken from Naudé’s *Additions à l’Histoire de Louis XIth.* (the viith chapter of which, exclusively applicable to the history of printing, is reprinted in the supplement to the *Mémoires de Phillippes de Commynes*, 1713, 8vo. and in Marchand, *Histoire de l’Imprim.*—and latinized by Stegerus in Wolf’s *Mon. Typog.* vol. i. p. 486, 536) which was first printed in 1630, 8vo. Naudé relies upon Besoldus; whose ‘*Pentade Dissertationum Philologicarum*’ was first printed at Tubingen in 1620, 4to. That part of it (*the third*) relating to Typography, is reprinted in the *Mon. Typog.* vol. i. p. 171, 208, of Wolfius. Besoldus, in turn, takes the story from J. Walchius (in his *Decad. Fabular.* Argent, 1609, 4to. fol. 181)—‘*vir omni fide dignus*’ and Besoldus did right, I think, to number it among the ‘fables of Walchius.’ But the latter has his authority. ‘One Henry Schor, a Dutchman, and Provost of Soubourg, a man equally distinguished for his general talents and probity, while

but it is most probable that his decease could not have been considered very premature. His son-in-law and successor is said to have had an associate or partner, of the name of

he was living at Strasbourg in the house of Michael Theurer, had, many years ago, a great deal of conversation with Walchius upon this very subject—and he, in turn, had heard the story from many of his countrymen, whose veracity was above question.' Walchius adds, from the same authority, that Fust sold one of these Bibles 'for four or five hundred crowns:' but see the references in Marchand's *Hist. de l'Imprim.* pt. i. p. 27, note (Q) upon this latter sum. From these authorities, collectively, it should follow that the tale would be found in most of the chronicles and bibliographical writers of the eighteenth century—where it accordingly appears: in which number may be reckoned Struvius, Hoffman, and Jungendres: the latter of whom quotes Naudé with a sort of joyous triumph. *Disq. in Not. Charact. Libror.* p. 32, note 38.

So much for the fact—or rather the story—of *vendition*. Let us now see what was *the thing sold*. Marchand, in opposition to the previously-received opinion that it was the BIBLE of 1462, conceives it must have been that of 1450-5: but Mercier, in his *Supplément*, p. 8, 9, edit. 1775, has satisfactorily proved, in my judgment, the greater probability of the sale of the Bible of 1462:—if either were so sold. I have no belief in the sale of either—in the manner before narrated. That a respectable merchant should travel with his wares, or consign them to a populous city, as objects of commerce, is both probable and praiseworthy; but that a character like Fust should have played the part of a petty hucksterer, or impostor, (as the foregoing narrative almost implies) is quite beyond my comprehension, and can therefore never receive my assent. The sale of *printed books* for *manuscripts* is the ground of the supposed prosecution against Fust as a magician; but the reader has, I trust, long discarded that idle tale from his creed: see p. 321 ante. An hundred other similar stories are grafted upon the same fertile stock; but the whole 'vanish into thin air' at the touch of sober investigation.

As to the period of *Fust's decease*, I submit it has been fairly proved (*Bibl. Spenceriana*, vol. i. p. 307.) that that event took place at Paris in 1466. Indeed, on a further investigation of the same subject, I find all the respectable authorities so clear and uniform, that it would be a sort of insane incredulity to endeavour to stem the current of them. The *Constitutiones Papæ Clementis V.*, 1467, and the *Secunda Secundæ Thomæ Aquinatis*, 1467, were the first books which issued from the press of Schoiffher after the decease of his father-in-law; but, in the colophons of these ample volumes, the kind-hearted reader will in vain look for any testimony of affectionate remembrance of the FATHER OF THE MENTZ PRESS! For the love I bear towards the memory of Peter Schoiffher, I wish it had been otherwise. Yet this alone is hardly ground for direct censure.

CONRAD HENLIF,* and to have carried on business with wonderful spirit and perseverance. This partnership however is of a very questionable nature. As to Schoiffher, he must have reached rather an extraordinary age; as we observe his name in a colophon of the date of 1502.† This

* *associate or partner of the name of Conrad Henlif.*] The name of *Conrad Henlif* was discovered by La Caille, in the annals of the abbey of St. Victor, at Paris. Whether he was a *printer*, in partnership with Schoiffher, is however very doubtful: as he is only mentioned in the foregoing annals, as presenting, in conjunction with Schoiffher, a copy of an edition of the Epistles of St. Jerom, of the date of 1470, *UFON VELLUM*, to the said abbey—in order, on the anniversary of the gift, † that the souls of John Fust, of themselves, and of their respective families, might be prayed for.' This is noticed by Palmer, p. 89, 96, and by Bowyer, p. 93; and both Palmer and Meerman (vol. i. p. 7) refer exclusively to La Caille, p. 14, p. 20. Marchand had erroneously stated that *Fust* had joined in this gift; but the Abbé Mercier St. Leger (*Supplément*, p. 27-8) has clearly proved otherwise. Mercier had himself examined the annals of the abbey of St. Victor; which gave him also an opportunity of correcting Meerman, Marchand, and Mentelius—who had supposed that the '*Fust*' mentioned in the foregoing extract, was 'a son' or 'a parent' of Fust; it being clear that *Fust the printer* only could have been alluded to at so early a period. The name of *Conrad Henlif* is not introduced into any colophon which I have had the good fortune to examine.

As we have buried Fust, let us say a few words about the spot where his PRINTING office was erected—having dilated somewhat on the same subject when discoursing of Gutenberg: see p. 308 ante. 'The work-shop of Fust and Schöffer (says Fischer) was established at a house called *Zum Heimbrecht*, or *Heimerhof*, in *Cordwainer's Street*, opposite the college of the *Cordeliers*, and lately of the *Jesuits*. That very house was even recently called *Drei Königshof*, from the name of a small chapel—where, according to an ancient tradition, the skulls of three magicians were deposited—having been carried in solemn procession from Milan to Cologne. The house behind it was called *Zum Heimbrecht*, and belonged to Fust; and even lately it was called *Druckhof*, *Druckhaus*, or *the House of Printing*. Schöffer enlarged the house in 1477, by adding to it the adjoining premises called *Zum Korbe*.' *Monuments Typographiques*, &c. p. 45, note.

* *his name in a colophon of the date of 1502.*] Schwarz, in his *Primaria Quædam*, pt. II. p. 43, had never been able to discover the name of Peter Schoiffher in any colophon after the date of 1492; and Marchand was for killing our Schoiffher in the selfsame year. *Hist. de l'Imprim.* p. 47: but the Abbé St. Leger affirms that '*clarum et venerabile nomen*' to be in a Mentz Missal of the date of 1493:

is a brief but tolerably correct outline of the establishment of the first press at Mentz; upon which we may make a few summary and concluding remarks.

First, as to the *character of the type* used by the early Mentz printers. This appears to have been uniformly what is called *Gothic*: and if we except the varieties of the larger type (from three-eighths to two-eighths, or to a quarter of an inch) which appear in the Psalters of 1457, 1459, and 1490—the type, common to most works executed about the same period) we shall observe three distinct sets, or forms of letters, used in the printing office of Fust and Schoiffer. Of these three typographical characters, two only (if we except the one with which the Bible of 1455 was executed) are visible in the publications which appear to have been printed in the life-time of Fust; that is to say, the larger Gothic used in the Bible of 1462, and the smaller Gothic in the Offices of Cicero of the dates of 1465 and 1466. These appeared united, the former for the first time, in the *Constitutions of Pope Clement V.* of the date of 1460.* Schoiffer introduced a type of an intermediate size, which may be seen, among other works, in the *Rudiments of Grammar* of 1468, and in the *Decretals of Pope Gregory the Ninth* of the date of 1479.† This intermediate type is of a narrower form, and prints very

Supplément, p. 28; and Würdtwein affords us the joyous evidence of 'P. Schöffher of Gernzheim' having executed a Psalter (a reprint of those of 1457, 1459, and 1490) in the year 1502. See his *Bibl. Mogunt.* p. 137; from thence copied by Panzer, vol. vii. p. 406. The exact period of the decease of this extraordinary character is not yet perhaps satisfactorily ascertained. He left behind him three sons; of the names of JOHN, PETER, and IVO. See Marchand's amusing genealogico-bibliographical note from p. 48 to 53; to which add the castigatory supplement of Mercier, p. 29.

* of the date of 1460.] See this magnificent volume particularly described in the *Bibl. Spenceriana*, vol. iii. p. 287.

† The two works, last above mentioned, will be found fully described in the *Bibl. Spenceriana*, vol. iii. p. 343; vol. iv. p. 500.

closely. Of the three types, here mentioned, the largest is undoubtedly of the handsomest dimensions; but they all partake of the *Secretary Gothic*, and may be said to be the model of that peculiar character which was adopted by the early Leipsic printers, Thanner and Boëttiger, and was more especially used by John Schoiffer and the other German printers for nearly the whole of the sixteenth century. Shew me, Lisardo, one book—nay, one leaf only—printed in the *Roman type*, in the colophon of which the name of Fust or of Peter Schoiffer appears—and you shall immediately have the amount of the balance in my favour, at my banker's—be it great or small—be it 200*l.* or 20*l.*—for such a precious and unheard of curiosity!

We shall now, in the second place, say a few words as to the *character of the printing*, or of the *mechanical skill*, of the early Mentz press. There can be but one opinion upon this point. Everything is perfect of the kind: the paper, the ink, and the register, or regularity of setting up the page. The Bible of the supposed date of 1455 is quite a miracle in this way;* but the Psalters are not less miraculous, nor is less praise due to the *Constitutions of Pope Clement* the Vth, of the date of 1460, and the *Bible* of 1462: while the *Durandus*, of the earlier date of 1459, exhibiting the first specimen of the smallest letter, strikes one as among the most marvellous monuments extant of the perfection of

* *quite a miracle in its way.*] This is even sober praise. The mechanism of the press-work, and appearance of the ink, beautiful, regular, and glossy as the whole appears, does not strike one with more astonishment than the manufacture of the paper. 'Charta (says Jungendres) ejusdem est crassitudinis, qualem illo tempore libris imprimendis consumere mos fuit.' And again—'Charta ob ejus densitatem atque spissitudinem haut ingratam ubique se maximè commendat.' *Disq. de Not. Charact. Libror.* p. 27, p. 46. And see Meerman's testimony in favour of the paper of the Soubiaco press. *Orig. Typog.* vol. i. p. 9, note.

early typography. Almost all the known works, before the year 1462, are printed UPON VELLUM : * doubtless, because they ventured upon limited impressions ; and even of the Bible of 1462, more copies have been described upon vellum than upon paper. Upon the whole, the vellum used by

* *works, before the year 1462, printed upon vellum.*] Let us first read Meerman upon this point: 'Membranæ originem antiquissimam esse nemo nescit. Ea vero primi quoque typographi usi sunt, tum ut libros suos solidiores hoc pacto redderent, tum quoque, ut optimos codices manuscriptos imitarentur.' *Orig. Typog.* vol. i. p. 7. He then goes on to specify two editions of a supposed Donatus, at Harlem, by Coster, of this kind ; 'who, however (says he) executed his other works, containing cuts, upon paper.' He next speaks of copies of the MAZARINE BIBLE (of 1450-5) in the Royal library at Berlin, and in the Benedictine library in the suburbs of Mentz, upon vellum. To these may be added a third copy in the Royal library at Paris, a fourth in that of the late Count Macarthy, (formerly Gaignat's ; see *Cat. de Mc. Carthy*, vol. i. no. 61) and a fifth in the possession of Messrs. G. and W. Nicol, booksellers to his Majesty ; recently consigned to them by Mr. Horn : the latter of a size and condition equally ample and beautiful. Indeed, I should pronounce this latter copy to be the chef-d'œuvre of the Mentz press — when the rarity of the article is considered. The illuminations, about the time of the printing, are in a quiet and very pleasing style of composition and colouring. The volumes are absolutely cased in mail, by a binding of at least 300 years standing ; upon the exterior of which, are knobs and projections, in brass, of a durability, and bullet-defying power, which may vie with the coat of a rhinoceros. Upon the whole, then, there are five known copies of the MAZARINE BIBLE UPON VELLUM ; and upon consulting the *Bibl. Spenceriana*, vol. i. p. 6, there will be found to be nine *upon paper*. I suspect the number of each is capable of being increased.

Pursuing the 'Vellum Theme,' let us proceed to the PSALTERS of 1457 and 1459. All the known copies of these grand volumes are UPON VELLUM ; but Lord Spencer possesses a copy of the third edition, of 1490, upon paper—and the extreme rarity of this latter impression may have proceeded from the nature of the material upon which it appears to have been executed. I have lately seen a *third* copy of the first Psalter, but imperfect towards the end. It was consigned to Messrs. Nicol by Mr. Horn. Our country has reason to boast of these treasures ; as the Royal library at Paris, the largest and richest in the world, does not possess it. This third copy (His Majesty and Earl Spencer possessing the other two) bears ample evidence of its former use. It is thumbed throughout, and is of a frightfully tawny and sombre colour. Can we suppose that the ensuing embellishment, executed upon wood—after an original design, found (as fame reports, but fame is a slippery jade) in a crumpled state, within a buffet, once the property of Schoiffer's grandson—is intended to represent two monks

Fust and Schoiffher, although inferior to the Venetian, is exceedingly good : being, generally, both white and substantial.

chanting out of this *very first Psalter*, by lamp-light? I think we may receive it as such—without offering any extraordinary violence to our feelings or tastes, as antiquaries. Yet it must not be dissembled that the pencil of a friend, a very ‘ALEXANDER the Great’ in these matters, has materially contributed to give it expression and effect.



In the third place, let us notice the *nature* or *character* of the works which have issued from the press of Fust and Schoiffher. Whatever may be our partiality towards that establishment from which the public were first gratified with the sight of a printed book, candour obliges us to confess that the FATHERS of PRINTING were not fortunate, upon the whole, in *the choice of the books* which issued from their press. This observation however must be made with some ‘grains of allowance.’ Reference must be had to the *place* where these printers resided, and to the taste which prevailed there; and therefore when the foregoing criticism is past upon the efforts of Fust and Schoiffher, it must be understood to be regulated by a consideration of the superior taste which prevailed at *Rome, Venice*, and other *Italian* cities:—where the ANCIENT CLASSICS first began to arrest the public attention in the commodious and delightful form of a PRINTED BOOK. If, therefore, the first Mentz printers executed chiefly the *Fathers, Scholastic Divinity*, and *Civil Law*, the cause of

Next, for the DURANDUS of 1459. This is also uniformly found upon vellum; except the copy noticed by Meerman and Wurdwein upon the authority of Gudenus; and a second copy seen by the former in England—in both of which there were some sheets of paper. The reasons for this capricious variety, adduced by Meerman, (*Orig. Typog.* vol. i. p. 8, note) do not strike me as being very conclusive. Of the CATHOLICON of 1460, all the known copies, with the exception of those in the Royal Library at Paris, and in the Macarthy Collection (*Cat. de Mc. Carthy*, vol. i. no. 2183) are however upon paper; while the CONSTITUTIONS of CLEMENT V., of 1460, are as uniformly upon vellum. The vellum and paper copies of the BIBLE of 1462, have been already (*Bibl. Spencer.* vol. i. p. 15, 18) sufficiently noticed; and beyond this latter date it is not material to pursue the enquiry; as vellum copies became proportionally much rarer than paper ones. Meerman well observes upon this point: ‘At rerum haud diu post inversus est ordo, quando charta plerisque, membrana paucis exemplaribus, hisque ad ornatum maximè comparatis, et semper fere illuminatis, inservire cœpit, qualia Sweynheimii ac Pannartzii, Vendel. Spirensis, Nicol. Jensonis, aliorumque principum Italiae typographorum in variis curiosorum bibliothecis contemplatus admiratusque sum.’ *Orig. Typog.* vol. i. p. 8, note.

such a choice lay probably in the prospect of a quicker demand for, and a more abundant profit arising from the immediate sale of, such articles of publication : not however, as you may remember, that the Ancient Classics were *uniformly* forbidden to shew their venerable fronts within the precincts of the Mentz printing office : for the *Offices of Cicero*, the *History of Valerius Maximus*, and the *Plays of Terence*,* each issuing from the same quarter, forbid the imputation of a decidedly gothic or barbarous taste upon the character of its earliest directors. And here we may dismiss —

LISARDO. Do you mean to omit noticing the *Devices of Printers*? There is something rather interesting in these typographico-heraldic embellishments.

LYSANDER. Even so: and therefore let me briefly add that the device of Fust and Schoiffer consisted of two shields suspended to a bough of a shield, on one of which were three stars. These shields are usually executed in red; and first appeared, I believe, in the Bible of 1462.† The

* *Offices of Cicero, History of Valerius Maximus, and the Plays of Terence.*] The reader will find these impressions accurately described in the *Bibl. Spenceriana*, vol. i. p. 304, vol. ii. p. 450, and vol. iv. p. 557.

† *first appeared in the Bible of 1462.*] Spoerlius tells us expressly that this Bible was the first book in which the device above described (and of which a facsimile is given in the *Bibl. Spencer*, vol. i. p. 11) appeared. He also adds that this device was clearly intended for the *Coat of Arms* of Fust and Schoiffer, as Schwarz had compared it with the latter preserved in the public library at Frankfort upon the Maine. *Introd. in Notit. Insign. Typographicor.* 1730, p. 22. Schwarz has been somewhat mis-represented by Spoerlius. In the *Prim. Quæd. Doc. de Typ. Orig.* pt. ii. p. 21, Schwarz notices an early edition of the 'De Vera Vitæ Cognitione' of St. Austin, without date, which contains the device here alluded to; and which, if the impression were of the age attributed to it by Spoerlius, on the alledged authority of Schwarz—namely, of 1459—would cause this edition to contain the earliest specimen of the forementioned device: but Schwarz only observes that this latter work 'is printed in the type of the Durandus and Offices of Cicero; and may be at least as old as either.' If so,

same ornament was used by Peter Schoiffer, but was varied and enlarged by both his sons, Peter and John: with whom it altogether ceased to appear. Where shall we now direct our researches? What other city shall we next notice as the nurse of the infant art of printing?

LORENZO. Have you forgotten LAURENCE COSTER, and the pretensions of *Harlem*?

LISARDO. Heaven defend us! My eyes are just now fixed upon the picturesque turrets of the Soubiaco Monastery, and I wanted Lysander to introduce me to the printing office of that venerable abode—when our host purposes to saunter along the canals and amidst the interminable flat surfaces of Holland! What a degradation.

PHILEMON. Lisardo is outrageously disorderly. Our host has surely a right to have his request *first* attended to by the monarch of the day. Whether Lysander, in the exercise of his royal capacity, may please to enter upon the *controversy* which such a question involves, is another matter:—and, for my part, I am quite free to confess that what are called ‘the pretensions of Harlem’ appear to be at least as deserv-

the work might have been executed in 1465; and therefore there is nothing conclusive upon this subject from the authority of Schwarz.

Neither Marchand nor Wurdwein notice any volume of an earlier date than that of 1462, which contains this device or coat-armour. Fabricius, according to the former, (*Hist. de l’Imprimerie*, p. 45) considered the white ornaments in the first shield to be a *Cross of St. Andrew*, and the chevron in the second shield to represent a *Greek Lambda*. Scholtz speaks of them as mere ornaments; and Orlandi, with his usual inaccuracy, assigns them only to the productions of Fust. Marchand makes the first shield the arms of Fust, and the second those of Schoiffer. Lackman is particular in assigning to John Schoiffer the arms conferred upon him by Maximilian I. *Annal. Typog. Select. Quæd. Capita*, p. 21; but Marchand is much more copious upon the same subject—which will be renewed in the FOLLOWING DAY of this Decameron. Meanwhile we may remark, that the shields, as used by Fust and Schoiffer, appeared, in black, as late as the year 1525;—in the *Collectanea Antiquitatum in Urbe atque agro Moguntino*, in folio. See Mercier’s *Supplément*, p. 26.

ing of consideration as those which are connected with the 'picturesque turrets' of the Soubiaco monastery—to borrow Lisardo's phrase. . . .

LISARDO. I bow to the decision of the chair;—or rather of the throne.

LYSANDER. There is justice in the remark of Philemon. Let us therefore briefly discuss the leading points in the case of LAURENCE COSTER, or Laurente Janszoon: and the more so, as this subject, well nigh faded from recollection since the writing of Meerman, has of late assumed rather an important appearance from the conflicting arguments of two *living writers*,* who have entered the arena of discussion with ponderous and well-tempered weapons—the one resolved to protect, the other as bent upon carrying away, the embalmed body of the FATHER OF THE HARLEM PRESS.

* *conflicting arguments of two living writers.*] Mr. William Young Ottley, and Mr. Samuel Weller Singer. The former first began to write upon the subject, but the work of the latter was first published. They both appeared in 1816, in quarto: the first, under the title of '*An Enquiry into the Origin and Progress of the History of Engraving*,' &c. 2 vol.; and the second, under that of '*Researches into the History of Playing Cards, with Illustrations of the Origin of Printing and Engraving on Wood*.' (It will be observed in a note, at p. 551 of vol. iv. of the B.S. that Mr. Ottley's work is dated 1815; that date was given, on authority, but prospectively.) Although there can be no question of the superior importance of the work of Mr. Ottley, both in variety and extent, yet the public are much indebted to Mr. Singer for a volume of very curious and instructive research, embellished in a style which reflects equal credit upon the author, printer, and engraver. Mr. Ottley is the first among us who has treated of the early art of engraving in a manner in which it deserved to be treated; and the embellishments which he has introduced are equally distinguished for their felicity and fidelity. It is very probable that, in the disquisition of the subject of BLOCK BOOK PRINTING, to which both these writers have turned their attentions, I may differ occasionally from each; but this difference of opinion will, I trust, operate to a re-consideration of the subject, and to a castigation of myself, if needful; although I cannot refrain from expressing my exultation at being *deferred to* by such champions of typographical researches as the gentlemen just mentioned. We have sworn 'by the sword' to protect each other—if unmercifully assailed by the distance-loving critical *Lancer*!

LISARDO. A revival of the feats of Ajax and Hector over the corpse of Patroclus !

LYSANDER. Away with similes. Lord Mansfield I believe (so Burrowes reports him) used to say that nothing was 'more apt to injure an argument than a simile;' but if I am at all influenced by the weight of Law Authorities, in the consideration of the present subject, it will be by that of Chief Baron Gilbert, in his Law of Evidence: wherein, among sundry wise and sagacious maxims, he beseeches us to obtain 'the best possible evidence that the nature of the case will admit of.'

I feel persuaded, my good friends, in the outset of my remarks, that we want yet 'the best possible' evidence towards the complete adjustment of the claims of Coster; or rather, of that artist, whoever he may be, to whom we are indebted for the work commonly called, and known by the name of, *Speculum Humanæ Salvationis*: for this is the work which is supposed to be the foundation of the pretensions of Harlem to the Discovery of the Art of Printing. In the absence however of such a complete body of evidence, I may, in the first place, be permitted to remark, that because we have not the full weight of the kind of evidence just mentioned, it does not follow that there may not be sufficient 'upon the record' to warrant the main inferences which the writers in favour of Harlem have been disposed to draw. If you have not *all* the evidence which you may want, you must attend to the *character* and *competency* of such as you possess. If you have not the same weight of the '*lex scripta*,' or 'written evidence,' which supports the claims of Mentz, you must not from thence conclude that no such 'weighty written evidence' ever existed; but only that nothing of that character has *as yet reached* us. You must

therefore judge of the nature of the thing, or the existing instrument itself—of probabilities, in a thousand shapes and forms—and of the real character of such evidence as hath *actually come down* to us. Of these, then, in their due order.

And first of the nature of the existing document itself. Here is a production, manifestly different from any thing of a contemporaneous period of which we have any knowledge. It is a printed text of one of the most popular manuals of morality in the middle ages. It is also of a limited extent: such as need not require any very elaborate or protracted execution. It likewise contains ornaments or cuts, of the subjects treated of in the text. All these things, together, savour strongly of what would be *most likely* to engage the attention, and fix the determination, of an experimental genius in the particular art by which such a production could be effected. The cuts, with brief descriptions of them immediately beneath, are both executed upon the same block. These are printed in a pale or umbre tint; and the explanatory or moralising part, forming what is called the *text* of the work, is printed in black ink, beneath, in double columns. The letter of this text is sharp, regular, and undeviating; and much smaller than the irregular and disproportionate letter which we observe immediately beneath the wood cuts. The work itself is printed both in the Dutch and Latin languages; that is to say, there are impressions of it entirely in the Dutch, and entirely in the Latin language. The latter is of the earlier date.

Note further, that this work is executed only *on one side of each leaf*: while the wood-cuts appear, from the glazed surface of their reverses, to have been impressed by means of *friction* of some kind or other. There is something in

this also, I submit, very indicative of a first attempt. But as it is entirely without date, it may be asked, why affix the *country of Holland* and the *city of Harlem* as the birth-place of this production in particular? The answer is, that Adrian Junius, a physician, scholar, and man of character,* tells us explicitly (on authority presently to be examined) that one Coster—or say a citizen of Harlem—was the author of this performance—before the middle of the fifteenth century; and Mr. Ottley has, I think, very satisfactorily proved that the style of art, observable in the cuts, is clearly not of Italy or of Germany, but of the Low Countries. When, therefore, could such a work have been executed?

This brings us, in the second place, to discourse ‘of the probabilities, in a thousand shapes and forms,’ which may uphold the hypothesis of this being at least a very ancient, if not the earliest, specimen of the art of printing. The type, in which it is executed, is not wholly peculiar to the *Speculum*. It appears in a fragment of an edition of the *Distichs of Cato*;† a mere elementary or school book, and such as one might conceive to have been executed in the

* a physician, scholar, and man of character.] Although we may not accede to the opinion of Bullart, in his *Acad. des Sciences*, lib. iii. p. 181-2, in calling Junius ‘the second luminary of Holland after Erasmus;’ yet we may assent to that of Nicéron in his *Mémoires des Hommes Illustres*, vol. vii. p. 401, who observes that ‘Junius had naturally a vast memory, which he exercised with particular success in the various departments of literature in which he excelled, exclusively of his reputation as a physician.’ Like a thorough-bred bibliomaniac, his happiness was concentrated in his library; on the plunder of which, at the capture of Harlem in 1573, he broke his heart; dying in his 63rd or 64th year.

† appears in a fragment of an edition of the *Distichs of Cato*.] See the *Bibl. Spenceriana*, vol. iv. p. 476: but more particularly Mr. Singer’s work, p. 134; where there is also a fac-simile of the letter used in the subscriptions immediately beneath the cuts. Mr. Ottley however has given fac-similes of the complete alphabets used in the respective editions of the *Speculum*: see vol. i. p. 238, 249.

very dawn of the discovery of the typographical art. It appears in no bulky work; and if any objection be urged to its being an *isolated* sort of type, and unconnected with any previous or subsequent specimen, (with the foregoing exception) the same may be urged against the most established truths of bibliography—the foundations of which no one has yet had the hardihood or temerity to invalidate: for, according to this mode of ratiocination, we are not to believe in the dates of the books printed in the *Sublacensian* or *Soubiaco Monastery*, because we are unacquainted with any other specimens of the same type! And where, I ask, do we see again the types of the *Mazarine Bible*—before the year 1480? * and then, too, in a battered state! Yet shall this militate against the received date of the *Mazarine Bible*? In a point of this moment I will not be discomfited by arguments of an apparently plausible, but in reality of a merely negative, or even contradictory, nature. Thus, because the first dated book (namely, of the year 1473) printed in Flanders, exhibits a totally *different* type from that of the *Speculum*, we are told that the latter work cannot be a production of the Low Countries: while, on the other hand, because *Ketelaer* and *De Leempt*, (printers of the same country) who are thought to have used a *similar* type, † have not affixed

* types of the *Mazarine Bible* before the year 1480?] These types however are seen in the *Meditationes Ioannis de Turrecremata* of 1479, printed by Numeister, as the fac-simile in the B. S., vol. iv. p. 39, may satisfactorily prove. Yet these latter, being the production of a Strasbourg printer, although a 'Mentz Clerk,' seem of a new cast; while the *Agenda Moguntinensis Ecclesiæ*, unquestionably printed at Mentz, are comparatively very defective.

† thought to have used a similar type.] See the fac-simile in Mr. Singer's work, p. 138. On comparing this type with the one used in the *Speculum*, I cannot bring myself to think there is a *prima-facie* resemblance, or 'family likeness'—as Lord Spencer happily designates it. The types of *Ketelaer* and *De Leempt* are feeble and battered compared with those of the supposed types of *Coster*.

any date earlier than that of 1474, to the works which are considered to have issued from their press, therefore the performances of Lawrence Janszoon (as he is sometimes called) cannot be of the early date so generally imagined! What is this but converging into one point, rays which strike off into opposite directions? For, first, we agree from *dissimilarity*, and then from *similarity*, and yet draw the *same conclusion*! Where positive and unequivocal data are wanting, we must have recourse to probabilities and analogies; and I am clearly of opinion that the most unexceptionable evidence is not exclusively to be obtained from the appearance of *types*. Thus, who could think that the '*Augustinus De Arte Prædicandi*' and the '*Speculum Historiale*' of Vincentius Bellovacensis, were each printed at Strasbourg, by Mentelin? Who would imagine Martin Flachen, in the very same city, to have latterly used such a decidedly opposite cast of type?—that the *Foligno* press claimed Numeister as the printer of *Leonard Aretin* in 1470, and of *Joannes de Turrecremata* in 1479, each executed in the most opposite forms of type?—that the press of *Spire* should, in the productions of Peter Drach, have given birth to such very different typographical characters?—that *Florence*, in the publications of Azzoguidi and Miscomini, should have witnessed such varying specimens of her respective printers? Leaving Germany and Italy, what say you to the dissimilar appearances of the *Ulm* press, in the productions of John Zainer and Leonhard Hol? and descending to the Low Countries, and therefore making more for our present point, why should Richard Paffroet, I beseech you, living at *Deventer*, choose to disport himself in at least *three* varieties of type?

The catalogue of such discrepancies or varieties would

be endless.* All I contend for is, that because the first dated book, printed in the Low Countries, happens to be executed in a type *different* from that which is supposed to have been executed in the same parts at a much earlier period, we are not from hence to infer that the antiquity of the latter is necessarily shaken: and further, because the same work which happens to display a *somewhat similar* type, printed in the same country, be of the date of 1474, it does not therefore follow that the previous work, to which this dated one is supposed to have a typographical resemblance, must of necessity have been executed at pretty nearly the same period.

I come, in the third and last place—as connected with the claims of Harlem or Holland—to touch upon the *character* or *competency* of the evidence handed down to us: and this I choose to do precisely in the chronological order in which that evidence is to be collected. We have, first of all, the attestation of *Ulric Zel*, as given in the text of the *Cologne Chronicle*, printed in 1499;† and although the evidence of

* *catalogue of such varieties would be endless.*] The reader will be pleased to understand that the above illustrations, by Lysander, are founded on the descriptions of works, by the several printers above specified, in the *Bibl. Spenceriana*; as an examination of the ‘Index of Printers,’ and a consultation of the pages there referred to, will sufficiently prove.

† *the Cologne Chronicle, printed in 1499.*] I may fairly say that the most accurate and minute description of this very rare chronicle, extant, will be found in the *Bibl. Spenceriana*, vol. iii. p. 281. The passage, above alluded to, has however been extracted by bibliographers without end; and amongst other works, will be found in those of Scriverius, Boxhorn, Freytag, Struvius, and Würdtwein; not to notice the more modern writers, including Mr. Ottley and Mr. Singer. The German original may be seen, if needful, in the *Laurea Laurentii Costerii*, p. 100; *Theatrum Hollandiæ*, 1632, 4to; p. 409; *Analecta Literaria*, vol. i. p. 115; *Introd. in Not. Rei Literar.* p. 944, edit. Fischer; *Bibl. Moguntina*, p. 50, 1780, 4to. and in Mr. Singer’s book. A faithful English version of the German passage, extracted in the foregoing authorities, will be found in the work first above mentioned. Mr. Willet, in his ‘Memoir on the

that ancient printer may be thought to 'cut both ways,' yet it seems to me that the main inference deducible from it is, that 'in Holland they first began to print *Donatuses*, and that the art of printing, practised in the manner in which it was at the period of the publication of the Cologne Chronicle, was discovered at Mentz.' Be it further known, that Ulric Zel was a *German*, and printed at Cologne at least as early as 1466. It has been before observed that his testimony appears 'as honest as it is curious;' and what are we to gather from it, but that the *tentamina*, the earliest and rudest efforts,—the bone and tendon, as it were—of the art of printing, were first exhibited in the *Low Countries*?—while it was not indued with flesh and blood (if I must go on with the simile, and thus run counter to my former position respecting such a mode of argument) till it had been exercised at *Mentz*?! But what could Ulric Zel mean when he talked of *Holland* and *Donatuses*?* Were these things

Origin of Printing,' has been somewhat too hasty in adopting the sentiments of Marchand, respecting the supposed invalidity of this chronicle, without consulting the authorities to which Marchand refers. *Archæologia*, vol. xi p. 294, &c.

* *Holland and Donatuses*?] Mr. Singer—who is as formidable an antagonist against, as Mr. Ottley is a strenuous champion for, the claims of Coster and Harlem—observes 'the *Donatuses* of Holland may have suggested ideas of the typographic art, but this makes nothing for the cause of Coster and Harlem: these *Donatuses* were most probably xylographic productions, and we think if the passage in that [the Cologne] Chronicle be attentively considered, it will sanction this inference.' *Researches*, &c. p. 148. This is a more important concession than the writer of it was probably aware of. In the first place, if there do exist *Donatuses* printed in Holland, *however* printed, before any typographical attempts at Mentz, what is this but 'making every thing for the cause of Coster and Harlem'—and giving the palm of THE DISCOVERY OF THE ART OF PRINTING to Holland? In the second place, as to the materials by means of which these *Donatuses* were printed—it is quite uncertain, and merely conjectural, what these materials were: as no authenticated copy of a *Donatus*, of this period, is known to exist. There is nothing, also, in my apprehension, in the text of the Cologne Chronicle which warrants a conclusion in favour of wood more than of metal.

non-entities? There was then no Van Zuyren, no Coornhert, no Junius, nor Scriverius, to give a bias or prejudice to his deposition. Something, unquestionably, must have been distinctly impressed upon his mind when he told the Chronicler these things; and it is a little too saucy or severe to allow only one part of his evidence and not another—to say, that when he mentioned Gutenberg and Mentz, he was *awake*; but that, when he spoke of Holland and the Donatuses, he *slumbered*!...

LISARDO. Where are these Donatuses? They seem convenient things for a typographical hypothesis.

The elder Scaliger has given us rather an amusing story about a supposed Donatus, printed at Venice in 1428, upon the authority of the Chronicle of Rabbi Joseph; adding that 'it had escaped the notice and researches of every other person. That mode of printing, (continues he) namely with wooden blocks, was discovered in our country at Harlem;' and he afterwards speaks of a vellum copy of this kind, coming into the hands of the younger Aldus: having this imprint in ms.: '*Impressus est hic Donatus & Confessionalia primum omnium A. 1450.*' 'Either (adds Schelhorn) I am altogether deceived, or that Rabbi Jew told a bouncing falsehood; no copy of such a Donatus has yet been discovered by me, or satisfactorily heard of?' *Amœnitat. Literar.* vol. ii. p. 327-9. It should however be noticed that Angelus Roccha, in his *Bibliotheca Vaticana*, p. 411, says that the younger Aldus shewed him this very Donatus upon vellum; in which Mariangelus Accursius had written a brief account of the origin of the art of printing, and had introduced the gratuitous colophon above noticed. Struvius says these Donatuses were printed by means of blocks of wood; but he relies exclusively upon Schelhorn. *Bibl. Hist. Liter. Select. Edit. Jugler.* vol. iii. p. 2090. Würdtwein has also noticed the subject; *Bibl. Mogunt.* p. 81. In short, the Donatuses of Holland, supposed to have been printed before the year 1450, are as yet purely typographical desiderata; in spite of the descriptions of Seiz and Meerman: indeed the latter, according to Mr. Ottley, p. 246-7, 'appears to have had no better authority for his chronological arrangement of the different Donatuses, than he had for the different editions of the *Speculum*, in his arrangement of which [latter] it has been shewn he was egregiously mistaken.' Nor can I, on a second and careful examination of that very ancient and singularly-printed copy of a Donatus, in Lord Spencer's library, (see *Bibl. Spenceriana*, vol. iii. p. 63) bring myself to think it was executed by means of wooden blocks: however, from my description of it, such an inference might be drawn.

LORENZO. Rather ask, where are the Donatuses of Gutenberg, and of Sweynheym and Pannartz?

LYSANDER. Lorenzo is correct in his interrogative method of reply. No one has satisfactorily shewn, in spite of Fischer, that there is any existing Donatus of Gutenberg;* and although Sweynheym and Pannartz expressly declare that the Donatus was the first work which ever exercised their press, yet shew me the bibliographer who has enriched his pages by a description of such an inestimable treasure?† I

* *Donatus of Gutenberg.*] See p. 331, ante. I incline strongly to think that the first printer of a Donatus, at Mentz, was Peter Schoeffer: and for the reason given in the page just referred to, that the Donatus of Gutenberg is purely ideal.

† *a description of such an inestimable treasure.*] At length however I have to announce, what may be considered a most important fact, connected with the Donatus of Sweynheym and Pannartz; and which, had it reached the ears of Lysander—however it would have justified him concerning the uniform silence of all bibliographical writers respecting that early and tremendously scarce morceau of typography—might have enabled him to produce a sort of electrical effect upon the nerves of his audience. THE DONATUS OF SWEYNHEYM AND PANNARTZ YET EXISTS!

Hear from thy grave, great AUDIFFREDI, hear,

It breathes a soul to animate thy clay.

Yes, the DONATUS OF SWEYNHEYM AND PANNARTZ YET EXISTS! I well remember, at this moment, the emotions of delight—not unmixed, however, with a little dash of incredulity—with which I read a passage in one of Lord Spencer's letters to me, during his visit at Mr Coke's, at Holkham, in the autumn of 1815—wherein he observed 'that he had been in company with a gentleman who had lately seen the Donatus of Sweynheym and Pannartz, in a private collection in Italy.' His lordship was too acute a bibliographer not to institute immediately, what is called, a close 'cross-examination:' but that gentleman, M. Binda, an Italian, turned out to be cross-examination-proof. He was familiar with the types of the *Soubiaco Press*; and on refreshing his memory with a sight of the lovely copies of the works from that press, in the Spencer library, he was confirmed in the accuracy of the information which he had imparted at Mr. Coke's. The copy of the Donatus, however, was imperfect: but *fragments* even of such a treasure—a leaf, a page, a sentence, a line—why fragments, I say, of such a treasure, would out-balance, in my poor estimation (and poor enough it will be thought by the disciples of John Bollandus) seven-eighths of the relics of three-fourths of the Saints recorded in the *Acta Sanctorum*! Why do I indulge the pleasing dream of this very copy, with all its 'imperfections on its head,' finding

do not however by any means disbelieve the former existence of very early impressions of this tract. It is a short, useful, and merely elementary treatise for school-boys; and considering who were to be the *possessors* of it, it is not very likely that the earlier editions of such a work should survive the destructive hands into which they fell.* The discovery of the *Distichs of Cato*, another school-boy treatise, and printed in the types of the *Speculum*, makes it very probable that such '*Donatuses*' also existed; and, if so, they were most probably printed in the same type. I will now collect the other links in the chain of evidence.

PHILEMON. You seem to have forgotten the uniform concurrence of almost all the *Printed Chronicles* in favour of the claims of Mentz?

LYSANDER. True; but, with very few exceptions, I would not (as Lord Thurlow used to say) give 'a pinch of

its ultimate resting place within the glass doors of the library of the Noble Earl just mentioned? And why, too, do I indulge another pleasing dream of the '*Meditationes Joannis de Turrecremata*,' printed by Udalricus Gallicus in 1467, eventually shaking hands with the same Donatus within the same glass-doors? There may be bubbles of the imagination more likely to break than these.

* *the destructive hands into which they fell.*] Schelhorn speaks feelingly of the fate of what may be called these '*Incunabula Typographica*.' '*Perierunt pleraque ejus generis opuscula: absumsit ea rerum edax tempus, truces devorantur blattæ, furtim admotis dentibus arrosere mures, invidiosa corrumpit caries, puerulis plorantibus ab illas ruditer tornatas, quibus superbiebant, figuras, discerpenda concesserunt nutrices male sedulæ: imo nec ipsa rabida canum vis illis pepercit.*' *Amæniti. Literar.* vol. ii. p. 328. Schelhorn then proceeds to notice a specimen of block-printing of the *Horæ Matutinæ*, once in the possession of I. C. Scaliger, and described by his son Joseph, which had been cruelly 'lacerated by the atrocious tooth of time.' He gets into a fit of passion, at such vestiges of destruction: '*Irascor crudeli isti molosso!*'—alluding to the said *Horæ*. '*Rest, rest, perturbed spirit!*'—Joseph Scaliger was a giant in literature, but a conjurer in bibliography. No copy of the *Horæ Matutinæ*, printed by means of blocks of wood, was ever in existence; notwithstanding the elder Scaliger 'made much of the book?'—'*Eas horas matutinas (says the son) plurimi faciebat pater meus, tum propter matrem, tum etiam quod ille primus typographiæ fœtus esset.*'

snuff' for the collected worth of 'three score and ten' of such documents:* and I will tell you wherefore. They are chiefly the evidence of Germans and Italians; but, further,

* *not give a pinch of snuff for the collected worth of 'three score and ten' of such documents.*] This may be thought good round scoffing on the part of Lysander; but there is some truth in the observation. What dost think, chronicle-loving reader, of the evidence of a certain Chronicle of Normandy, in which one Morinus is said to have first commenced printing at Rouen, in 1443!? See the *Extraordinaire du Mercure Galant*, 1679, tom. viii. p. 216-228—as extracted in the *Monument. Typog.* of Wolfius, vol. ii. p. 1117-1122. Paulus Langius (who flourished about the year 1500) says, in his *Chronicon Citicensis*, (see the *Script. Hist. Germ.* vol. i. p. 365) that 'the art of printing was discovered about the year 1454 at Mentz, by Peter Gutenberg, a Knight.' The *Chronicon Pontificum*, &c. printed by I. P. de Lignamine, at Rome, in 1474, is undoubtedly a most valuable piece of evidence respecting the earliest printing at Mentz and Rome. Mr. Singer has not failed to avail himself of the weight of the extracts from this very rare book, as those extracts appear in the *Bibl. Spenceriana*, vol. iii. p. 251-4; but it must be remarked that De Lignamine says nothing about the *discovery of the art* at either place: he only tells us what Gutenberg, Fust, Sweynheym and Pannartz, and Ulric Han, did in these respective cities. About the same time, namely in 1474, appeared the *Fasciculus Temporum*, by Wernerus Rolewinck de Laer; who copied Marianus Scotus for the greater part, and whose work, as Meuselius justly observes, 'appears to have been very popular three centuries ago, from the numerous impressions of it.' *Bibl. Hist. Struvii, edit.* 1782, vol. i. p. 91. But this 'Fasciculus Temporum' is clearly one of the 'pinch of snuff' authorities, alluded to by Lysander; since it is a mere compendium of events—a mere historical memorandum book—and, in regard to the origin of printing, it says, in the true spirit of brevity, 'about this time (1455) the craft of printing was first found at Mentz.' I suspect this chronicle to have supplied materials for almost every subsequent flimsy notice of the important fact under consideration; and was hence copied by Caxton, and the printer of the St. Alban's Chronicle; see the *Bibl. Spenceriana*, vol. iv. p. 372: but neither Caxton, nor the St. Alban's printer, 'good souls,' ever applied their attention, or directed their researches, to the solution of this knotty point. They had other, and no doubt more palatable, 'fish to fry.'

Mr. Singer thinks—because I had before said (*Typog. Antig.* vol. i. p. 149) that this chronicle was printed in Dutch, in the year 1480—(and that it was so printed, is evident from Jansen's treatise *De L'Invention de l'Imprimerie*, 1809, 8vo. p. 256) that, if the passage before cited were copied by the translator, 'it would be almost conclusive evidence in favour of Mentz,' p. 162, note: but I reply, that it affords no 'conclusive evidence' whatever, on *either* side—it only proves that the translator *faithfully performed his office of translation*. It was the mere echo of the original sound.

they are mere transcripts of each other. Their mode, too, of mentioning the discovery of printing, is quite in the fashion of a news-paper paragraph—and you will not be angry with me if I withhold an immediate assent to a statement of this nature. Besides, the colophons of Fust

The Chronicle of Eusebius, and other authorities arranged in battle-array by Mr. Singer, would present rather a feeble front to the broad sword charge of an antiquarian Life-Guard's Man; nor shall the Colonel of the regiment so drawn up, Polydore Vergil, impress me with very high notions of the bottom of the troops. The first edition of that Colonel's famous work, '*De Inventoribus Rerum*,' of the date of 1499, is in my possession, and now before me. On the recto of signature f v. the invention of printing is distinctly given (as Mr. Singer properly remarks) to one 'Peter' a German; which German, in a subsequent impression, is converted to John Gutenberg. What, however, if this Peter were Peter Schoeffer? Let it pass: stet 'Ioannes Gutenbergius.' But beware of 'subsequent' impressions of this Polydore Vergil, whom all the old bibliographers were so fond of quoting; and who, whatever were his talents, (for such I dare not question, when my friend H. P., 'in rebus historicis πολυμαθὴς ἁλός,' is always prompt to commend them) is certainly not worth 'a fair good pinch of rappee' on this occasion: for, in his first edition, properly enough, he quietly says, 'Conrad a German first printed in Italy, at Rome;' but master Daniel Elzevir, in his edition of the foregoing work, of the date of 1671, 12mo. (I quote from an *uncut copy*—penes me—and for which two guineas were given—who would not give two guineas for an uncut Elzevir?) the same Polydore Vergil will have it that 'Conrad (Sweynheym) began his typographical career at Rome in 1458!' see p. 103. I ask, again, is Polydore worth any thing beyond a 'mere pinch' of Scotch snuff—quoad the origin of printing? Note a droll circumstance respecting this Elzeverian impression. It contains, in the frontispiece, a whole length figure, in a turred gown and cap, with the letter A upon a tablet in his left hand: having, beneath his right hand, the words 'Typographiæ Inventor:' and what should this figure be but the received whole length portrait of LAURENCE COSTER, published by Moxon, in his *Mechanick Exercises*, 1683, by Sallengre in his *Mémoires de Littérature*, 1715, 8vo. vol. i. p. 393, by Seiz in his *Annus Secularis*, &c. 1740, and lastly by Luckombe in his miserable volume upon printing! Let the reader, however, who wishes to see a chronological list of authorities, giving evidence, more or less weighty, respecting the origin of the art of printing, consult Jansen's book, referred to in the next note. These authorities are divided by Jansen into THREE CLASSES. Mr. Willet's quotations from Aldridge (*Anstis on the Garter*, vol. ii. p. 161,) Fabian and Caxton (*Archæologia*, vol. xi. p. 310,) are all referable to the news-paper paragraphs of such works as the '*Fasciculus Temporum*.'

and Schoiffher were the fountain-head of these flimsy notices: not that I tax the first Mentz printers with the consequences of a *perversion*, of what, in them, was both commendable and just. But to take up the links of this typographical chain.

From the date of the Cologne Chronicle, a period of fifty years elapses before we have any further mention made of the claims of Holland. This silence may be called fatal by some; but I see no reason to join in such a conclusion. Who had ever described the productions of the *Bamberg Press*, of the dates of 1461 and 1462, till they were first noticed towards the middle of the last century? In regard to the relative importance of Harlem and Mentz, the latter was unquestionably considered the *popular* city as having given birth to the art of printing. Her situation, her comparative consequence and superiority to Harlem, in the scale of cities at that period, and the beauty and number of the works which issued from her presses, must have united in shedding a lustre about her pretensions, to which Harlem, or the Low Countries, could have never aspired. What, in short, are the legitimate and undisputed works which have marked the progress of printing in the Low Countries*

* *progress of printing in the Low Countries.*] The best list of works printed in the Low Countries will be found at the end of Jansen's reprint of Meerman's Treatises, 1809, 8vo. by Visser; who makes the earliest of these works, with a date, of the year 1472, printed at Antwerp. Among these printers of the 'dix-sept Provinces-Unies des Pays-Bas avant l'année 1501.' JOHN VELDENER appears to make a very conspicuous figure. His 'Historia Sanctæ Crucis' of the date of 1483, occupies 30 pages of vol. iii. of the *Bibl. Spenceriana*—as it is a most curious and uncommon production; but I am very far from intimating, with Mr. Singer, that this printer may have executed the 'Speculum' and 'Catonis Disticha.' Indeed, there is no resemblance in *his* types to the types of either of these works; and if a comparison be instituted, those of the latter works (which Mr. Singer thinks were abandoned for a better fount) are in fact superior to the types of the History of the Cross: see Mr. Singer's book, p. 139.

during the *fifteenth Century*? They are, comparatively, few and unimportant. But be this as it may: between the years 1550 and 1560, one *John Van Zuyren*, a sheriff and

The bibliographical antiquary will forgive an extension of this note, by a description of three curious and uncommon books, evidently the production of HOLLAND or the LOW COUNTRIES. Of the *first*, there can be no doubt. The name and date (Holland, 1485) are incorporated in the colophon; and Mr. Singer is the lucky possessor of this not uncovetable volume. It is a folio, printed in double columns, with wood-cuts; being a Dutch version of the *Romance-History of Troy*. Neither Maittaire, Panzer, nor Visser appear to have seen it; and the two latter borrow from the former—who relies exclusively upon the *Cat. Segefrid*, *Litt. D.* n. 167. The type is of that square, full character, of which the text of the '*Speculum*' may be considered the original model, and the cuts are decidedly of the same school of art as we observe in the *Canticles*, *Biblia Pauperum*, and *Speculum*; especially in the former: being executed with thin, sharp, horizontal lines. There can be no question, I think, of the genealogy of the type and wood-cuts; if so, and if Mr. Singer himself be disposed to admit of an interval of forty years between the execution of these works, (although I grant that this admission should be considered rather gratuitous, than peremptorily binding) it will follow that the three works just specified (the particular objects of Mr. Ottley's investigation) are of a date previous to the year 1450. There is, unquestionably, a very essential chronological difference between Mr. Singer's book and the '*Speculum*,' &c.

The *second* production of Holland or the Low Countries, of which I purpose gratifying the reader with some account, is an octavo volume of *Hours*, in the Dutch language, in the possession of Mr. Freeling; to whom it had been consigned from abroad. It contains signatures to s i, in eights; so that we cannot assign a date to it earlier than that of 1472. Like the Pliny described in *Bibl. Spenceriana*, vol. ii. p. 271-2, this has also a manifestly surreptitious date, in ms., at the end, thus:

Geprēt toe harlem hi mi lau-
īz iāzon colter. M.cccc.l.

It is executed in long lines, and a full page contains 21 of them. There are spaces for the capital initials, and the title, or head-line, on signature a i, is as follows:

Hier beghinnen die ghediden van onser
lieuer vrouwen

The type is evidently 'of the family' of that of the *Speculum*; although it be shorter and narrower, and in some instances of a more angular appearance. The formation of the *a* is conclusive in my own mind that this book was most probably executed in Holland: see the fac-simile in Mr. Ottley's work, p. 238: at

burgomaster of the city of Harlem, wrote a treatise expressly upon the pretensions of that city; in which, although the name of Coster does not appear (a circumstance, whence a

the same time I admit a resemblance, in this type, to that of the *Legende Dorée* printed at Lyons in 1476: see the *Bibl. Spenceriana*, vol. iv. p. 523-6.

The third book which I have to describe, and which in all probability is a production of the Low Countries, is a typographical curiosity of no ordinary occurrence or trifling moment. It is the very book, for a description of which Panzer (vol. iv. p. 179, no. 996) is exclusively indebted to Maittaire, vol. i. p. 761. Maittaire has given a summary of the titles, or leading contents, of the work; but, as I suspect, not from personal examination; as he would hardly have suffered a volume, printed in such extraordinary, and with two different, founts of letter, to have been registered as a mere matter of course—without comment or note. This singular book is the property of Lord Spencer; having been recently obtained from abroad, through the means of Mr. Horn; which able bibliographer had imagined it, incorrectly however, to have been a block-book, and executed with the types of the *Speculum*. It is a folio, without numerals, signatures, or catchwords; a full page, as far as the recto of fol. 44, containing 26 long lines. The type is large, (nearly one quarter of an inch in height) bold, and angular; decidedly gothic—and of which Mr. Horn says ‘he never saw an instance before.’ The *t*, or rather the finishing of the transverse stroke of it, is met by a perpendicular line of more than one half the length of the whole letter, which is very uncommon; and forbids the classing of the volume among the works from the press of PRISTER—although there be a prima-facie resemblance to the character used by that printer.

As far as the reverse of folio 38, inclusively, the volume is occupied by the text of the ‘*Singularia In Causis Criminalibus*,’ of Ludovicus [Pontanus] De Roma: of which work, the first edition, with a date, is that of 1471, by Vindelin de Spira; see Panzer, vol. iii. p. 73. It may be necessary to mention, in the volume under description, that the first leaf contains the preface of Ludovicus; and that on the reverse of the 38th leaf, at bottom, we read

Expliciūt singlria ludo. de roma.

On the recto of the ensuing leaf, is the metrical epitaph of Æneas Sylvius upon ‘Ludovicus de Roma, a jurisconsulist.’ On the reverse of the same, or 39th leaf, begins the ‘*apologetica invectiva*’ of the same Ludovicus. This terminates at the bottom of the 5th ensuing leaf, or the 44th from the beginning of the volume, with the word ‘Explicit.’ Thus far there is no particular ground of doubt, suspicion, or wonder. Every thing hitherto has the decided appearance of the mechanism of a press, locking up moveable or fusile types of metal: and the marks of pressure, or indentation round the four sides of the text, as well as an occasional indenture from small pieces of wood, are nothing (speaking on the authority of the conductors of the press from which this work issues) but account-

more favourable construction may be gathered—as affecting the general claims of Harlem) yet there could be no doubt, in the writer's mind, that Holland, and not Germany, was to be considered as the cradle of the typographical art. Zuyren's treatise is unluckily imperfect; but we have yet to learn why his account is to be treated as an impudent

able appearances in the usual process of printing. There is one peculiarity, however, on the reverse of the 10th leaf, which may be deserving of some attention. The beginning of the sixth line has a *transverse mark*, in black, indented by means of the press, across the words 'hētic9 ē & sicut.' The indentation is rather deep; and if the finger be carefully drawn across it, the marks of the pressure—of some substance—are distinctly recognised. The parts of the letters, where this mark comes, are quite cut through; and there is a whitish scratchy appearance at the bottom of this mark. Mr. Ottley thinks this must have been the accidental result of something in the shape of a feather, torn from a pen, with a portion of the quill. Mr. Bulmer made the experiment with a piece of string, but this produced only a mark at right angles across a given word; without any appearance of severe indentation. However, the accident of something *substantial* coming across the face of the type, may probably account for such an appearance.

Now comes the cause of astonishment. On turning over the 44th leaf—on the very reverse of it—we are instantly struck with the appearance of a different and comparatively clumsy type; and with a page of text considerably elongated and narrower than the foregoing. The type however is of nearly the same height, but narrower; the strokes of the letters are disproportionably thick, and the whole leans as it were to the right. At first glance, the types look prodigiously as if they had been *cut upon wood*; but their undeviating conformity with each other—making only such allowance as more or less pressure, or more or less ink upon the face of the letter, might produce—forbids such a conclusion. Two things are remarkable: the capitals correspond precisely with those of the Speculum: and the small *a*, in one of its formations, is precisely the small *a* of the Speculum: although the fount of letter be considerably broader and 'fatter' (as printers term it) than that in the work last mentioned. The *water marks* are also those of the Low Countries; and one of them—of which Mr. Ottley has given a fac-simile, at p. 222, no. 11.—is the peculiar water-mark of Holland. The paper is stout and well manufactured. How, now, are we to account for this singular variety? Was the author (as has been suggested to me) resolved only to make a paginary reprint of his .S.—and was the previous type too tall and square to admit of it? It is perhaps impossible to advance a satisfactory solution. It remains to add, that the latter pages of this work, as far as folio 59, inclusively, contain a sort of *mélange*, of which all the component parts need not be very particularly enumerated: namely, Pius Secundus, 'De Mulieribus Pravis'—with excerpts from Lactantius, Prudentius,

falsehood.* His portrait, as given by Goltzius, is exceedingly prepossessing in his favour; and shews nothing of the *organ of forgery*!

Next to that of Zuyren, comes the evidence of *Coornhert*; as given in the prefatory matter of a translation of Cicero's Offices, printed in 1561, and dedicated to the Senators of Harlem. This, which is called 'a flourishing account' by Mr. Willet, is, however, confirmatory of the same position.† The text of *Guicciardini* has been adduced as equally supporting the claims of Holland; but I own there does not appear to me to be much weight in the testimony of the Italian historian.‡ It is little more than the declaration of

Juvenal—the same '*De Laude atque Epitaphiis Virorum Illustrium*'—concluding with a jocose and a serious epigram, and excerpts from the fathers. These epigrams may be acceptable:

Epygramma iocosum.

Denorat agricolam rex. regē tyro. sed illum
Vsurator edit. comedit sed presbiter istum
Presbiterū meretrix. meretricē leno remordet
Lenonem caupo. sed cauponem parasitus
Illum sempedes: symia sempedes.

Epygramma serium.

Iam satis ē lusum. potior michi transijt etas
Me scio delusum si non conexero methas. (Fol. 56, rev.)

At the bottom of the 59th and last leaf, is the word 'Explicit.' The reverse is blank. This is probably the most desirable volume, on the score of typographical singularity, which I ever beheld. It is in the finest possible state of preservation.

* *his account not to be treated as an impudent falsehood.*] See Mr. Ottley's work, p. 176-7; and Mr. Singer's observations, p. 145. When the latter author calls him 'the earliest authority adduced' we must presume that he excepts the Cologne Chronicle. Mr. Singer speaks with due reverence of the captivating physiognomy of Van Zuyren, engraved by Goltzius from Hemskirk.

† *confirmatory of the same position.*] 'This testimony goes no further than to establish the general and popular belief at Harlem: he (Coornhert) honestly owns that he did not expect to overcome the prejudice in favour of Mentz.' Mr. Willet. *Archæologia*, vol. xi. p. 292. This is an admission on the part of Mr. Willet, which goes a great way in favour of the reception of the evidence of Coornhert.

‡ *not much weight in the testimony of the Italian historian.*] '*Guicciardini*

hear-say evidence. At length we reach the important document of *Adrian Junius* ;* a physician, and a man of probity and talent. I am not about to subscribe to the whole of the narrative of Junius. I throw out of the consideration his account even of such a man as Coster, (for it is *the fact*, and *not the name of the doer*, that is most material to the point at issue) and of his walking in a grove of beech trees, and cutting out letters and words upon the bark of the same, &c. This may, or may not, be true.† I am better pleased when the narrator comes to matters of fact, within his own experience : namely, when he comes to inform us that his tutor Nicholas Galius (an old gentleman of a very retentive memory) told him when a youth, that he, Galius, when he was a boy, had often heard one Cornelius, a bookbinder, and in

refers, (says Mr. Ottley), although unfortunately without specifying them, to the testimony of certain writers on the subject, and to other records then in existence ;' p. 180. Mr. Singer thinks ' the information of Coornhert, and the reports alluded to by Guiccardini, may have had their origin in the assertions of Van Zuyren,' p. 145-6. Upon the whole, the evidence of Guiccardini is scarcely worth the trouble of collecting ; but the inference of Mr. Singer is, I think, exceedingly questionable : and rather savours of the ingenuity of an advocate, than of the impartiality of a judge. Mr. Willet opposes the account of Ludovicus Carbo, in an edition of Pliny's Epistles of the supposed date of 1471, to that of Guiccardini, if (says he) that of the latter ' can be tortured to give countenance to the claim of Harlem.' *Archæologia*, vol. xi. p. 294. Mr. W. is here ' un peu trop fort.'

* *the important document of Adrian Junius.*] Upon the character of Junius, as a competent and credible witness, see page 347 ante : for more particular remarks upon the weight of his evidence, as well as upon the observations of his opponents, consult the very shrewd and judicious ' summing up ' of Mr. Ottley ; p. 181, &c.

† *This may or may not be true.*] For my own part, I disbelieve it altogether : and further, I think it of no consequence whatever in bearing upon the principal point under discussion. Mr. Singer has, both in a lively and successful manner, shewn the *probability*, at least, of Junius having borrowed this ambulatory story from the frolicksome dialogue of Anton-Francesco Doni, in his *Mondi*, of the date of 1552 : see the *Researches*, &c. p. 119, where the dialogue is given in a note.

his early years an assistant in the printing office of Coster, describe, with equal earnestness and agitation, the trials and experiments made by his master in the infancy of the invention of printing. He shed tears, also, when he disclosed the circumstance of Coster's office having been robbed: but even this is of a subordinate, if not of a questionable, nature. The testimony of Quirinus Talesius, a burgomaster, is then adduced by Junius as corroborative of his own: he, Talesius, having heard the same story from the same old book-binder.

We now approach the evidence of Meerman, the most learned and the most weighty of the writers in favour of Harlem. 'This author substitutes the name of Laurence Janszoon for that of Laurence Coster: the latter word, Coster, having been most absurdly corrupted from that of '*Custos*,' by Junius and Scriverius. Meerman finds such a man *Custos*, or Keeper of the Church of St. Bavon, at Harlem, in the years 1423, 1426, 1432, and 1433; and the gist of his argument is, that this man, however called, was the inventor of printing with moveable types of wood. Whether Coster or Janszoon printed with metal or wooden characters, appears to me to be but of secondary consequence. The great question is, *the art of printing at all*:* the knowledge of a process of multiplying copies with unvarying accuracy, and by such substantial methods as might keep them *fixed* and *unchangeable*. When once this secret was discovered—when a *medium* was hit upon—when

* *the art of printing at all*:] See the note at page 331, respecting the first Donatuses. Mr. Ottley observes: 'if there be any truth in the assertion of Junius, that Coster printed the *Speculum* previous to the establishment of printing at Mentz, he was the Inventor of Typography properly so called; not of moveable characters of wood only, as Meerman satisfies himself with insisting upon, but also of cast metal types.' p. 198.

a *method of pressure* with quickness and correctness, had been ascertained — when *ink*, of a certain quality, was known — perhaps the discovery of a *material*, by which a permanent effect could be produced from the ink, was not of a very slow growth.

LISARDO. I begin to be anxious for your conclusion : as it appears to me that Gutenberg printed with wooden blocks as early as Laurence Janszoon : and the more the pretensions of Harlem and Mentz are discussed, the greater seems to me to be the puzzle attending their respective claims to the invention of the art of printing.

PHILEMON. I incline to the conclusion of Lisardo ; and cannot divest myself of the force of the written evidence, of an ancient date, in favour of the *Mentz Claimants*. I wish the archives of Harlem had produced something like those of Strasbourg and Mentz.

LORENZO. I own there is something which strikes me as very conclusive respecting the early attainment of the art of printing at Mentz. Yet I cannot divest myself of the singularity of those productions called *Block Books* ; and of the probability of their being of an extremely early date of execution. Nor do I think it necessary, in support of the claims of the Low Countries, that an uninterrupted chain of evidence should be adduced, up to the period of 1473, when the first dated book appears at Alost in Flanders. Might not the Mentz and Harlem experiments have been carried on at the same time—without the knowledge of each other?

LYSANDER. The observations of our worthy host are, to say the least, of sufficient latitude, and, of a sufficiently accommodating nature : and leave as much in favour of one place as of another. Perhaps it is the safer mode of reasoning ; as it has been justly observed that ‘ the origin of that

art, which throws such light upon every other discovery, is itself involved in obscurity.' Remember, I do not choose to draw any severe or sweeping conclusions in predilection of one place more than of another; and, after all, I am not sure whether Harlem and Mentz may not each, at the same time, have been the parent of a distinct progeny. And as I cannot connect those publications, called Block-Books, with any other series or character of publications—and as the style of art which prevails in them seems to me very distinguishable from that of Germany and Italy—I am compelled, on the authority of Mr. Ottley,* to allow the Low

* *the authority of Mr. Ottley.*] As this may be the last time of noticing the labours of Mr. Ottley, I am anxious to prevail upon the reader to ascend a trifling eminence with me, and to take a bird's eye view of the leading features of his able work, as connected with the *Costerian Controversy*. I shall think my *Cicerone* task well paid if he only examine carefully the objects which such a view embraces. In the first place, from pages 102 to 108, Mr. Ottley appears to have successfully shewn that Germany had no artists, in the supposed period of the execution of the *Speculum*, the *Canticles*, and *Biblia Pauperum*, capable of the graphic productions therein contained. 'It is remarkable (he observes) that in that part of the continent of Europe which comprises Germany and the Netherlands, we have no account even of the painters who flourished within this vast tract of country, previous to the close of the fourteenth century, and that all the earliest among them were *natives of the Low Countries*.' The authorities, adduced by Mr. Ottley, bear him out triumphantly in this conclusion: see pages 104-5. It is the more necessary to keep this in view, as Heineken, and a troop of bibliographers after him, assign the execution of the above Block Books to *German Artists*. ('*Dulce et decorum est pro patriâ mori*'—and '*Dulce et decorum est pro patriâ scribere*'—thought the worthy Baron Heineken) Mr. Ottley has also satisfactorily proved, at pages 142, and 155, that the three works above specified 'were engraved in great part by the same wood-engraver, although from the designs of different artists:' see also pages 162-165.

In the second place the priority of the respective editions of the *Speculum* is settled by him upon a new and firm ground—not to be easily shaken. The order is thus:

FIRST EDITION: the one hitherto called 'The Second Latin.'

SECOND EDITION: the one hitherto called 'The Second Dutch Edition.'

THIRD EDITION: the one hitherto called 'The First Latin Edition.'

FOURTH EDITION: called by Meerman 'first Dutch Edition.'

Countries to have the fairest claim to the production of them. Nor should we any more withhold our belief from the supposed antiquity of these block-books, on the ground

Mr. Ottley, from the inference of Daunou, has also no very superficial reason to think that the first edition of the *Speculum* might have been executed in 1440. It is however, I admit, a conjectural, or *à priori*, inference on the part of Mr. O. : but we have incontrovertible proof that there exists an edition of the *Canticles*, with the printed date of 1470—see Lambinet, Daunou, and Heineken. The above would overthrow the supposition which Mr. Singer seems disposed to indulge, that all that Mr. Ottley contends for is, the existence of the preceding works before the year 1472. On the contrary, admitting that the fact of this date be irrefragable, you may push your enquiry as much higher up as you please. Mr. Singer (p. 128) is pleased to designate the style of art, observable in the *Biblia Pauperum*, &c. as ‘puerile efforts;’ but he must have forgotten his deference to the opinion of Mr. Ottley when he made this remark. For myself, upon the evidence only of the two fac-similes given in the *Bibl. Spenceriana*, vol. iv. p. 553-4, I should draw a very different conclusion from Mr. Singer. Again; supposing Mr. Horn (says Mr. S.) to be correct—namely, that he had possessed copies of the *Biblia Pauperum*, *Ars Memorandi*, and *Apocalypse*, in a volume of which there was a date of 1430 upon the exterior of the binding, (see the *Bibl. Spenceriana*, vol. i. p. v, note) there is no proof that the *Speculum* is a contemporary performance.’ p. 131. Mr. Singer allows Mr. Ottley to have bestowed ‘scrupulous and accurate attention’ upon the *type* of the *Speculum*. The same attention has surely been bestowed by him upon the *embellishments* of that volume; and if Mr. O. says ‘the style of design,’ and ‘knack of execution’ in the embellishments of the *Biblia Pauperum* are similar to those in the *Speculum*, we may incline to the conclusion of the latter. The word ‘knack’ is a very potent one.

In the third place, Mr. Ottley contends that the type of the *Speculum* is composed of that *peculiar metal* which so easily accounts for the appearances and little varieties we observe in it: see his fac-similes at p. 249, and his conclusions therefrom in the following pages. At page 252, he thus sums up the case, and calls upon posterity to deliver in their verdict. ‘Upon the whole, the conclusions to be drawn from the examination and comparison of the four early editions of the *Speculum*, appear incompatible with any system of typographical history, except such as has for its basis the ancient traditions recorded by Van Zuyren, Coornhert, Junius, and Guicciardini; with which they perfectly accord. And I therefore am constrained to give my assent to the testimony of these writers; corroborated, as it appears to be, by so many striking particulars of circumstantial evidence, and especially confirmed by the internal evidence of the *Speculum* itself, the monument to which Junius refers.’ ‘But, (adds he, with the courtesy of a *preux* bibliographical chevalier) although such be the conviction of my own mind, I do not flatter myself that it will be admitted by others, that

of our not having any chronological series of printed books to connect them with the latter productions of Harlem in the fifteenth century, than we should our assent to the legitimacy of the date of the Engravings of the two Cunio, in the *thirteenth* century—on the score of there not being any further testimonies of the same art till the period of Finiguerra, in the *fifteenth* century. It is one thing to have *a certain proof*, and another to have the *best possible proof*, of the existence of any fact. The paucity of the number of copies of these block-books, should also seem to be an additional argument in favour of their remote antiquity.—But I see the ladies are giving proofs of being wearied with this Dutch and German controversy, and I cease.

BELINDA. Quite enough appears to have been said upon it; but I own I am rather a COSTERITE!

ALMANSA. And I as frankly confess myself to be a supporter of the CLAIMS OF MENTZ.

LYSANDER. This is just as I expected: so let us proceed

I have satisfactorily determined this long-disputed question. The ultimate establishment of Coster's pretensions, I leave to those who have leisure for so arduous a task; and who, if those pretensions be well founded, may, at some future period, armed perhaps with evidence the existence of which is at present unknown, wrest back the long-usurped wreath, to place it once more on the brow of its rightful owner.' page 252-3. 'This is manly and honest. Does the spirit of the learned and liberal Meerman yet exist? His son, I believe, yet lives, and inherits all the worth of his father. Let him move the corporation of Harlem to vote the freedom of that city to my excellent neighbour and friend, the author of the foregoing quotation: and let them present such freedom in a box composed of a stump of one of the trees (for stumps live for ever!) upon the bark of which Laurence Janszoon made his earliest typographical experiments.' Let them do this—or present it in a box of massive virgin gold: and let the fairest of the fair, among the Burgomaster's daughters, transport hither such 'virgin' donation! . . . My friend has, at any rate, 'deserved well' of Dutch reminiscence and Dutch gratitude. If they give him 'golden spurs,' he will have fairly won them.

to more satisfactory results from the discussion of topics which are not so much involved in obscurity.

LISARDO. Are we ever to enter the *Soubiaco Monastery*?

LYSANDER. Patience, dear Lisardo, is a virtue of which you have yet to learn the practice, however you may assent to it in theory. There are a few more doubtful objects which appear in the distance of the allegorical landscape you are so intent upon contemplating...

LISARDO. What mean you? I see nothing between Fust's chateau, Coster's lath and plaister house, and the turrets of the aforesaid monastery.

LYSANDER. Look again; does the council chamber of the Papal Court present nothing to your curious eye?

LISARDO. I understand you; and begin to comprehend your hints. You allude to the *Letters of Indulgence*, and other publications of a like temporary nature, such as *Almanacks*;* of which the dates are sceptically early. I own I am much puzzled by them.

* *Letters of Indulgence, and other publications of a like temporary nature, such as Almanacks;*] I am not aware that it is in my power to add any thing to the full and faithful account of those extraordinary typographical curiosities—LETTERS OF INDULGENCE—which appears in the *Bibl. Spenceriana*, vol. i. p. xlv., li.—wherein fac-similes are given both of the larger and smaller founts of letter contained in them. Mercier, in his *Supplément*, p. 17, has published Meerman's letter to him upon the subject; to which an allusion is made in the work just mentioned. All that can be observed is, the smaller letter is wholly different from any thing we know of a contemporaneous period; and the larger lower-case letter has a close resemblance to the type of Pfister's supposed Bible; while the capitals in the same document are essentially different. It may as well be added, that Lord Spencer's two copies of these precious typographical relics are each of the date of *mcccclv.*: and therefore were never before described. They will perhaps always remain *cruces bibliographice*—incapable of satisfactory solution.

A word respecting *Almanacks*. The publication alluded to by Mr. Singer—of a brochure put forth by Fischer, respecting the discovery of a Calendar of the printed date of 1457—is now before me: a copy of it having been sent over to

LYSANDER. Yet I see no reason to doubt of their authenticity. Whether executed by means of plates of metal, or fusile types—at Rome, at Mentz, or at Bamberg—

Lord Spencer by Mr. Horn; accompanied with a few ms. notes, by the same able hand, not wanting in truth and pungency. Fischer observes that ‘those bibliographers are mistaken who think that the earlier presses were employed only upon works of greater interest;’ and as an Almanack for 1457, in order to be effectual, must have been published quite at the opening of the same year, it would follow that the present was executed before the Psalter of the same date—which was not finished till the middle of that year.’ It is a fragment only which Fischer publishes, and of which he gives a fac-simile. The title is thus: ‘*Coniunctio & oppositio solis et lune ac mionces electie nec nō dies p[ro] medicis laxatiuis sumendis In anno dñi Mccccvij Cui⁹ b lra dñicalis xiiii aure⁹ nis Intervallū ix ebdomide Concurrētes vna dies.*’ The preceding is in 2 lines and a little more than the half of a third: of about eight inches and three eighths in length. There are 9 more lines of a similar length, comprehending the months January, February, and March, beneath. The type has a strong resemblance to that of Pfister; and there can be no doubt of the original being metal. Fischer however is wrong in calling it ‘le premier monument typographique, en caractères mobiles, avec date, connu jusqu’à ce jour’—as the Letters of Indulgence, in every respect a similar ‘monument,’ are entitled to precedence.

There is another ‘publication of a temporary nature’ to notice. It is a metrical *Exhortation in favour of a Crusade against the Turks in 1454*. Mr. Singer is the first writer who has made us acquainted with Von Aretin’s account of this ‘highly curious typographic discovery;’ and Mr. S. thinks, as this also is printed in the same large letter as the Almanack described by Fischer, namely, in the type used by Pfister, that that printer began his typographical career much earlier than is supposed; or that Gutenberg was in fact the printer both of these and of the Bible hitherto considered as the production of Pfister’s press. I hope to prove that the latter inference is utterly untenable. We shall quickly hold parance with the Father of the Bamberg press. Meanwhile, reverting to the ‘Exhortation’ published by Aretin, it is certainly singular that four of the leaves should be printed on *both sides*; but the reader must consult Mr. Singer’s book for a minute description of this extraordinary document.

As closely connected with an account of fugitive pieces of an early date, let me not fail to make the reader acquainted with that prodigiously rare typographical morceau, containing the DECLARATION OF THE ELECTOR DIETHEM AGAINST ADOLPHUS COUNT OF NASSAU, *printed in 1462*—unquestionably in the office of Fust and Schoiffer, and with their smallest type. This declaration or proclamation, which Schwarz only, of all the bibliographers, appears to have seen, has been recently transported into the SPENCER LIBRARY; where it now rests within the leather-covered case which encloses the *Letters of Indulgence*. Rare and most delectable union! But to the point. Lehmann, as noticed by

there is *prima-facie* evidence of their being genuine documents. They are, however, extremely *isolated* documents: but, as I have again and again observed, not the less worthy

Marchand, Schwarz, and Würdtwein, is the first writer who has made mention of this curiosity: see his *Chronicon Spirense*, lib. vii. cap. cv.: or p. 937, as quoted by Hoffman in his *Lexicon Universale*, vol. iv. p. 549, col. 2. The object of the Declaration was this. Diether was attacked by Adolphus of Nassau, in a competition for the Archbishopric of Mentz; and on retiring to Höchst, between Frankfort and Mentz, he affixed, to the portico of the palace and the church, this declaration of his rights. It was also sent to the magistrates of Spire, to invite their aid; and is dated the Tuesday after the Sunday *Letare* in 1462. Lehmann thought it, inaccurately, the first specimen of printing. Schwarz says he saw a copy of it, upon paper, in the library of Professor Miegius at Heidelberg, and calls it 'a small work hardly exceeding 2 sheets or 4 leaves.' He conceives it to have been executed at Mentz. *Prim. Quad.* pt. ii. p. 13. Marchand supposed 'it was only a brochure, of which it would be difficult at this day to discover a copy, and consequently to determine its form.' *Hist. de l'Impr.* p. 38. See also the *Act. Erud. Lips.* 1739, p. 586, where (according to Würdtwein, *Bibl. Mogunt.* p. 80) it is described as 'a very small production of the press of Fust and Schoiffher; but of such rarity that scarcely any vestige of it appeared at that time.'

This precious document is, in fact, only a large sheet, about 2 feet in length, by nearly 16 inches in width. The copy under description is in its pristine state, and perfectly clean and unadulterated; with the exception, of a word, in the 75th line, between those of 'gesworner' and 'lehēmā,' being concealed by a broad black line, evidently of a later date, and executed with a pen. The printing is on one side only; being, in length, 18 inches and six-eighths, by about 12 and a half in width. In the whole, 106 lines; beginning thus:

[A] llen vnd iglichen fursten. Grauen. herren. prelaten. &c. &c.

and concluding as follows:

Geben zu hoeste vnder vnserm vffgedrucktem Ingesiegel am dinstag nach dem Suptag Letare. Anno domini Millesimo quadringentesimo sexagesimo secundo.

There can be no doubt of the date being that of the issuing of the declaration; and equal certainty appertains in the printing of the document in the office of Fust and Schoiffher. It is therefore the second specimen of the smallest type used by these printers: the Constitutions of Pope Clement V. of the date of 1460, exhibiting the earliest specimen of the same type. Mr. Horn, from whom Lord Spencer obtained it, observes in his letter, sent with it, that 'it was not till between the years 1782-4, that a copy of it was found in the archives of the then imperial town of Ratisbon. This is the second known copy of it, and such is the demand for it at Mentz, both in consideration of its antiquity in printing, and its historical importance, that the University of Mentz applied to me for it last year,

of credit on that account. Their being also published for *temporary* purposes, rather confirms their authenticity: for a similar document, of a *general* and *didactic* character, might have excited just grounds of suspicion. Admit therefore that those cabinets are much enriched by the possession of such singularly rare and curious memorials of the early exercise of the art of printing.

At length we come to the notice, in this bibliographical panorama, of yonder homely building, where the BAMBERG PRESS was first put in motion. The name of PFISTER, the father of that press, is held in no small veneration by myself: and I have a shrewd suspicion that he printed much earlier than is imagined. *His Fables* . . .

PHILEMON. Hold! I saw them at Paris. They are of the date of 1461.* The learned and amiable librarian of the

offering me any books in return which I might think proper to select; provided they were not Mentz productions.' This letter is dated *Frankfort, March 1816*. It was of course obtained at a price proportionate to its extreme rarity.

Before however I dismiss the account of publications of this perplexing and doubtful aspect, let me just observe that the 'MS. by Paul of Prague,' noticed by Mr. Singer at page 159—in which mention is made of printing, of some kind, in the year 1459, at Bamberg—has been referred to in the *Bibl. Spenceriana*, vol. i. p. 8. There can be no doubt, I submit, that the press of Pfister was here alluded to.

* *His Fables* . . . of the date of 1461.] This prodigiously rare book was first described by Saubertus in his pretty little manual (but, in truth, a flimsy performance) entitled *Hist. Bibl. Reip. Noribergensis*, 1643, 18mo. p. 116. It is mentioned in a parenthesis, just at the head of the list of early books, and beneath the following title—'Moguntiae anno 1460, & seqq. ut ex typis colligere est, opuscula varia, quorum supra in rarioribus nostris mentio facta'—thus: (NB. Quæ ligno incisa sunt, huc non refero; v. g. Libellum fabularum & similitudinum, ubi sub finem rhythmos hos legeris:

Zu Bamberg disz Buchlein geendet ist,
nach der Geburt vnsers HERN JESU Christ,
da man zahlt tausend vnd vierhundert Jahr
vnd im ein vñ sechzigsten, dz ist waar:
An Sant Valentinus Tag:
Gott behut vns vor seiner Plag,

Royal Collection told me that, previous to the removal of this unique gem to its original destination—the Wolfenbützel library—he used, every morning and evening, ('the coming and parting day,' as Virgil's shepherd sings) to take a fond and anxious gaze upon it: imagining that every look would be the last. But I apologise—

LYSANDER. There is no occasion. I can forgive the thousand sensible vibrations which the very mention only of

Hartlieb's Chiromancy, and the Speculum, are then noticed as 'similar performances' in wood. Heineken, who saw this book in the Wolfenbützel Library, and who has given a fac-simile of the first cut—with these subjoined verses—

*Einsmals ein Affe kam gerät
Do es viel guter muse fand, &c.*

quotes the description of Saubertus, but differs from those who think that description to have been given from an examination of a copy in the *Nuremberg Library*. I incline to this latter opinion, and consequently am at issue with the Baron Heineken: for why should Saubertus, expressly writing the *History of the Nuremberg Library*, be so particular in his description of the Fables of Pfister, and so brief in his notice of the Speculum, &c.?—except that he had seen the one and not the other—and, if so, had, in all probability, seen it in the very library the history of which he publishes! This however is not a very material point; except it go to shew that the Wolfenbützel copy was formerly the Nuremberg one, as De Murr, in the first volume of his *Memorabilia Bibliothecar. Publicar. Norimbergens.* p. 258-9, passes this important volume 'sub silentio.' Heineken further informs us (what was probably to be expected) that these Fables, like all the rest of the early Bamberg books, are 'executed with metal types, and not with blocks of wood—as Saubertus had erroneously conceived.' He says also that the volume contains 101 cuts, resembling, in the style of art, the one of which he has given a fac-simile. p. 276. I presume that the book is pretty much in the same style of execution as is the *Biblia Pauperum*, from the same press, noticed at vol. i. p. 100 of the *Bibl. Spenceriana*.

The pathetic circumstance, above-mentioned by Lorenzo, is not purely ideal. A friend of mine told me that Monsieur Van Praet (and 'to his immortal honour be it spoken!') had betrayed those marks of emotion, described by Lorenzo, previous to the restoration of this 'unique gem' to its ancient repository. It had been seized upon by the French in their former plunder of Prussia; and it now shines

velut inter ignes

Luna minores

upon the shelves of the Wolfenbützel library: a memento of RETRIBUTIVE JUSTICE.

this *keimelion* must excite in the bosom of a thorough bred bibliographer. To return. Of Pfister we have only two works which bear dates: namely, that of the *Fables* just mentioned; and that of the *Four Biblical Histories*, of the date of 1462. His *Biblia Pauperum* is a conjectural document, but his *Belial** carries his name along with it. Yet I

* *the Belial.*] A full account of this curious volume is given in the *Bibl. Spenceriana*, vol. iii. p. 181. It is without date, but has the name of Albert Pfister expressly subjoined—thus:

Albreht pfister zu. Bamberg.

Mr. Singer had probably forgotten this second book in which the name of Pfister appears, (see his *Researches*, &c. p. 159) otherwise he would hardly have ventured to class the Bible—printed in the very types with which all these early Bamberg books are executed—and in *two* of which the name of Pfister is expressly mentioned as the printer of them—he would hardly, I say, from a pure enthusiastic attachment to Gutenberg—have ventured to class the aforesaid Bible (fully described in the *Bibl. Spenceriana*, vol. i. p. 7.) among the productions of Gutenberg's press!? What will not a love of hypothesis lead to?—and what *fourth* typographical fount of letter, (for Gutenberg, if he printed this Bible, already appears to have used *three*) 'unclaimed and unbaptised,' will next be considered as the genuine property of the adventurous Gutenberg?

The earth hath bubbles as the water has,
And these are of them.

To conclude; first as to Pfister, and secondly as to the type used by him. Upon the maturest consideration, I incline to consider the *Almanack* of the date of 1456-7, and the *Exhortation to the Turks*, of the date of 1454, as the probable first fruits or earliest experiments of Pfister's press; and that, when the ms. of Paul of Prague (now preserved in the public library of Cracow) makes express mention of 'some one, in the year 1459, being occupied in the impression of a Bible,' that 'quidam' must have an exclusive reference to ALBERT PFISTER. and, in imitation of the Mentz Bible of 1455, being without date, and without name of printer, so he, Pfister, chose to publish his own Bible with the like characteristics. This really strikes me, on revision, as being orthodox bibliographical doctrine. Secondly, and briefly; as to the type of Pfister—it was the common, large, square, missal type of the day; and the *original*, in ms., was certainly the model, both of that particular type, and of what we see in the Bible of the supposed date of 1455. The difference is only in size. There are the same features, and the same limbs; but in the productions of Pfister they assume a more colossal form. Lord Spencer possesses all the known works of Pfister, with the exception of his *Fables*; and of that very work, he once had something beyond a mere visionary glimpse!

cannot help feeling a secret intimation, or rather strong persuasion, that the active spirit of every kind, which is now abroad, will lead to still further discoveries connected with the works of my favourite Pfister:—the first printer in Germany who introduced wood-cuts—of a character and execution, however, essentially different from those of the Low Countries, and very many degrees inferior.

Hark! . . . do I hear the vesper-chant of the monks in the SOUBIACO MONASTERY?! See how picturesquely gray the turrets of that venerable abode yet appear!—turrets, consecrated, in the estimation of the man of thorough feeling and taste, by the recollection of the useful and ingenious arts which were once exercised within them!

LISARDO. Immortal SWEYNHEYM AND PANNARTZ! . . . am I at length, with no unhallowed foot, to step over the threshold of the abode wherein ye first exercised the new and ‘marvellous art’ of printing?! Proceed—and be not sparing in your narrative, dear Lysander.

LYSANDER. I crave your mercy, Lisardo. With all the love and reverence which I profess towards the *Fathers of the Roman Press*, I must remember that many a worthy typographical wight is yet to be noticed—and that the greater part of the time, allotted for this day’s discussion, has already gone by: ‘fugit irreparabile tempus!’ Remember the admonition of Virgil, my brave Lisardo—‘past moments are irrevocable.’

PHILEMON. A well-o-day! Let us hang up lamps, numerous and gorgeous as the lanterns of the Chinese—and let our night, as the day dies off, emulate the warmest blushes of Aurora. Lorenzo will . . .

LORENZO. Do every thing that you wish. Each Argand vehicle shall be put in requisition—even the billiard-table

shall be stripped of its intended illuminators : and the entire produce of a whale fishery shall be devoted to throw lustre upon Lysander's discourse !... I own, I feel mightily pleased now that you have touched the *Sweynheym and Pannartz chord* !

LYSANDER. Give me back, then, the play of lungs and power of articulation which I possessed at the commencement of the day. 'Do not mock me, fellow student.' Will even the splendour arising from the conflagration of the printing offices of Messieurs Bensley and Bulmer—and those of Messieurs Strahan and Nichols to boot—resuscitate exhaustion ? 'Tis the *inner oil* of which I stand in need : so I pray you let the lamps of the billiard table rest in peace. We will disport ourselves anon with that pastime But we are now in the Sublacensian Monastery.*

* *in the Sublacensian Monastery.*] This monastery, the FIRST SPOT in Italy in which THE ART OF PRINTING was exercised, is minutely described both by Montfaucon and Schelhorn. In the former the description is accompanied with a small copper-plate, pretty much in the wretched (Vander-Gucht) style of ornament seen in Hearne's works ; and which, 'the worthy Tom' would have republished, on the score of its *beauty*, if it had fallen in with his pursuits : see the *Diarium Italicum*, p. 338-40. In Schelhorn, the description is of the time of Cardinal de Turrecremata, the head of the Monastery, and narrates a visit paid to that Cardinal by Pope Pius II. *De Optimor. Scriptor. Edit.* p. 74, note : taken from Pii II. Pont. Max. *Comment. rer. memorab. quæ ipsius temporibus contigerunt, cum Jacobi Piccolominei, Card. Pap. rer. gestar. &c. Comment. ac Epist.* 1614, fol. *Franck. recus. lib. vi.* p. 161. Suffice it here to observe, that this monastery, situated in the Campagna di Roma, and about 30 miles distant from that metropolis, is built upon a huge and steep rock. But for the forementioned visit : 'The Pope was received with great pomp by all the monks, with the Cardinal at their head ; for, in the memory of man, never was there an instance known of any previous papal visit. The town (of Soubiaco) has rather a numerous population ; and the ascent from thence to the Monastery is about 2000 paces, along an abrupt acclivity. At the top of the rock upon which the monastery is built, a part of it only—comprehending the Chapel and the Offices, &c.—is tolerably plain : but mid-way down, surrounded by frightful precipices, 'far from human ken,' are the cells of the monks, and the refectory ; while, to the right, is the excavated cell, almost inaccessible, where St. Benedict made his bed of

The only works executed here, of which we have any authentic account, are a *Donatus*, without date; the *Institutes of Lactantius*, printed in 1465; *St. Austin, of the City of God*, in 1467; and *Cicero of Oratory*, without date: each in a folio form. I mention these works in the order in

stone, and reposed his emaciated body. They yet relate (that is, upwards of 340 years ago) many miracles of the saint, and shew the bell with which the devil strove to wean him from good works. About 20 monks (chiefly Germans) inhabit the place: they never eat flesh, but live upon olives and bread, with a few vegetables; it being thought luxury to eat even a couple of eggs. Their wine is much qualified with water; and with this simple diet their tables are usually spread. The time devoted to meals and to sleep is equally short: the greater part of the day being consumed in the offices of religion. Many of the present monks are aged, (some of them eighty years old) with intelligent countenances, and extremely instructive in their discourse: their chief care being

‘To sleep in peace, and rest with God.’

But we are deviating somewhat from the papal visit: ‘When Pius observed an extensive and ripe vintage ‘purpling’ the plain whereon the church stood, and planted with prodigious difficulty in the flinty ribs of the rock, with a wine press in the middle, and an olive plantation around, and the white monastery presenting its inviting front, he enquired ‘who was the founder of this recent institution?’

The answer given was, that a certain Spanish Bishop of the name of Silvius, a Portuguese by birth, equally disgusted by the pomp of office, and with the cares of this world, renounced his church: and reserving for himself a certain annual pension, from which he might lead an honest life, took up his residence among the Soubiaco monks, and devoted his superfluous wealth to the erection of a new monastery, and the plantation of a vineyard, &c. Pius was pleased to express his approbation of the good resolution and good conduct of the Spanish Bishop; and concluded his visit by a minute inspection of the whole building, by ordering the church service to be performed, and by kissing every spot which report had consecrated as having been touched by St. Benedict. He then showered down, upon the venerable heads which sought them, his spiritual blessings; and, well pleased with his reception, descended to the town and slept there the same night.’ According to Burchard it appears that Alexander VI. in 1501, gave the patronage of this monastery, in perpetuity, to the Borgia family. Bibliographically speaking, the descriptions both of Montfaucon and of Schellhorn are provokingly defective; as no mention is made, not a conjecture even advanced, respecting either the printing office or the preservation of the types. The author of the foregoing narrative preferred, I fear, the *wine press* to the *book press*! Consult also Mr. Beloe’s *Anecdotes of Literature*, &c. vol. iv. p. 146-9.

which they are given by the printers themselves; as that order or list appears in the *Commentary of De Lyra upon the Bible*, of the date of 1471-2.* It is undoubtedly a most extraordinary circumstance, that a press, so skilfully conducted, so admirably well furnished with Greek and Gothico-roman founts of letter, should, after the fore-named productions, appear to have absolutely perished. There is no

* *Commentary of De Lyra upon the Bible, of the date of 1471-2.*] See the list of the books printed by Sweynheym and Pannartz, up to this period, as prefixed to De Lyra's *Commentary*, in the *Bibl. Spenceriana*, vol. i. p. 160. Of the Donatus, 300 copies were printed; and of each of the other works, above specified, only 275 copies. A pretty correct idea of the roman type used in the Soubiaco books may be formed from the fac-simile of it in the *Bibl. Spenceriana*, vol. i. p. 205; but the Greek type, at p. 206, is very much too heavily executed. Audiffredi has been equally unsuccessful in his fac-simile of the Greek type, and has completely failed in that of the Roman: see the copper-plate at the end of his *Editiones Romanae*. Laire is, in this respect, preferable to Audiffredi. *Spec. Typ. Rom.* p. 123, plate. The Greek type first used by Sweynheym and Pannartz at Rome (namely in the Aulus Gellius of 1469) is faithfully represented in the *Bibl. Spenceriana*, vol. i. p. 267. The SOUBIACO BOOKS must not be dismissed without an observation or two, strictly bibliographical. As far as I can discover, no one has as yet examined them on the score of paper, water-marks, and press-work:—but the first two points may be taken together. The three books just mentioned are not printed upon paper of the same quality, nor do they exhibit the same water-marks. The whitest and finest paper seems to be that of the LACTANTIUS; and it contains the water mark of a *Horn*, or *Cornucopia*, suspended by a straight line: not noticed by Santander among the Italian water-marks used by Sweynheym and Pannartz: Pl. iv. nos. 98, 99, 100, 101: but resembling somewhat the water-mark in the Turrecremata of 1467: see De Murr, vol. i. p. 261. The ST. AUSTIN is printed upon thicker paper, of a more creamy tint, and has the water-mark of a *Cross-Bow*; different however from no. 98 of Santander. The Cicero, DE ORATORE has two water-marks; just where the leaves are folded—which probably denote it to be a quarto—and these marks are a *Cardinal's Hat*, and the *Shears* or *Scissars*: the latter of which, Santander, with too much rashness, seems to attribute exclusively to Ulric Han: the former is no. 100 of Santander. *Supplément au Catalogue*, &c. p. 6, Pl. iv. In regard to the press-work, the latter is the more unskilfully executed. The two former merit all the commendations which Maittaire, re-echoed by Freytag, has bestowed upon them. *Adpar. Literar.* vol. ii. p. 853. It may be further remarked that Sweynheym and Pannartz, in their subsequent productions at Rome, never exhibited that regularity of register, especially in the perpendicular of the right-hand margin, which is observable in the Soubiaco Books.

vestige of any other work containing the same fount of letter; nor did the printers of the foregoing, when they removed to Rome,* in 1467, carry thither those founts; but printed with a more purely roman fount, yet destitute of Greek characters—as the *Familiar Epistles of Cicero*, of the same date, (1467) are without them: nor do we see any Greek letters in the productions of Sweynheym and Pannartz till the *Aulus Gellius* of 1469—from which, the preference may be given to the Sublacensian Greek fount.

ALMANSA. Are we to understand, then, that the work of Cicero, just mentioned, is the *earliest book printed at Rome*? Such a question may not be thought very obtrusive.

LYSANDER. It is not in a well-bred Lady's power to be obtrusive; and Almansa knows not what rudeness is. The question has been before started, and has given rise to a pretty sharp controversy—namely, whether ULRIC HAN, of

* removed to Rome.] Mr. Beloe thinks, and with justice, that Sweynheym and Pannartz were invited to Rome by Pope Paul II. They established their printing office in 'THE HOUSE OF PETRUS DE MAXIMIS,' as their colophons frequently denote. 'It is by no means an incurious circumstance (observes Mr. Beloe) that the palace of the family of Maximis now exists at Rome in the same situation, and employed for the same purposes, as when Sweynheym and Pannartz were suffered to print in it. What is allotted to the business of printing does not make a part of the regular building, but it has probably been used ever since as a printing house. Mr. Edwards informs me, that he found a printer established in it, who assured him that he could unequivocally ascertain five different masters of printing, who had exercised their profession in it before his time.' *Anecdotes of Literature*, &c. vol. iv. p. 108. These printers must have made haste in procuring a new fount of letter in order to publish the very year in which they put forth the *St. Austin*; namely in 1467. Their first Roman production was however, comparatively, a small one: see the *Bibl. Spenceriana*, vol. i. p. 318. The 'Father Laire' will have it that Sweynheym and Pannartz whipped and spurred their typographical coursers towards Rome as hard as they could—not being able to endure the idea of Ulric Han's running away with the honour of establishing the first press there.' This is one among the many *fabliaux* in the *Spec. Hist. Typ. Rom.* p. 67-8.

Vienna, who printed the *Meditationes Johannis de Turrecremata* at Rome in the same year, 1467—or whether the fore-mentioned printers—have the honour of executing the first printed book in the Metropolis of Italy? I own the point to be rather a puzzling one; * but incline to give the Soubiaco printers the honour of being the Parents of the Roman press; although there can be no question about the superior, and indeed astonishing, rarity of the work just mentioned as the first production of Ulric Han. We will however not mix up Sweynheym and Pannartz with Ulric Han. Reverting therefore to the former, let it be mentioned that, from the years 1467 to 1475, inclusively, those able

* *the point to be rather a puzzling one.*] Meerman and Laire worked themselves up to a persuasion that, while Sweynheym and Pannartz were busied in their typographical experiments at the Soubiaco press, Ulric Han came to Rome; (towards the beginning of the year 1466) and that, previous to the date of the *Turrecremata* of 1467, he was busied, as well in preparing the bizarre decorations for that work, as in publishing a few brochures, without dates, by way of trials of his skill. See the *Orig. Typog.* vol. i. p. 252; *Spec. Hist. Typ. Rom.* p. 71-2; and particularly the judicious remarks upon the improbability of either circumstance, by Santander, in his *Dict. Bibliogr. Choisi du xvme Siecle*; vol. i. p. 137-8, 144. The sensible Mercier de St. Leger is even affected with the supposed reasonableness of Meerman's hypothesis; but when he talks of Ulric Han's 'grand volume de 1467' it is evident that he 'reckons without his host.' Neither Meerman nor himself had ever seen it. *Supplément*, p. 35, edit. 1775. It does however appear somewhat extraordinary that the Cardinal de Turrecremata, the Head of the Soubiaco Monastery, should have given his 'Meditations' to be printed by Ulric Han, at Rome—and not by Sweynheym and Pannartz—with whom he had probably often quaffed more than one 'flagon of good wine'—manufactured at the fore-mentioned vintage! I have rather a sly and shrewd suspicion that the withdrawing of the 'Fratres Typographici' from this monastery might have arisen, in part, from some little misunderstanding about the 'Meditations' of the Cardinal: who, peradventure, might have insisted upon wood-cut decorations—which the worthy Sweynheym and his mate were incapable of producing. In fact, no work printed by them exhibits the least graphical ornament. Had they sworn 'by the sword,' or by the puncheon, never to introduce such ornaments? I do not forget the arabesque border round some copies of their Suetonius of the date of 1470; but hereupon a sentence has already been past in the *Bibl. Spenceriana*, vol. ii. p. 382-3;—against their legitimacy.

and industrious printers — although visited by severe misfortune — pursued their steady and meritorious course * in giving to the world a series of the most magnificent and valuable impressions of sacred and classical works which ever adorned the annals of the press. Poetry and prose

* *From the years 1467 to 1475, inclusively,—pursued their steady and meritorious course.]* A very long note might grow out of this observation, but there is no necessity to be outrageously wire-drawn upon it. Sweynheym and Pannartz went on merrily (let us hope and believe) together, till the year 1474, when they separated: the Latin version of the first five Books of Polybius, by Perottus, of the date of 1473, being the last public proof of their partnership: see the *Bibl. Spenceriana*, vol. ii. p. 282. Sweynheym is afterwards supposed to have practised the art of copper-plate engraving; not, however, as Laire idly intimates, from any jealousy of the fame of Ulric Han in the same department. The principal proof in support of such inference is drawn from the preface of the Geography of Ptolemy, printed by Buckinck at Rome, in 1478; from which it appears that ‘having devoted three years to the labour of instructing mathematical men how they might execute these plates, he (Conrad) died.’ See this excessively rare book fully described in the B. S. vol. iv. p. 537, 540. In the year 1475, Pannartz produced an edition of Seneca’s Epistles, of Herodotus, (in Latin) of Hierocles, of Josephus, (in Latin) and of the Sylvæ of Statius, with his own name solely subjoined; and is supposed to have died in the year 1476, after he had executed the first volume of an edition of St. Jerom’s Epistles,—the second volume of which was finished by Laver. The Spencer library contains a copy of each of the foresaid books of the date of 1475. In two of them (the *Seneca*, and the *Statius*) Pannartz introduced a new and smaller fount of letter: the omission of which, however, might have done him more credit than its adoption.

The union of such talent as was exhibited by, and the production of such works as we owe to, the press of SWEYNHEYM and PANNARTZ, are really almost wonderful to think upon:—nor can we bestow less admiration upon the invincible enthusiasm with which these printers carried on their works, after the total ruin that threatened them upon the completion of the commentary of Nicolas De Lyra upon the Bible. This luckless speculation overwhelmed them, like a sudden torrent, with 1100 ponderous folios—for which there was no demand, and of which the very shelves of their warehouses groaned beneath the weight! In their supplicatory letter to Pope Sixtus IV., penned by the usual kind editor of their works, John Andreas Bishop of Aleria, poor Conrad and Arnold seem bitterly to bewail the inauspicious star which directed them to the biblical labours of the interminable Nicolas De Lyra. See the *Bibl. Spenceriana*, vol. i. p. 160. I cannot but think that the Pope lent them pecuniary aid, or their press must have stood still: whereas it was as active as ever throughout the years 1472-3. It is worth observing, as Lichtenberger (*Initia Typog.* p. 148-9) has

alike grace the pages of their resplendent volumes; and to them Virgil and Livy owe their first appearance in the imperishable form of a *printed text*.

There can be no question as to the taste of *selection of authors* manifested by these printers; and if, on the score of *typographical merit*, their types be less beautiful, less according with perfect symmetry, and less skilfully worked than those of the Spiras and Jenson, their publications have nevertheless a most magnificent and imposing aspect. Both the text and the margin are of the amplest dimensions; and the paper, occasionally perhaps of too foxy a tint, is manufactured in a manner so firm and close, that I can conceive Salvator Rosa must a thousand times have expressed his regret at not being able to procure a few blank sheets for the exercise of his pencil in delineating ambushed banditti and horror-breathing caverns! Copies of their works UPON VELLUM are of the rarest occurrence.*

done upon the authority of Schellhorn, that within the space of six years, (from the year 1465 to 1471, inclusively) Sweynheym and Pannartz had executed not fewer than *twelve thousand four hundred and seventy-five volumes*—according to the number of copies of each work particularly specified in the fore-mentioned supplicatory letter. No doubt a great number of copies of their *earlier* publications were then ‘on hand’—as the melancholy phrase is.

* *their works upon vellum are of the rarest occurrence.*] When the reader is informed that the well-known collection of vellum books of the late Count Mc Carthy did not contain a *single specimen* by Sweynheym and Pannartz of this description, he may well imagine the worth at which Lord Spencer and Sir M. M. Sykes estimate their respective copies of this kind: the former possessing the SECOND PLINY, the latter the FIRST LIVY, upon vellum, by these earliest Roman printers. It is well known that Sir Mark obtained his treasure at the sale of the library of the late Mr. Edwards, for a sum which shewed how keenly he was set upon the acquisition of it. I will not dissemble, when—after an examination at once careful and unprejudiced—of these magnificent and rival volumes, I declare the Pliny to be the *finer book*:—but Buonaparte yields only to Wellington! Sir Mark, at his own particular request, visited the Spencer library on the very day of the sale of the Livy. On requesting my opinion upon the relative value of the two books, that opinion was given promptly, fearlessly, and honestly: ‘what

We now come to the mention of the early rival Roman press: I mean, to the publications put forth by Udalricus Gallus, or ULRIC HAN, a German, and a citizen of Vienna.*

the one may be thought to gain in beauty (for their size is pretty nearly equal), the other undoubtedly acquires in intrinsic worth—as who shall compare Pliny the Elder with Livy? . . . Yet Pliny the Elder is no contemptible gentleman! Sir Mark was silent; but on giving his coat another button or two, I distinctly saw the determination of a book-knight to case himself in his completest suit of steel, and to win his prize let it cost what it would! We should not however forget that the Blenheim Library contains the Roman *Aulus Gellius* of 1469, and that some collection abroad boasts of the Roman *Cæsar* of the same date, each upon vellum. The latter was formerly in the Hulséan Collection, *Bibl. Huls.* vol. i. p. 192, no. 3072. Yet the enthusiastic collector of vellum books should be informed that the *Roman vellum*, although upon the whole nearly equal to that of Mentz, is much inferior to the *Venetian*.

* *a German, and a citizen of Vienna.*] This is his usual designation of himself in his colophons; but from the two colophons exhibited by Audiffredi, in the years 1475, (see the *Edit. Rom.* p. 189-90) and probably in a few others, he styles himself 'a native of Ingelstat, and a citizen of Vienna.' According to Lichtenberger, Denis thinks Ingelstat to be the name of a village in Franconia: *Initia Typographica*, p. 151, note o. According to Santander, it is Ingolstadt in Bavaria: *Dict. Bibliog.* vol. i. p. 145. We may just remark that, in the colophon of his *Turrecremata* of 1467, Han introduces only the word 'Rome:' in those of *Cicero, De Oratore*, 1468, and the *Tusculanæ Quæstiones* of the same author, 1469, he designates himself 'of Vienna.' *Bibl. Spenceriana*, vol. i. p. 333, 339-40. Our printer is called ULRIC HAN, or Udalricus Gallus; as Hahn in German, and Gallus in Latin, signifies a cock. This afforded a subject of merriment to the celebrated Campanus, (a man of equal learning and humour) in the well known colophon usually subjoined to the books printed by U. Gallus. The story is thus told in the life of this Cardinal prefixed to his works of the date of 1495; printed by Eucharius Silber—'cum Vuldricus quidam Gallicus tunc qui formas in urbem librarías nuper intulisset interquiescere illum assiduis emendationibus non permetteret. Remque litterariam ex magnis difficultatibus inopiaque ad ingentem hubertatem gloriosissimo illo et diuino opificio euocaret in illum iocatus carmen hoc edidit:

Anser Tarpei custos Iouis undequæ alis

Constrepere gallus decedit; ultor adest

Vuldricus gallus: ne quem poscantur in usum

Edocuit penis nil opus esse tuis.

Quando illius impressiones scribendi necessitatem penarumque usum substulisse uiderentur.' *Sign. vii.* I wish there were room here for the merry story of Campanus and Cantalicus, related directly below: but there is not—so search for it yourselves, lovers of the memory of the very erudite and most eloquent Campanus!

You have been just told that the first book, with a date, in the colophon of which the name of this printer appears, is called *The Meditations of John of Turrecremata*, executed in 1467, in folio. Rare, almost beyond conception, and without parallel, as that book is, I have nevertheless both seen and closely examined it.* It is printed uniformly in a

The editor of the preceding edition of the works of that Cardinal, has forgotten two additional verses—appended, probably for the first time, to the Justin, without date—yet considered as of the year 1471. They are these :

Imprimit ille die: quantum non scribitur anno

Ingenio: haud noceas: omnia vincit homo.

No wonder, from such testimonies of self-apprrobation, that Audiffredi fell foul of the vanity and presumption of poor Han. We must indeed admit that that learned bibliographer never loses an opportunity of slinging a stone at his undefended forehead. It should seem that the bustling, but really meritorious, Ulric Han, took up his residence at Rome—‘*IN DOMO DE TALIOXIS* :’ see the colophon to the Tortellius of 1471: in which the expression ‘*Insculptum est Romæ*’ first appears. Thus the Maximi and the Bishop of Aleria protected Sweynheym and Pannartz; while the Talioxi and Cardinal Campanus threw their ægis round Udalricus Gallus—the latter, however, only to the year 1471-2. And here, let me entreat the benevolent reader to discard all belief in that idle tale—propagated by Skrinkingborgius, in his *Memorabilia rer. Rom. gestar.* *Sec. XV. lib. xv. ch. ii. § ix.* edit. 1499, folio. That, ‘on a dark night, long after the setting of an early moon, all the rival patrons, editors, and printers, just mentioned, met by agreement, mid-way between their respective residences, to adjust a quarrel of long standing and of a deadly nature: that the weapons of attack consisted of fusile types, and those of defence of printed folios, used in the manner of a shield: that the Bishop of Aleria had nearly lost his left eye by a furious discharge, from Campanus, of a handful of the large gothic fount used by Ulric Han—while, by way of retaliation, Sweynheym and Pannartz got Ulric Han between them, and pummelled him almost to death with their huge balls, charged with an extra-portion of ink! The result is unknown.’—I may add, that neither beginning nor ending ever existed but in the saucy imagination of Skrinkingborgius.

* *both seen and closely examined it.*] What a day was that, in the bibliographical annals of my humble life, when I first beheld the *TURRECREMATA* OF 1467! Read, first of all, courteous bibliomaniac, the conclusion of the first note at page 354. Was ever prediction more fortunate? Was there ever an hope more delightfully realised? The *Turrecremata* is now within the glass-doors of the *SPENCER LIBRARY*. And such a copy! tall, clean, and perfect. What neither Maittaire, nor the De Bures, nor Marchand, nor his annotator the Abbé Mercier

broad bold gothic type, with large coarse wood-cuts; the latter, imitated on a miniature scale, and enriched with something like light and shade, by Numeister, at Foligno,

de St. Leger, nor Meerman, nor Heineken, nor Audiffredi, nor Santander, nor Brunet, had ever beheld, I 'have seen and closely examined'—to borrow the language of Lysander. 'Describe, describe!' methinks I hear the enraptured bibliographer exclaim! I obey the welcome call: and a most minute and methodical description is, in consequence, here laid before the reader:

Folio.

- I. Recto, blank. On the reverse, beneath a cut of the *Creation* (of which De Murr has given an indifferent fac-simile) is the following title, printed in a delicate but rather brilliant red coloured ink:

*Meditationes Reuerendissimi patris dñi Iohannis de
turrecremata Sacrosce Romane eccl'ie Cardinalis po-
site & depicte de ipsius mandato i eccl'ie ambitu sce Ma-
rie de Minerua Rome.*

The first line of this title has been also fac-similised by De Murr, but very faithfully. There are 10 lines beneath the title.

- II. On the recto are 21 lines, and one word of a 22nd line; namely, 'possit.' On the reverse, is a cut of the *creation of Adam*, with 15 lines beneath. Cut copied by Numeister.
- III. Recto; 17 lines, and two words of the 18th. A SPACE LEFT for the cut of *Adam and Eve eating the forbidden fruit*. On the reverse are 32 lines.
- IV. Recto; 24 lines. Reverse; cut of the *Salutation*, and 15 lines beneath. Cut strictly copied by Numeister.
- V. Recto; 24 lines and nearly a half. Reverse; cut of the *Nativity*, (copied by Numeister) with 15 lines beneath.
- VI. Recto; 8 lines. Reverse; cut of the *Circumcision* (copied by Numeister) and 15 lines beneath.
- VII. Recto; 19 lines and a half. Reverse; cut of the *Adoration of the Magi* (copied by Numeister) with 15 lines beneath.
- VIII. Recto; 16 lines. Reverse; cut of the *Benediction of Simeon* (copied by Numeister) with 15 lines beneath.
- IX. Recto; 21 lines. SPACE FOR CUT. (*Flight into Egypt*.) Reverse, 33 lines.
- X. Recto; 29 lines and a half. Reverse; cut of *Christ among the Doctors* (copied by Numeister) and 15 lines beneath.
- XI. Recto; 21 lines, and two thirds of the 22nd. Reverse; cut of the *Baptism of St. John* (copied, but one figure to the right of the attendant-angel omitted, by Numeister; see fac-simile in *Bibl. Spenceriana*, vol. iv. p. 40.) There are 15 lines beneath the cut.

in the year 1479. The first sentence of Ulric Han's edition is printed *in red*; a variety, rarely again exhibited by that printer; and we have only one other volume by the same artist (as far as I can recollect) executed throughout in the

Folio.

- XII. Recto; 20 lines and a quarter of the 21st. Reverse; cut of the *Temptation* (copied by Numeister) with 15 lines beneath.
- XIII. Recto; 8 lines and a half. Reverse; cut of the *Delivery of the Keys to St. Peter* (copied by Numeister) and 15 lines beneath.
- XIV. Recto; nearly 31 lines. Reverse; cut of the *Transfiguration* (copied by Numeister, but with less expression and effect, especially in the centre figure) with 15 lines beneath.
- XV. Recto; 27 lines. Reverse; in the centre, unaccompanied by text, the cut of *Christ washing the Feet of his Disciples*. Copied by Numeister.
- XVI. Recto; 11 lines, and two words ('impatientiam tuam') of the 12th: belonging to the subject expressed in the preceding cut. Reverse; cut of the *Last Supper* (copied by Numeister) and 16 lines beneath.
- XVII. Recto; 33 lines. Reverse; cut of *Christ Betrayed*: (copied by Numeister) beneath, 15 lines.
- XVIII. Recto; 16 lines. Reverse; cut of *Christ before Caiaphas*: copied, but not with fidelity, and treated with infinitely less spirit, by Numeister. There are 15 lines beneath.
- XIX. Recto; 11 lines, and one word ('crudeli') of the 12th. Reverse; cut of the *Crucifixion*—not strictly copied, and treated in an inferior manner, especially in the figure of St. John, by Numeister. Beneath, 15 lines.
- XX. Recto; 31 lines, and 'ti sunt' of the 32nd. Reverse; cut of *Mary comforted by her Associates*—copied, but with less expression, by Numeister. Beneath, are 15 lines.
- XXI. Recto; 22 lines and a half. Reverse; cut of the *Descent into Hel*; wholly different from what appears in Numeister's reprint—the latter (as may be seen from the fac-simile of it in the *Bibl. Spenceriana*, vol. iv. p. 40) being much more grotesque. There are 15 lines beneath.
- XXII. Recto; 31 lines, and one word ('miseros') of the 32nd line. Reverse; cut of the *Resurrection*—essentially different from Numeister's copy: beneath are 15 lines.
- XXIII. Recto; 11 lines. Reverse; cut of *Christ discoursing with St. Peter and the Apostles*. Numeister has made a feeble copy of this group, especially in the figure of Christ; which, in the representation here described, has really considerable merit. There are 15 lines below it.
- XXIV. Recto; nearly 22 lines. Reverse; cut of the *Ascension*: copied, not strictly, and with less spirit, by Numeister: 15 lines beneath.

large gothic type—which is, the *Roman Missal* of 1475: in the description of a vellum copy of which, Audiffredi, if my memory be not treacherous, appears absolutely to disport himself with extraordinary gaiety of heart.

Folio.

- XXV. Recto; 15 lines, and one word ('contende') of the 16th line. Reverse; cut of the *Descent of the Holy Ghost*—copied by Numeister, but not with the same spirit. The pavement, also, is wholly different. There are 15 lines beneath.
- XXVI. Recto; nearly 15 lines. Reverse; cut of *Carrying of the Host*; copied, in rather better style, by Numeister. This is in the centre, without text.
- XXVII. Recto; 17 lines and 2 words ('effudit gentium') of the 18th line; being the subject matter belonging to the preceding cut, beneath which it might have been placed; as, on the reverse of this 27th leaf, there are 32 lines without a cut. A space therefore is left on the recto of this leaf, for the cut representing *Abraham prostrating before three Angels*; copied by Numeister.
- XXVIII. Recto; 28 lines. Reverse; cut of the *Genealogical Tree*, copied by Numeister, with improvement. There is no text with the cut.
- XXIX. Recto; 33 lines: containing matter belonging to the preceding cut. Reverse; cut of *Christ appearing to St. Sixtus*, copied by Numeister for the better. Only 7 lines beneath.
- XXX. Recto; cut of the *Assumption of the Virgin*, and the only cut on the recto of a leaf. This has been copied, but not strictly, by Numeister: 18 lines and a half are beneath. Reverse; *the Almighty in a Choir of Angels*, (copied by Numeister) with 15 lines beneath.
- XXXI. Recto; 8 lines and 2 words ('caritatis beneficia') of the 9th line. Reverse; cut of *Christ with the Virgin in Glory*; copied, but not quite strictly, by Numeister: 15 lines are beneath.
- XXXII. Recto; 29 lines. Reverse; cut of the *Office of the Mass for the Dead*; copied, but not strictly, by Numeister: 15 lines beneath.
- XXXIII. Recto; 13 lines and a half. Reverse; cut of the *Day of Judgment*; copied, not strictly, and perhaps improved upon, by Numeister. There are 15 lines beneath.
- XXXIV. Recto; 17 lines: beneath which is the colophon, thus:

*Finite sunt contemplationes supradicte & con-
tinuate Rome per Ulricum han Anno domi-
ni Millesimoquadringesimosexagesimo sep-
timo die ultima Mensis decembris. .I. R.*

The reverse is blank. There are no capital initials, and the right side of the text is uniformly irregular.

Han immediately gave up this gothic type, and adopted a roman one—in conformity with the better taste which prevailed among his contemporaries and rivals. He had three different founts of roman letter; a small one, used in his earlier works; a large one, used in his latter works. (once in conjunction with Simon De Luca) and a middling size type,* which appears in the Livy,

Thus much for the arrangement of the contents of this singularly rare volume. A word now respecting the *decorations*: which, as they were repeated in the re-impression of 1473, printed at Rome by the same printer, and in this *latter* edition were seen by Audiffredi, may probably be somewhat more familiar to the curious. They are in outline; upon the whole, rudely conceived, and still more rudely executed, and by no means 'elegant, considering their antiquity,' as Major and Audiffredi would seem to infer. *Edit. Rom.* p. 135-7. They were most probably executed by Ulric Han himself, or by some German artist under his immediate inspection. Indeed, the uniform absence of shadow, or horizontal lines, (which is peculiar to the embellishments in the books printed by Pfister) clearly bespeaks their German extraction—and affords some indirect evidence of the antiquity of the block-books before described. Lysander properly remarks that these cuts were 'imitated' by Numeister in his edition of 1479: with the introduction of light and shade. It has been shewn that the copies, or imitations, by Numeister, are not always for the better: and it will also be seen, that, in the copy under description, there are only xxxi cuts; as spaces are left for the introduction of the cuts on folios iii, ix, and xxvii. These spaces, in the copy described by De Murr (*Mem. Bib. Pub. Norimb.* vol. i. 261-5,) were filled by the cuts before mentioned, which were *pasted upon them*. It was rather whimsical in Ulric Han, to insert all the decorations on the reverses of the leaves, with the exception of that on folio xxx. But it is time to bid farewell to the *MEDITATIONES IOANNIS DE TURRECREMATA* of the date of 1467!

* *a small one—a larger one—and a middling size type.*] As the small type may be considered the more desirable specimen, on account of its supposed priority of execution, the reader will not object to be made acquainted with a most rare and precious folio volume, (exhibiting, throughout, specimens of Ulric Han's smallest type) which Lord Spencer has recently obtained from the Continent, through the bibliographical exertions of Mr. Horn. What adds to the worth of this volume is, that, on the face of it, it appears to have been the printer's own and choice copy, deposited by him in some monastic library, as a memento for the occupiers of it, to 'pray for the souls of himself and his family.' The condition and size of this extraordinary volume are perhaps matchless; and what must give it an additional value, is, that it is preserved in its ancient oaken binding, with the margins of the leaves untrimmed and ungilded: an appro-

Tortellius, Justin, Juvenal and Persius, and in the generality of his works.* Upon the whole, I cannot commend the typography of Ulric Han, on the score of beauty. His types, notwithstanding Laire (in his *History of the early Roman Press*) says 'they were brought to perfection,' have occasionally a looseness of appearance by no means favourable to elegant and regular printing; but he executed many noble works, chiefly prosaic, and his larger volumes approach in magnificence to those of Sweynheym and Pannartz. Among

priate dark blue morocco covering only being put over the oaken boards—upon which, Mr. Lewis hath exerted himself with his usual taste and skill. The following are the works within it, in the order in which they are there arranged. 1. *Cicero, de Oratore*, 1468; 2. *Cicero, de Officiis, Paradoxa, de Amicitia*; each without date: 3. *De Senectute*; without date: 4. *Somnium Scipionis*, without date: 5. *Tusculanæ Questiones*, 1469—so that it should seem that the works intervening between the years 1468 and 1469, were, in fact, printed within the same period: and if so, we have here (as Lord Spencer has justly remarked) the *Editio Princeps* of the *SOMNIUM SCIPIONIS*, as well as that of the *Tusculan Questions*. Beneath the colophon of the latter work (which may be seen in the *Bibl. Spenceriana*, vol. i. p. 339-340) we have the following interesting memorandum, in the hand-writing (in all probability) of ULRIC HAN HIMSELF.

Quem

Vna cum vxore parentib9 fautoribus consanguineis
et progenitorib9 familiaribusq; in vris memoriis
teneatis necnon deum pro ipis exoretis.

Admit, tasteful collector of ANCIENT CLASSICS, that this is a gem of no ordinary lustre. Admit also, I beseech you, that it could not have had a more appropriate *setting*, or a more appropriate resting place:—and if the spirit or ghost (call it what you will) of the aforesaid Ulric Han, should, in one spot more than another, take delight to wander and to meditate, it must be within a certain room which faces a certain *Green Park*—where the cattle browse without molestation, in spite of the 'busy-hum' and the never-ceasing bustle of what may be fairly called—the Metropolis of the World.'

* and in the generality of his works.] In discoursing of Ulric Han and Simon de Luca, we must not forget the first Roman edition of the *Institutes of Justinian*, of the date of 1473, wherein appeared, for the first time, a large broad-faced gothic type by way of text, surrounded by a narrow thin-faced roman letter by way of commentary. A noble copy of this desirable volume has lately enriched the Spencer library.

his rarer pieces, each equally destitute of date, numerals, signatures, and catchwords, is a Latin impression of the *Epistles of Phalaris*, in folio, and a *Terence*, also in folio. The latter is not executed according to dramatic rhythm, and is without doubt an early and very rare specimen of Han's press. Lord Spencer has recently enriched his collection with copies of these curious tomes. I never think of the three RIVAL LIVIES, in the same collection,* (the first executed by these last mentioned printers, the second by Ulric Han, and the third by Vindelin de Spira) but what I feel a glow and exhilaration of spirits which would make me warm in the snows of Siberia.

LISARDO. 'Excellent i' faith,' my noble Lysander. Commend me always, I beseech you, to such *stoves* in the middle of January—in this country of perpetual north-east, or north-west, blowing! Rumford had not a glimpse even of such blood-stirring expedients! . . . But is not Audiffredi, the learned and accurate Audiffredi, a little caustic upon your beloved Ulric Han?

LYSANDER. Audiffredi is indeed almost systematic in his abuse of him; as his colophons, undoubtedly, oftentimes betray excessive vanity and conceit. The mention of Audiffredi induces me to notice the favourite Roman printer of

* *rival Livies in Lord Spencer's Collection.*] 'De gustibus non est disputandum.' My friend Mr. Heber prefers, upon the whole, the *Ulric Han*. He is 'a brave Gentleman, and understands things well.' but I consider the *Sweynheym and Pannartz* copy not only far preferable to either of the copies above alluded to, but by much the most beautiful book, in every respect, which ever issued from the early Roman press. They are the first editions by the respective printers above mentioned; and that of Sweynheym and Pannartz is considered to be the first of the author. They stand in Lord Spencer's library each close to the other; and, with the Milan impression of 1478—of nearly equal magnitude—present such a grenadier corps of early Livies, as could not fail to have satisfied the Father of Frederick the Great of Prussia—had that Monarch indulged himself in bibliographical or classical propensities.

that learned bibliographer; namely, JOHN PHILIP DE LIGNAMINE*—the third in the chronological order of Roman printers. He was undoubtedly a learned and a modest

* *John Philip de Lignamine.*] The Suetonius of 1470, 'in pinea regione via pape,' is considered as the first specimen of De Lignamine's press; and Audiffredi pronounces this type to be 'more elegant than any previous or subsequent fount of letter used by either Sweynheym and Pannartz or Ulric Han.' This encomium is very disputable. The size of the latter may be seen from a fac-simile of it (as used in the Quintilian of the same date) in the *Bibl. Spenceriana*, vol. iii. p. 307; where also appears a specimen of the Greek type used by the same printer at the same period. The Roman type is a little too heavily executed in the fac-simile: yet the fairest specimen of the original could never, I submit, be deemed much superior to the contemporaneous productions of the printers last mentioned. De Lignamine's type is larger, and therefore more imposing; but it is loose, and sometimes very irregularly worked. This printer rarely executed large works, and his *Laurentius Valla* of 1471 is the noblest specimen of his press with which I am acquainted. He also, with one creditable and curious exception—namely, some *Opuscula of Philippus de Barberiis*, 1481—(see *Bibl. Spenceriana*, vol. iii. p. 173) used only one and the same fount of letter: but his zeal for literature, and his acknowledged modesty and learning, place him high in the estimation of competent judges. See Audiffredi's elaborate and interesting defence of him. *Edit. Rom.* p. 112-117. His books UPON VELLUM are so rare, that, with the exception of a copy of the *Italia Illustrata* of Flavius Blondus, of the date of 1474, folio—of this kind, and as noticed by Audiffredi—I am not able to mention any such copy which exists. Nor have we, as Lysander above suggests, many specimens of De Lignamine's press which present us with the agreeable typographical picture of *Roman or Italian Poetry*. Indeed, I know of none.

Some of the works from the press of this estimable printer are of the rarest possible occurrence: such as the *Pongie Lingua* of *Dominico Cavalcha*, of the date of 1472, folio; and rarer still, the *Horatii Opuscula*; which latter, from the epistle to Father Matthæus de Marco, prefixed to Cavalcha's work, are expressly said to have been executed by our printer. Audiffredi never saw the *Horace*; and the only copy of Cavalcha's *Pongie Lingua* which he ever met with, wanted the important epistle just mentioned—for the reprint of which, indeed, he was indebted to the *Opuscoli di Autori Siciliani*, vol. ix. p. 305, of S. M. de Blasis; taken, in turn, from a perfect copy of Cavalcha's work in the library of S. Martinus de Scaldis. See the *Edit. Rom.* p. 111-118. La Serna Santander has reprinted the epistle of De Lignamine, from Audiffredi: *Dict. Bibliogr.*, &c. vol. ii. p. 285. From the title of this epistle, we find that De Lignamine calls himself 'Sicilian,' and 'a familiar of Pope Sixtus IV.' and he is supposed to have formerly practised physic. A copy of Cavalcha's work, and of course of the *Horace*, is a great desideratum with Earl Spencer; but his Lordship has recently obtained a copy of the *De Sanguine Christi*, and *De Potentia Dei*, each executed

typographer; and many valuable works (almost entirely in prose) issued from his press: but in point of number and importance of publications, he must unquestionably yield to his contemporaries before noticed. His type is usually a large roman; but his printing is not, I think, particularly distinguished for its beauty and symmetry. Having thus firmly fixed the art at Rome—having shewn you the fountain head from which innumerable streams took their rise, and fructified the surrounding country

LORENZO. Are we to understand that you have noticed all the *rare* early Roman printers?

LYSANDER. By no means. I leave you to hunt, at your leisure, after the REISINGERS, SACHSELS and GOLSCHES, the LAVERS and the DE BOPARDIAS; and to keep a still sharper look out upon that subtle and coy typographical artist, ADAM ROT:* of whom we know little or nothing in

in one volume, of the supposed date of 1472, beneath the colophon of which, at the end of the latter tract, are the mysterious words GOD . AL:—as first exhibited in the colophon of the *De Civitate Dei* of 1467. See the *Bibl. Spenceriana*, vol. i. p. 169, 170.

* *the Reisingers, the Sachsels and Golsches, the Lavers, the De Bopardias, —and Adam Rot.*] What crabbed, inharmonious, teeth-breaking names are these! Could men, with such barbarous appellatives, have wrought any thing in a beautiful and inviting manner? Let us see; and first for REISINGER, or RUESINGER: not exactly, perhaps, in chronological order, but in the order in which Lysander chooses to mention him. A fac-simile of his type may be seen in the *Bibl. Spenceriana*, vol. ii. p. 234: from which it appears to resemble the smallest type of Ulric Han. Indeed, some *Opuscula and Epistles of St. Jerom*, in folio, without date—(described in the B. S. vol. i, p. 202) which I have attributed to the press of Ruesinger, are thought, in the opinion of Count Delci, to be the production of Ulric Han; especially as the words IA. RV. which are at the end of the colophon of the second volume, are supposed to have the same meaning as the initials I. R.—at the conclusion of the colophon of the *Turrecremata* of 1467: see p. 386 ante. What these letters designate, I am utterly at a loss to conceive. The name of SIXTUS RUESINGER (for so he is called) appears expressly in the *Rufus Sextus*; and his execution of other volumes, exhibiting the same type, is entirely conjectural. All the works of his press, which I have seen, are without dates. La Serna Santander says he printed at Naples from 1471 to 1479; when

this country. It is now really time to notice the rise and early progress of the typographical art in one other great Italian city:—and you will perhaps readily give a guess in what other city this may be?

he quitted that city and printed at Rome with Georgius Allemannus. He also printed at Naples with Franciscus de Tuppo. Consult the *Dict. Bibliogr. Choisi*, vol. i. p. 260-1. His supposed device may be seen in the *Bibl. Spenceriana*, vol. iii. p. 179.

In the second place, of SACHSEL and GOLSCH. These are rare but not very comely printers. The only books (as La Serna Santander justly intimates) with dates, which are known to have issued from their presses, are the *Ammianus Marcellinus*, and *Sabinus in Juvenalem*, each of the date of 1474; and each in the library of Earl Spencer; but an edition of *Aurelius Victor*, of *Rufus Sextus*, and of *Terentius Varro*, without dates, probably by the same printers, are also in the same collection. The *Ammianus Marcellinus* is of great value. Laire, in his *Spec. Hist. Typog. Rom.* p. 112, is sufficiently jejune relating to these printers.

GEORGE LAVER requires a more ample mention. It seems agreed among bibliographers that he first printed at the *Eusebian Monastery*, at Rome; whither he was invited by Cardinal Caraffa. Yet, if the period of his typographical labours at this monastery be from the year 1470 to 1472, inclusively, it is quite certain that he used different founts of letter; as the *St. Chrysostom*, 1470, the *Nonius Marcellus* without date, and the *Silius Italicus* and *Eutropius* (the two latter of the date of 1471), evidently exhibit different specimens of typography. I am however disposed to doubt his labours at the Eusebian monastery, notwithstanding the quaint colophon to the tract of Father Antonio '*De Instit. seu Direct. Simplicium Confessorum*,' 1472, 4to.; from which, according to Laire, *Typog. Rom.* p. 182, and Audiffredi, *Edit. Rom.* p. 107, it appears that Celestinus, a monk of the monastery of St. Eusebius, corrected—and George Laver, a native of Wurtzburg, printed—this latter work. But these are facts which do not necessarily regulate the printing of it at the *Eusebian monastery*. Audiffredi is, I think, disposed to quiz Laire a little, respecting the high value of 3400 livres attached to a copy of this tract, as Laire saw it sold at a public auction at Paris! We may further remark that Laver printed under the auspices of two learned editors; Pomponius Lætus, and Bartholomæus Platina: concerning whom see the notes in Laire, p. 85-7. Mr. Beloe may also be consulted; *Anecdotes*, &c. vol. iii. 257; vol. iv. p. 383.

There can be no doubt of Laver's having printed the *Nonius Marcellus*, briefly noticed by Mr. Beloe, in vol. iii. p. 261; as the extract given in the *Bibl. Spenceriana*, vol. iii. p. 93, places this point beyond question. In the year 1473 Laver associated himself with LEONHARD PFLUGEL; and these printers published together, in that same year, a folio volume of the *Constitutions of Pope Clement V*: see the *Bibl. Spenceriana*, vol. iii. p. 291. However, I consider the type of this

PHILEMON. } Venice!
 LISARDO. }

LYSANDER. Twice accurately spoken! 'The nurse (as

work to have been exclusively Pflugel's. In the year 1475, Laver came forth without his associate, and published the *Decisions of the Roman Court* in a large folio volume, which is fully described in the work last referred to; vol. iii. p. 300. The *Sermons of St. Chrysostom, Pomponius Festus, Quintus Curtius, and Terentius Varro*, (the chief productions of his press) will be found particularly described according to the references in the Index of the *Bibl. Spenceriana*, vol. iv. p. lix. Laire, at page 85 and 106, may also be consulted. Upon the whole, the type of Laver has no particular claim to commendation. It is irregular in form, and frequently irregular in execution: and care must be taken not to confound it with that of Schurener de Bopardia; to whom it is now high time to give the reader a slight introduction.

JOHN SCHURENER DE BOPARDIA (of what parentage, and when born, heaven knows!) does not appear to have exercised his press much before the year 1475; when we have the *Epistles of Aeneas Sylvius* (composed when that Pope was a Cardinal) published by him of that date. This impression is among the more elegant specimens of his printing. See *Bibl. Spenceriana*, vol. iii. p. 144. His *Three Declamations of Quintilian*, of the same date, is a book of very rare occurrence. *Id.* vol. ii. p. 313. But probably his *Solinus*, without date, is his rarest production; and his *Modestus* and *Pomponius Lætus*, also without dates, of nearly equal rarity—if not of greater antiquity than the *Aeneas Sylvius* of 1475. Consult the B. S. vol. ii. p. 360, vol. iii. p. 423. Schurener de Bopardia is a printer of second rate merit, on the score of beauty; yet much preferable to Laver. His works are of considerable scarcity, and his name very rarely appears in a colophon; so that we must judge of his productions chiefly by comparison with those to which his name is expressly subjoined. Panzer, vol. v. p. 537, notices probably a brother of this printer, of the name of Conrad de Bopardia, who printed at Cologne in 1486.

It is with a timid pen and an abashed countenance that I introduce the name of ADAM ROT; as, in the second volume of the *Bibl. Spenceriana*, p. 331, I have had the temerity to doubt of this Gentleman's existence. Count Delci, in his minute and valuable strictures upon the work just mentioned, first called the attention of Lord Spencer to this, my most heinous and most flagrant, offence; and those who cannot consult the articles xvi. and xvii. in Audiffredi's *Edit. Rom.* p. 104, may possibly have an opportunity of looking into Panzer, vol. ii. p. 432, nos. 88, 89, 91—where this said Adam Rot appears in no 'questionable,' but, on the contrary, in a most 'palpable' form. His books, however, are of excessive rarity; and whether the edition of Sallust, described in the B. S. vol. ii. p. 331, with the initials A. R. subjoined, be that of this printer, must at present remain 'sub judice'—as I am not acquainted with any volume wherein his name is colophonised at length.

Philemon the other day not inaptly expressed it) of ten thousand useful and elegant arts, the central mart of European commerce, the city both of Jenson and of Titian, it was reserved for Venice to give a different turn, and to adopt a purer style, in the productions of its first printers.' All hail to thee, JOHN DE SPIRA, parent of the Venetian press!* I see thee yonder, in imagination, pale, emaciated,

* *John de Spira, parent of the Venetian press.*] This point, I submit, is now triumphantly established by the existing privilege of the Senate of Venice, granted to John de Spira, of the date of September the 18th, 1469. A copy of this privilege was transmitted to Denis, by the Abbé Morelli, and appears in the *Suffragium pro Johanne de Spira Primo Venetiarum Typographo, Vienna, 1794*, 8vo. of the former. It is too important not to occupy some twenty lines in this present note. Le voici! '1469, Die 18 Septembris. Inducta est in hanc nostram inclytam civitatem ars imprimendi libros, in diesque magis celebrior et frequentior fiet, per operam studium et ingenium Magistri Ioannis de Spira, qui ceteris aliis urbibus hanc nostram prælegit, ubi cum coniuge liberis et familiâ totâ suâ inhabitaret, exerceretque dictam artem librorum imprimendorum: iamque summâ omnium commendatione impressit *Epistolas Ciceronis*, et nobile opus *Plinii de Naturali Historia* in maximo numero, et pulcherrima litterarum forma, pergitque quotidie alia præclara volumina imprimere; adeo ut industria et virtute huius hominis, multisque præclarisque voluminibus, et quidem pervili pretio, locupletabitur. Et quoniam tale inventum ætatis nostræ peculiare et proprium, priscis illis omnino incognitum, omni favore et ope augendum atque fovendum est, eidemque Magistro Joanni, qui magno urgetur sumptu familiæ, et artificum mercede, præstanda sit materia, ut alacrius perseveret, artemque suam imprimendi potius celebriorem reddere, quam desinere, habeat; quemadmodum in aliis exercitiis sustentandis, et multo quidem inferioribus, fieri solitum est; infrascripti Domini Consilarii ad humilem et devotam supplicationem prædicti Magistri Joannis terminarunt, terminandoque decreverunt, ut per annos quinque proxime futuros nemo omnino sit, qui velit, possit, valeat, audeatve exercere dictam artem imprimendorum librorum in hac inclyta civitate Venetiarum, et districto suo, nisi ipse Magister Joannes. Et toties, quoties aliquis inventus fuerit, qui contra hanc terminationem et decretum ausus fuerit exercere ipsam artem et imprimere libros; multari condemnarique debeat, et amittere instrumenta et libros impressos. Et sub hac eadem pœna nemo debeat, aut possit tales libros in aliis terris et locis impressos vendendi causa huc portare,

Angelus Gradenico.

Bertuccius Contareno.

Angelus Venerio.

Jacobus Mauroceno.

Franciscus Dandolo.

} Consilarii.

and breathless : living only just to witness the completion of thy *Cicero* and *Pliny*—to clasp thy barely-commenced *St. Austin* to thy breast, and to expire in the embrace ! See, he

This document is curious on many accounts. It informs us, if we were not already informed by his own colophons, that I. de Spira printed the *Epistles of Cicero* before the *Pliny*—and, what is rather strange, that he had a *five years patent or privilege for exclusive printing at Venice* ! How came it then to pass that Jenson opened his press in 1470, and continued, for many successive years, a popular printer at Venice ? Was the privilege granted to I. de Spira only conditionally—if he should so long live ? There is no accounting for the rival press of Jenson upon any other ground. As to the date of 1461, in the *Decor Puel-larum*, that point is now at rest : it being, beyond all further reasonable doubt, an error for the date of 1471. See the authorities referred to in the *Bibl. Spenceriana*, vol. iv. p. 116-118. Of the *Familiar Epistles of Cicero*, the first effort of his press, there are two editions—in the same year—1469 ; which have been particularly described in the work last referred to, vol. i. p. 321-3. The Blenheim and the Mc Carthy libraries each contain a copy of one of these impressions UPON VELLUM. The *Pliny*, upon paper, is in Lord Spencer's collection : but how can I convey an adequate idea of its condition and amplitude ? Think, enthusiastic collector, of the uncontaminated snow upon the highest of the Apennine peaks, and you will have an idea of the size and colour of the Spencerian copy of the first *Pliny* ! The press-work of this surprising volume is quite perfect. I have carefully examined it with that of the earliest and latest specimens of Jenson's press, and it 'beats them all hollow !' Yet remember, Spira-loving reader, that the Imperial library at Vienna contains a copy of this very first *Pliny* UPON VELLUM ! Who, that hath drank deeply and freely at the fountain-head of Bibliomania, would not make a pilgrimage to such a shrine ?

Let it however be observed that, generally speaking, the *Pliny* of 1469 is by no means a very rare book, (see the B. S. vol. ii. p. 253-6,) notwithstanding, from the colophon, only 100 copies of it appear to have been struck-off—and these within the short space of three months ! The knowing will remember that there are no Greek letters introduced ; but that the Greek passages are rendered by means of Roman types.

VINDELIN DE SPIRA, as Lysander above properly intimates, carried on the business which his brother had successfully established. The matchless collection of Lord Spencer contains, I believe, all Vindelin's known works of the date of 1470, with the exception of the *Priscian* ; of which, however, he is only the reputed printer, as his name is not attached to it. The Mc Carthy collection contains a magnificent copy of this scarce impression, PRINTED UPON VELLUM : see the *Cat. Mc Carthy* ; vol. i. no. 2170. The *St. Austin De Civitate Dei*, which his brother left unfinished, was Vindelin's first performance ; but *Cicero*, (three pieces only of him) *Livy*, *Sallust*, *Virgil*, and *Petrarch*, each came forth in

dies in the arms of his brother, VINDELIN; who, on his decease, conducted the business with great credit and success for many subsequent years, and who has proved himself to be worthy of the mantle which his brother cast upon him.

the same year, (1470) as monuments at once of his diligence and skill. Of the St. Austin, a copy UPON VELLUM will be found in the Blenheim, Mc Carthy, and Devonshire collections. A copy of the Virgil, UPON VELLUM, is also in the Blenheim and Mc Carthy libraries; but the latter (vol. i. no. 2543) should seem to be 'a part only of the complete edition.' A vellum copy of this exceedingly rare book is likewise in the collection of the Right Hon. T. Grenville, from the Larcher library; but, for the sake of the known taste and discrimination of its present owner, I could wish the colour of the vellum to have borne a closer resemblance to that of the lily or snow-drop—whichever the reader, or the owner of it, may please. The *Tacitus*, without date—in which, for the first time, appears a gothic *v*, mingled with roman type—has been thought not only the first edition of that author, but the first specimen of the SPIRA PRESS. This assumption is founded upon the following passage in the colophon of the same edition :

pressit

Spira premens : artis gloria prima suæ.

Having already (*Bibl. Spenceriana*, vol. ii. p. 393) considered this point pretty fully, I can here only observe that the construction of the phrase renders 'Spira' the antecedent to 'gloria prima'—for if the *impression* had been considered as the 'first boast' of 'his art,' it would have been 'gloriam primam.' Further, as well in the privilege of the Venetian Senate just extracted, as in the important colophon to the 'De Civitate Dei,' we are expressly told what were the works which John De Spira had executed previously to his death in 1470; and in these the *Tacitus* is omitted. It follows, therefore, from both these considerations, that the *Tacitus* was *not* printed by John de Spira—that it is *not* the first production of the Spira press—and very questionable it is; whether it were printed in the year 1470, or 1471. Let it however be considered as the first book in which *catchwords* appear. La Serna Santander says that the name of Vindelin de Spira is not to be found in any dated book after the year 1477.⁴ His career, therefore, was short but glorious.

This brings us to say a few words respecting his skill as a printer. He used two founts of letter: one gothic; the other roman. His gothic, luckily for his reputation, is not of frequent occurrence. The earliest specimen of it which I remember to have seen, is in the *Duns Scotus* of 1472; and the latest, in the *Dante* of 1477. They are each miserable enough; and must have been supplied from the worn-out fount of some German printer of most wretched taste. His Roman type, however, stands as high as his gothic is mean: it is bold, elegant, and extremely legible; of a fount which our printers call *English*. I must not here omit to mention a very singular and barbarous (but I hope and believe *unique*)

ALMANSA. Am I wrong in mentioning the name of NICOLAS JENSON? There was, I think, such a printer, and a beautiful one too!

LYSANDER. His name well becomes a lady's lips; for he was elegant and brilliant beyond all comparison. There is an evenness in his press work, a symmetry in his types, a mellow tone in his paper, and an exquisite delicacy about every thing which he did, that I cannot forbear giving him the superiority over every other contemporary printer* on the score of brilliancy of execution.

specimen of roman type to which the name of V. de Spira is subjoined as the printer, in a quarto volume, entitled '*Io. Scotus: super quatuor libris sententiarum Medicine et de anima*'—formerly in Mr. Singer's, and now in Lord Spencer's, collection. It is in double columns, with frequent contractions, and the type appears as irregular in formation and press-work, as it is dissimilar from any known production of the press of Vindelin de Spira. Were forgeries of ancient printers' names practised? If so, this may be one. We will now take leave of this eminent typographical artist in the words in which he was supposed to be addressed by the reader, on his publication of Quintus Curtius, probably in the year 1471:

Vindeline meo prius hic redditurus in auras
Spiritus et corpus linquet inane meum,
Quam tua nobilitas, virtus, atque inclita fama
Pectore labatur candide amice meo.

* *superiority over every other contemporary printer.*] If Sardini has contrived to furnish a pretty thumping folio, divided into three books, of which the two latter are exclusively devoted to an account of the JENSON PRESS, what quantity of presumption is attributable to myself, for striving to render justice to the annals of the same press, in a note which may possibly contain only the three hundred and fifteenth part of Sardini's volume?! Nevertheless, I will do my best in such a space—however contracted: '*Multum in parvo*' is always a creditable and encouraging motto. And, first, let us beat—not about '*The bush aboon Traquair*,' but—about our ancient and accredited bibliographical Classics (if I may, '*with no unhallowed pen*,' thus venture to designate them) respecting this said NICOLAS JENSON, a Frenchman by birth. Hear how Maittaire becomes absolutely extatic in praise of him. '*O stupendum Artificem, Statuâ (ubi ubi vigent litteræ) dignum marmoreâ, nisi litteraria monumenta sibi exegisset quovis apparatu magnificentiora, omni ære perenniora! . . . Puduit in limine cunctari; extemplo in ipsa Artis penetravit adyta . . . uno tentamine Artem incepit et perfecit, simul ac semel discipulus ac magister . . . adeo ut prorsus dubium sit, utrum*

LISARDO. I wish in my heart he had also adopted a smaller fount of letter, and had executed pocket volumes; or, what the learned in bibliography call, *chap-books*. A

magis miremur, Artémne an Artificem; cui plus debeamus, illíne, quæ tot erudita scripta nobis nostrisque posteris conservavit, an huic, sinè quo ea pro suorum authorum dignitate prodire non potuissent, sinè quo Ars ipsa minùs utilis, minùs lepida et ornata, et penè iners jacuisset.' . . Yet more . . ' Ignoscat, oro, Lector; si admiratione raptus in grandiori materiâ stylum tenuiorem exercuerim, meique illius popularis laudes teutaverim, quæ eloquentiam vel TULLIANAM fatigassent.' *Annal. Typog.* p. 37-8. edit. 1719. There's for you, Jenson-loving reader!—but, remember well—Maittaire believed in the authenticity of the date of the *Decor Puellarum*: hence his constant reference to the supposed *early* period of Jenson's press. In this he was egregiously mistaken: as the 'Artis adyta' had been previously, and as successfully, explored by Sweynheym and Pannartz and the Spiras.

We might, however, have first noticed the commendations of a contemporary, Omnibonus Leonicens; editor of the works usually printed by Jenson—who, impelled by a sudden *parainetrical* gust, has been pleased not only to call our Jenson 'another Dædalus,' (to which I have no objection) but also 'the wonderful inventor of his art'—to which I have a very great objection. Consult his interesting testimony prefixed to the edition of Quintilian's *Institutes*, of the date of 1471, in the *Bibl. Spenceriana*, vol. ii. p. 310. Jenson's press (says Chevallier) was one of those which had the greatest reputation at Venice: *L'Orig.* p. 64. Monsieur De Boze (a name never, I trust, to be slighted in the annals of bibliography) discovered an ancient MS. ('*De Monetis Gallie antiquis*') from which it appeared that Lewis XIth sent Jenson to Mentz in order to instruct himself thoroughly in the art of printing. This could not have taken place before the year 1461, as Lewis did not begin to reign before that period: 'consequently (as La Serna Santander has shrewdly and sensibly remarked) there is an end at once to the supposed legitimate date of the *Decor Puellarum*.' Mr. Horne, (*Introd. to Bibliography*, vol. ii. *Appx.* p. lviii,) apparently on the authority of De Boze, (*Mem. de l'Acad. des Inscriptions*, vol. xiv. p. 236) seems to think that Jenson was sent abroad in order to introduce the art of printing into France; but the then troubled state of that country induced the printer to sojourn, and set up his press, at Venice. Laire makes out Jenson to be 'rei monetariæ apud Turonenses peritus artifex,' but I suspect a little that we have here another 'Flourish of Trumpets!': see page 326-7 ante; and the gossiping note in the *Spec. Hist. Typog. Rom.* p. 42-4: where it is affirmed, on the authority of the Decretals of Pope Gregory IX., 1475, that the skill and solicitude of Jenson, respecting his art, was so gratifying to Pope Sixtus IV., that he called him to Rome and ennobled him with the title of 'Count Palatine.' Observe further, that the notice respecting Jenson's being sent to Mentz, and described as 'garçon saige, et l'un des bons graveurs de la Monnoye de Paris'—is a mere *marginal* note in

duodecimo Horace by that delightful printer, would have been worth twice the number of all the *chap-books* which that pains-taking editorial grub, Robert Burton, ever put forth! A *duodecimo Virgil* and *Horace* by Jenson—the

the MS. consulted by De Boze. So I find it mentioned in Lichtenberger's *Initia Typographica*, p. 167-8.

I cannot imagine why Fournier (*De l'Origine de l'Imprimerie*, p. 23) should have led both himself and subsequent bibliographers, including even Sardini, into a mistake, that we are indebted to Jenson for our present proportions of the Roman capitals and small letters; as I see nothing in Jenson which had not previously appeared in John de Spira. 'Au reste (says La Serna Santander) cet artiste est un des plus célèbres dans les fastes de l'histoire typographique; ses caractères sont d'une grande beauté, et ses impressions des chefs-d'œuvres de typographie: on peut dire de cet artiste qu'il donna à l'imprimerie le dernier degré de perfection. *Dict. Bibliogr. Choisi*, vol. i. p. 180-1. Jenson printed as late as the year 1482, but the period of his death is unknown. His first books are of the date of 1470; namely, the Eusebius, (*Præp. Evangelica*) Cicero, (*Rhetorica Vetus*, and *Epistolæ ad Atticum*) and Justin. The earliest specimen of his *Greek Letter* (precisely the same in character as was used by V. de Spira—see the fac-simile of it in the *Bibl. Spenceriana*, vol. i. p. 269—a little too heavily executed) appears, I believe, in the *Tortellius* of 1471.

To what is above said, in the shape of Jensonian eulogy, by the 'DRAMATIS PERSONÆ' of this work, nothing can be here effectually added. Let me however first remark, that both Aldus and Baskerville appear to have chosen Jenson for their model; and I think I can discover in the *Gloria Mulierum*, *Luctus Christianorum*, and *Decor Puellarum*, of Jenson, the 'Bembo, de *Ætna*, of Aldus; and in the *Virgil* of the former, of 1475, the *Virgil* of Baskerville. All this however may be mere fancy. The *gothic type* of Jenson (which Laire is Vandal enough to abuse) has always appeared to me to be singularly beautiful and striking. It consists of two founts; both of which may be seen to the greatest possible advantage in the *Constitutions of Pope Clement V.* and the *Decretals of Boniface VIII.*, each of the date of 1476; and of each of which a copy UPON VELLUM is in the Spencer library. I shall have occasion to speak of the *Latine Bible*, of the same date, 'anon;' but cannot here forego the opportunity of placing a humble, and I trust not quickly perishable, wreath upon the very beautiful and rare copy of the *Latin Bible*, of 1479, in folio—printed throughout in the largest gothic type of Jenson, and struck off UPON VELLUM—which ennobles the collection of my friend Mr. George Hibbert: it being a worthy companion of the Vellum Bible mentioned at page 164 ante. This exquisite monument of Jensonian skill was obtained at the sale of the library of the late Mr. Edwards (*Cat.* no. 810.) for 115*l.* 10*s.* Such a price sufficiently bespeaks the sharp contest—the shower of balls and of bullets—through which it was

very thought is transporting . . . and I love to cherish the bewildering fiction !

LYSANDER. What was left undone by Jenson was performed by his imitator, Baskerville. You forget the little Horace of 1762, executed by the latter ; in which there is as much elegance of typographical arrangement and execution, as in any other volume which owes its production to the early Venetian press. Do not let us fail to remember, in the estimation of Jenson's typographical reputation, his great skill in the use of the *black letter*, as well as the Roman. His impressions of the *Papal Constitutions*, executed after the plan of those of Fust and Schoiffer, are models of elegance in the adaptation of two different founts of gothic ; while his black letter *Bible* of 1476, especially when upon vellum, is worthy of every praise : yet not superior to those of *Hailbrun* and *Moravus*, of the same date.* It should be

obtained. I shall conclude this tremendous note with a list of the JENSONS PRINTED UPON VELLUM, in the Mc Carthy collection ; referring to the numbers in the Catalogue of the same library.

Eusebius,	1470,	Cat. de Mc Carthy,	no. 517.
Cicero, <i>Ep. ad Att.</i>	1470,	—————	no. 2325.
Quintilianus,	1471,	—————	no. 2263.
Tortellius,	1471.	—————	no. 2144.
Plinius, Senior,	1472,	—————	no. 1705.
Gratianus, <i>Decretum.</i>	1474,	—————	no. 1109.
Biblia Latina,	1476,	—————	no. 66.
Bonifacius VIII. <i>Decret.</i>	1476,	—————	no. 1116.
Clement V. <i>Const.</i>	1476,	—————	no. 1123.
Plinius, Senior, (<i>Ital.</i>)	1476,	—————	no. 1713.
Plutarch, <i>Vit. Par.</i>	1478,	(first volume only)	no. 5368.

The Justin, however, of 1470, is not here—but in our own Royal collection ; and is perhaps unique. The *Rhetorica Vetus* of Cicero, of the date of 1470, and not here, is in the Blenheim library ; as well as the Pliny of 1472, also here ; and of which latter the Duke of Devonshire possesses a copy. I speak now exclusively of vellum copies. The *De Civitate Dei* of 1475 is also upon vellum, in the Blenheim library ; but a vellum *Macrobius* of 1472, a rare and truly estimable volume, is the exclusive boast of the Earl of Pembroke's Collection.

* those of *Hailbrun* and *Moravus*, of the same date.] That is, of the date of

remembered that Vindelin de Spira failed miserably in his gothic letter.

In the estimation of the more celebrated early printers of Venice, let us not forget CHRISTOPHER VALDARFER, (printer of the Boccaccio of 1471) JOHN DE COLONIA, (partner of VINDELIN DE SPIRA) FRANCISCUS DE HAILBRUN, ADAM DE AMBERGAU, and ERHARD RATDOLT. These are all fine fellows in their way;* and choice copies of their works, especially if

1476. At page 389, ante, we have discoursed of 'RIVAL LIVIES:' in the present place it remains to discourse upon 'RIVAL BIBLES.' The volumes, here alluded to, will be found minutely described in the *Biblioth. Spenceriana*, vol. i. p. 32-36. They are all UPON VELLUM, and press each other hard for precedence. Yet it must be admitted, on a comparison with the vellum copies of the Jensonian edition, of the same date, in the collections of the Duke of Devonshire and Sir Mark Sykes, that Lord Spencer's copy is too much cropt: and the sacred volume, put forth by Moravus, (from the Pinelli collection—of excessive rarity) is most unskilfully bound. Hailbrun's impression has received better treatment at the hands of its former possessors; but, take them as they are, where, vellum-loving reader, wilt thou find three such copies of such interesting tomes? They are each executed in the gothic letter, of pretty nearly the same size; and the vellum is also of pretty nearly the same texture—ductile, white, and perfect: yet upon the whole, the Bible of Hailbrun is, to my eye, the more covetable treasure. As for MORAVUS—while this Bible is seen, and while his impression of the first edition of the *Moral Works of Seneca*, of the date of 1475, (see *Bibl. Spenceriana*, vol. ii. p. 338) is duly cherished, as it cannot fail to be, in the cabinets of the curious—he will not want a MONUMENT of typographical skill, in the execution of the Gothic and the Roman type, which shall place his name in the foremost rank of ancient printers of renown.

* *all fine fellows in their way.*] 'All hail' to thee, Christopher Valdarfer!—and to thee, John de Colonia, Franciscus de Hailbrun, and Adam de Ambergau, and Erhard Ratdolt, 'all hail!' These were really 'fine fellows,' and of the VENETIAN SCHOOL; a school, which merits all the rambling eulogies of Chevillier, and the pithy but pointed panegyric of Lichtenberger: see his *Initia Typographica*, p. 166. Such charms, such magic, were attached to the name of Venice, as a school of printing, that Theodore Martens, in the colophon of his 'Libellus Fratris Baptistæ Mantuani,' of the date of 1474, told his countrymen, in order to give greater éclat to a new work, that 'he placed before them a specimen of that typographical skill which he had learnt of the Venetians:' see Lambinet, vol. ii. p. 100; who is more full than Marchand (*Dict. Hist. &c.* vol. ii. p. 26, note (c) sect. iv.) or Maittaire; *Annal. Typog.* vol. i. p. 334, note 1. There was doubtless good policy in such conduct on the part of the said Theodore Martens. But first for

upon vellum, cannot fail to make the heart rejoice, and add to the weight of the purse: as the *Venetian vellum* of that time is proved to be greatly superior to that of every other city.

CHRISTOPHER VALDARFER—the printer of the most mischievous book (perhaps morally as well as bibliomaniacally speaking) that every issued from the press. I mean the *Boccaccio* of 1471; over which magical volume, for the present, it is fitting that I draw a veil of close texture—to be withdrawn on the EIGHTH DAY of this work. Both Valdarker and Jenson commenced their career in the same year, namely, in 1470; and the *Cicero de Oratore* of the former, is the first fruit of his press. In the colophon of this very rare and beautifully printed book, Valdarker thus designates himself:

Christophori impressus hic liber arte fuit
Cui stirps Valdarker: patria estq; ratispona tellus.

hence plainly telling us that he was born at Ratisbon. His *Orations of Cicero*, of the date of 1471, folio, is also a magnificent performance: of which Mr. Renouard possesses (what I believe no other library can boast of) a copy UPON VELLUM—and which he jocosely calls his ‘darling child.’ The types, paper, and mechanical execution, exhibited by Christopher Valdarker, are eminently beautiful; superior, unquestionably, to those of Philip de Lavagna; but inferior, upon the whole, to many specimens from the presses of the Spiras and Jenson. Was it from failure in business, or from the overwhelming success of his rivals, that Valdarker quitted Venice in 1474, and went to establish himself at Milan? Or was it necessary that Zarotus, the father of the Milan press, (who commenced his career in 1471, not in 1470, according to the doubtful list, of this date, noticed by Saxius in his *Hist. Lit. Typog. Mediol* p. DLIX.) should have a rival in order that the Milanese might buy books at a cheaper rate? The *Offices of St. Ambrose*, of the date of 1474, are said to be ‘printed at Milan by Valdarker of Ratisbon;’ and probably exhibits the first specimen of his Milanese press. See the *Bibl. Spencer*. vol. i. p. 166.

In the second place, of JOHN DE COLONIA; who is, in every respect, worthy of the eulogy which has been bestowed upon his predecessor. I am not sure that we have any dated book, of his printing, before the year 1471; when appeared the *Terence* and the *Cicero de Finibus*. In the colophon of the *Terence* (see B. S. vol. ii. p. 411) he styles himself, in the whimsical *naïveté* of the old school, ‘Ioānes Agrippinae coloniae decus.’ In the year 1472 he appears to have gone into partnership, or at least to have printed in conjunction, with Vindelin de Spira; as the colophon of the *Plautus*, of that date, bears a proud and positive testimony. And here Mr. Grenville’s glorious copy of this rare and fine volume comes immediately to one’s recollection, and is an absolute *refresher* in the midst of all this bibliographical digging! Yet how can I omit to mention, with the distinction which it merits, the very beautiful, if not matchless, copy of

BELINDA. Did I not, in the early part of the day, hear mention made of one ULRIC ZEL of Hanau—who told the editor of the Cologne Chronicle something about the origin of the art of printing?

Theodore Gaza's Latin version of '*Aristotle upon Animals*,' of the date of 1476, in folio, UPON VELLUM, from the press of John of Cologne—of which my friend Sir M. M. Sykes is the fortunate possessor?! If my memory be not treacherous, this is the most exquisite specimen of an early *Venetian vellum book* that I have ever seen.

Our printer appears to have been fond of a *social compact*; for in 1474, if not before, he published in conjunction with JOHN MANTHEN DE GHERRETLHEM, or DE GERRETZEM—as the colophons of the *Orationes Philippicæ*, and *Calderinus in Martialem*, of that date, evidently testify. In 1481, if not earlier, we find him coming forth with the celebrated Jenson, and using a *device* (in red) which will be given in the ensuing pages. A Latin Testament of this latter date, with the commentaries of De Lyra, Paul Bishop of Bruges, and Matthius Dorinck, gives us the following 'jocund' colophon: '*characteres vero impressum habes iucundissimo: impensaque: curaque singulari optimorum Iohannis de colonia Nicolai ienson: sociorumque*,' &c. Lord Spencer's library contains beautiful and precious specimens of L. de Colonia's press, from the year 1471 to 1479, inclusively; of which latter date is the *Vitæ Pontificum* of Platina—an impression, in its uncast state, and of more importance than I had formerly imagined; according to the saucy notice of Marchand, in his *Hist. de l'Imprimerie*, p. 97. At the first glance, there is a strong resemblance between the types of John de Colonia and Vindelin de Spira. Where no name of printer is subjoined, the books of these great typographical artists may be taken for each other: or, as I conceive, perhaps not with perfect accuracy, the books of J. de Colonia are known by a gothic *v*, and a gothic final *j*, as may be seen in the B. S. vol. ii. p. 419.

FRANCISCUS DE HAILBRUN is our third typographical hero; and I can readily anticipate a presentiment of satisfaction, in the mind of the reader, respecting the account of this distinguished printer. Of his abilities in the management of the *gothic type* (with which he printed two Latin Bibles, one of the date of 1475, and another of that of 1476, in conjunction with NICOLAS DE FRANKFORDIA) a word or two has been already spoken: see p. 401, ante. He commenced his career about the year 1472; when he printed, in a thin and spare Roman type, the *Opus Quadragesimale* of Robertus de Licio—described in the *Bibl. Spenceriana*, vol. iv. p. 526. This type was afterwards abandoned by him for one of a fuller face, and more perfect symmetry; as his *Pomponius Mela* and *Sacrobustus*, each of the date of 1478 (see B. S. vol. ii. p. 285, vol. iii. p. 501,) decidedly and most satisfactorily prove. These latter are truly elegant little productions; varied by ornamented capital initials, and the introduction of red ink. They are however clearly executed upon the model of Ratdolt's press;

LYSANDER. I thank you for the hint. Zel ought indeed to have immediately succeeded Sweynheym and Pannartz; but, to speak fairly, he is not a great favourite with me. He brought with him a true German taste. His type is uniformly gothic, of rather a barbarous aspect, and not very skilfully worked. His earlier pieces, such as the *Chrysostom* of 1466,

between which and that of Hailbrun there is an almost perfect concordance. Let Franciscus de Hailbrun, however, have more than *one* niche in a library sparkling with the gems of early printing!

ADAM DE AMBERGAU shall be briefly dispatched; yet he is a typographical wight of no insignificant calibre. His type I think has quite an imposing aspect; and as it bears a close resemblance to that of FLORENTIUS DE ARGENTINA, a fac-simile of the latter, as given in the B. S. vol. iii. p. 499, (although much too heavily impressed) will afford some notion of its character and effect. 'His *Lactantius* of 1471 is a grand as well as rare volume; and the copy of it, UPON VELLUM, in the Blenheim library, must have an effect which a thorough-bred bibliographer and collector can duly feel and appreciate. I make no doubt that a copy of his *Orations of Cicero*, of the date of 1472, also exists upon vellum. Beauteous gems! . . . diffusing a lustre beyond that of the most successful trials of gas or oil!

'Last, though not least,' in the order of this note, comes ERHARD RATDOLT; the 'dear delight' of a skilful typographical antiquary and tasteful collector. Bring hither the curious cushion, bordered with flowers or classical groups executed by Titian . . . and let the *Appian* of 1477 repose upon the same! Scatter fragrance, extracted from the most precious and pungent aromatics, and let the sounds of soft music float in the hushed air, while the *Euclid* of 1482, UPON VELLUM, unspotted as the Alpine snow, is gently laid upon the said *Appian* of 1477! Romantic extravagance! . . . Know then, quiet reader, in simple and sober language, that the edition first mentioned contains one of the most beautiful specimens extant of *Roman*, and the edition, last mentioned, a specimen of equal beauty of *Gothic*, printing. The former has broad ornamental borders, at the beginning, sometimes in red, but more frequently in black, ink. The smaller pieces of Ratdolt, such as his *Hyginus* of 1482, his *Publicius* of 1485, and his *Chronicle of Hungarian Kings* of 1488, each in the Gothic type, and the *Pomponius Mela* of 1477, in the Roman character, are exceedingly elegant and successful experiments of his press. He used ornamented capital letters; and his mathematical figures, in the *Euclid*, shew how carefully and admirably he had exerted himself in what was requisite to do complete justice to his art. It will be a satisfaction to the Ratdolt-loving collector, to know, that specimens of his press are by no means of uncommon occurrence. And thus take we leave of these five 'fine fellows—CHRISTOPHER VALDARFER, I. DE COLONIA, FRANCISCUS DE HAILBRUN, ADAM DE AMBERGAU, and ERHARD RATDOLT.'

are the better printed; but his taste, I think, in the selection of authors, was almost uniformly bad: and such an indefatigable printer of *quarto brochures*, has rarely appeared before the public! I never saw but one of his books UPON VELLUM; which is the *Enchiridion of St. Austin*. He is supposed to have been the *earliest printer at Cologne*;^{*}

^{*} *supposed to have been the earliest printer at Cologne.*] There can be no doubt, I think, of Ulric Zel's being the FATHER OF THE COLOGNE PRESS. The first book of his printing, with a date, is the *St. Chrysostom upon the 50th Psalm*, of 1466, in quarto: in the colophon of which he describes himself as 'Ulric Zel of Hanau, a Clerk of the Diocese of Mentz.' In the *De Singularitate Clericorum of St. Austin*, of the date of 1467, (B. S. p. 178-9) the same designation of himself occurs; but in neither the colophon of the one nor the other is the word 'Cologne' to be found. Yet it is unquestionable that Zel lived, and carried on his business, at Cologne. In the preceding, as in almost all the *earlier* pieces of Zel's press, there are 33 lines in a page; but in the *Offices of Cicero* (*id.* p. 307-10) there are 34 lines—while the generality of his publications, and those of a later date, have only 27. His productions are almost endless, and, with the preceding exceptions only, are without dates. He was, as Lysander intimates, an indefatigable printer of 'quarto brochures;' among the scarcest of which is an impression of the *Orations of Cicero against Catiline* (recently obtained by Lord Spencer) which may possibly be the parent edition of that interesting performance. Another scarce piece, from the Zel press, has also been recently acquired by the Noble Owner of the last mentioned work. It is a spurious work of Ovid, entitled '*De Nuncio sagaci*,' beginning thus:

[S]ummi victoris fierē cū victor amoris
Sperabā curis finē posuisse futuris
Rursus ad arma vocat me querit et ecce cupido
Dic amor vnde venis. phraretris sic vndiq; pleis
Cui⁹ castra petis. vel cui⁹ vulnera tendis
Perdē quem queris. certamina velle videris.

&c. &c. &c.

These savour strongly of their *monkish* origin. The poem is printed on 7 leaves, with 24 lines in a page, concluding on the recto of the 7th leaf, after 8 lines of text, thus:

Ouidij nasonis Sulmonensis poete
De nūcio sagaci liber Explicit.

With the exceptions of his *Latin Bible*, and the *Gesta Romanorum*, which are executed in his large type, Zel uniformly printed in a middle-sized and legible character, but precisely gothic; with the exception of the large *E*, which is like a writing *E*. He seldom or never used numerals, signatures, or catchwords. The

but I should remind you that the *first* book, in the colophon of which the word *Cologne* appears, was printed by PETRUS DE OLPE, in 1470. I will conclude this Cologne part of my typographical review, by the mention only of TER HOERNEN; a frightful name, and in perfect unison with his printing . . . But I begin to grow wearied. Is it not time to adjourn?

LORENZO. You will not surely dismiss us without saying a word about the early *Strasbourg*, *Augsbourg*, and *Milan* printers?

LYSANDER. Our host is a bibliographical cormorant. First, then, be it known that MENTELIN is considered as the Father of the Strasbourg, as the ZAINERS are of the Augsburg, Press.* They probably commenced their career

vellum book, above mentioned, is in the possession of Lord Spencer. It is fair and sound, and the only VELLUM ULRIC ZEL I ever heard of.

It is true that PETRUS DE OLPE, in his *Auctoritates Decretorum* of 1470, presents us with the first specimen of a printed book in which the word 'Cologne' appears in the colophon. The type in this volume has rather a resemblance to the smallest type used by Fust and Schoeffer; while CONRAD DE HOMBORCH, in the *Manuale Confessorum* of John Nider (another Cologne production) exhibits a better fount of letter than either Zel or De Olpe. Homborch is a very rare printer. See the *Bibl. Spenceriana*, vol. iii. p. 168, 430. TER, or THER HOERNEN shall occupy but a small niche here. He is rather a barbarous printer, as his type is small, irregular, and ill-worked. He was however early in the Cologne field, as the dates of 1470, 1471, and 1472, sufficiently testify; and his '*Petrarch, De Rem. Utriusq. Fortunæ*,' of 1471, is, I believe, the first book which contains PRINTED NUMERALS. See *Bibl. Spenceriana*, vol. iii. pp. 506, 452, 230.

* *Mentelin, Father of the Strasbourg: the Zainers, Fathers of the Augsburg Press.* First of MENTELIN; concerning whom there is a sort of quickset hedge to be previously got over. When did he begin to print—and what is his earliest book with a date? According to Wimpfeling (as I read him in the later bibliographers), who appears to be followed by Leibnitz and Meerman, Mentelin was well acquainted with Gutenberg at Strasbourg, and was not only probably instructed by him in his art, but on Gutenberg's final departure to Mentz, he established himself as a printer in the first named city. See *Lichtenberger's Initia Typographica*, p. 53. That Mentelin was resident at Strasbourg, in the middle of the xvth century, is quite conclusive from the two documents extracted by Schoepflin (*Appx.* p. 42: A.D. 1445-1450.) respecting his talents as a calligraphist. There have not however been wanting those, who, influenced rather

about the same period, although we have less accurate intelligence of the precise date of the earliest specimen of the press of the former: for, certain it is, that Gunther or Gunther Zainer printed as early as 1468—while we have

by misplaced zeal, or invincible prejudice, than by dispassionate enquiry, have made out Mentelin to be the Father of Printing in general! . . . but these gentlemen, to wit, Gebvilerus, I. Schott, J. Mentel (a physician, and descendant—it is presumed) and J. Spiegel (especially the first) have been properly trounced for their temerity, in the valuable pages of Schoepflin. Mentelius's '*Excursus*,' and '*Parænesis*' are published in the *Monument. Typog.* vol. ii. p. 189, 404. Nor must greater credit be attached to the '*Anonymous Strasbourg Chronicle of the latter end of the xvth century*,' adduced by Tenzelius, which makes Gutenberg a servant of Mentelin! Consult Lichtenberger, p. 56. The sober testimony of I. P. de Lignamine is quite refreshing in the midst of these idle gossipings. That learned printer places the operations of Mentelin's press between the year 1458 and 1464; and says that 'as well as Gutenberg and Fust, Mentelin printed 300 sheets a day at Strasbourg.' *Bibl. Spenceriana*, vol. iii. p. 253.

I think there can be no doubt that the *De Arte Predicandi* of St. Austin was executed before the year 1466, and was probably the first fruit of Mentelin's press. Of this very rare typographical curiosity, there are two editions: see the B. S. vol. i. p. 179-181. The *Homilies of St. Chrysostom*, and the *Latin Bible*, (each dateless, but executed in his same small and barbarous type) are probably Mentelin's next works in chronological order; while the *Terence*, *Valerius Maximus*, and *Virgil*, executed in a larger, but equally barbarous, gothic type, may be considered as later performances: however, in respect to the authors themselves, they may claim the rank of *Editiones Principes*. The only work with a date, to which his name appears in the colophon, is the one above mentioned by Lysander. The smaller gothic type of Mentelin does certainly bear a resemblance to that of the *Catholicon* of 1460, supposed to have been executed by Gutenberg. It is sufficiently mean and irregular. EGGESTEYN's impression of the *Decretum Gratiani*, 1471, folio, is the first book in which the date, name of the printer, and of the town, (Strasbourg) appear together in the colophon.

The ZAINERS (GUNTHER and JOHN) were unequivocally the first printers at Augsburg; and the earliest book, printed (by Gunther Zainer) in that city, is of the date of 1468—namely, *Bonaventure's Meditations upon the Life of Christ*. The *Catholicon* of 1469, and *Aurbach, upon the Seven Sacraments*, also in 1469, and each executed in the same handsome and full faced gothic type, were the next Augsburg productions; while in the year 1471 came forth, for the first time, a new gothic fount of letter, by the same Gunther Zainer, in the *Ovid de Arte Amandi*: see *Bibl. Spenceriana*, vol. ii. 201. The latter very broad and coarse-visaged gothic character, was used by the younger brother, John, in his very curious and rare Latin and German edition of *Æsop's Fables*: a volume, in

no book, in which the city of Strasbourg is *colophonised*, (if you will admit of this barbarous expression) before the year 1471. Perhaps more fuss is made about Mentelin than he merits; as his type is exceedingly indifferent, and many works bear the character of having been put forth from his press, which in fact may have been elsewhere executed. The only book wherein I have seen his name, as the printer, is the *Speculum Historiale* of Vincent Beauvais, executed in a roman letter, of the date of 1473; and of which a magnificent copy is in the possession of His Grace the Duke of Devonshire. As to the *Milanese printers*, they partook, in the formation of their types, and in the skill of their performances, of the Venetian school of the art of printing. ZAROTUS and PHILIP DE LAVAGNIA are at the head of them:* but pray read Saxius's *History of Milanese Literature and Printing*, and you will scarcely want any

which it delights me, at this moment, to think that I have revelled to excess. But Gunther (or Ginther, as he is sometimes designated) has the proud distinction of having printed the first book, in roman types, in Germany: namely, the '*De Responsione Mundi*' of Isidore, of the date of 1472; of which Earl Spencer and Sir M. M. Sykes each possesses a copy UPON VELLUM. This roman type is of a good size, but much inferior, both in shape and execution, to what we see in the contemporaneous productions of Venice. Let me here ask whether Gunther Zainer left off his smaller, and better proportioned, gothic type, on account of Schuszeler's having come forward with precisely the same gothic fount in his *Josephus* of 1470? Was there any duel between the elder Zainer and Schuszeler in consequence? Let the Augsbourg antiquaries look to this point. 'Tis worth a full three months roll-rummaging!

* *Zarotus and Philip de Lavagnia are at the head of them.*] The printing of ZAROTUS is distinguished for its evenness, firmness, and legibility; and his letter comes nearer to Jenson's type than the generality of that of contemporaneous printers. His *Pompeius Festus* of 1471 is probably his first printed book. PHILIP LAVAGNUS, or PHILIP DE LAVAGNIA (for he spells his name both ways) is also a printer of great elegance; but his type is perhaps rather too tall and close for perfectness of symmetry. He had, as well as Zarotus, a fine taste in the selection of authors; and among the more beautiful and desirable specimens of his press are the *Epistles of Cicero*, of 1472, the *Historians of the Augustan Age*, 1476, and

further information upon this point. Let me not however omit to direct your attention to the typographical productions of two other Monasteries, as well as to those of the *Soubiaco*; in which latter our friend Lisardo seems so anxious to take up a lodging . . . I mean, the *Eusebian and Sortensian Monasteries*.* At the same time I must admit that the works which have issued from the presses of these

the dateless folio *Horace*, usually, but inaccurately, called the *Editio Princeps*. It is owing to the sagacity and perseverance of Count Delci of Vienna that this latter piece of desirable intelligence is here made public.

* *the Eusebian and Sortensian Monasteries*.] Some mention of the Eusebian monastery, or rather of the supposition of Laver's having been the director of that monastic press, will be found at page 392, ante. It remains here to add, that the *Homilies of St. Chrysostom upon the Gospel of St. John*, of the date of 1470, are supposed to be the first production of the same press: see the *Bibl. Spenceriana*, vol. i. p. 194-6; where a fac-simile of the type is also given. Yet are we sure that these Homilies were printed there? The words are: 'in *S. Eusebii monasterio scripta et diligenter correcte*.'—We desiderate therefore the important word 'impressæ.' A singular variety, or deviation—call it what you please—occurred in a copy of this rare and fine book in the possession of Mr. Singer, from the collection of the late Duke of Grafton. Within about 106 leaves of the end of that copy, were 2 lines, printed in a detached manner, on the bottom-margin, thus:

ex operibus: ita et cognatio indicatur. Neq: cōtinuo
respondit non esse ex semine Abrae homicidas iusti

which, in Lord Spencer's copy, do not appear. This however may be classed among the *nugæ*—rather perhaps the *cruces*—of bibliography. The Spencer library has been recently enriched with two other specimens from the press of the Eusebian monastery. One is a small dateless quarto; being a Latin version of Lucian's Dialogue called '*Charon*,' (with a poetical and prosaic prefix by the anonymous translator,) consisting of 80 leaves, without numerals, signatures, or catchwords, with 24 lines in a full page; and concluding with a dialogue respecting the precedence of Alexander, Annibal, and Scipio—as in the edition of 1482, described in the *Bibl. Spenceriana*, vol. ii. p. 148. The other is a *Bull of Pope Paul II.* of the date of 1470, in folio, 4 leaves: of excessive rarity.

From the SORTENSIAN MONASTERY only one volume is at present known to have issued: and that volume contains a *Comedy of Leonard. Aretin*, and the *Plays of Terence*—of the date of 1478. These impressions are fully described in the work last referred to, and fac-similes of the type will be found in vol. ii. p. 422, and vol. iii. p. 163. Without doubt these plays were originally published together in the same volume.

monasteries are by no means remarkable for their elegance of execution.

I must now really pause: having visited all the objects in the bibliographical landscape which was placed before you at the commencement of this Day's discourse. If I have occasionally led you to tread upon rough stones, or to stumble against projecting points, such accidents were probably unavoidable. Over a surface so varied, and at times so intricate, who could expect to glide along with the swiftness of Camilla? But I am mounting a high horse: . . and so, reserving the remaining part of this 'Pleasant Discourse' till the morrow, I give you all God's blessing and a good day. It is really time to taste the fresh air.

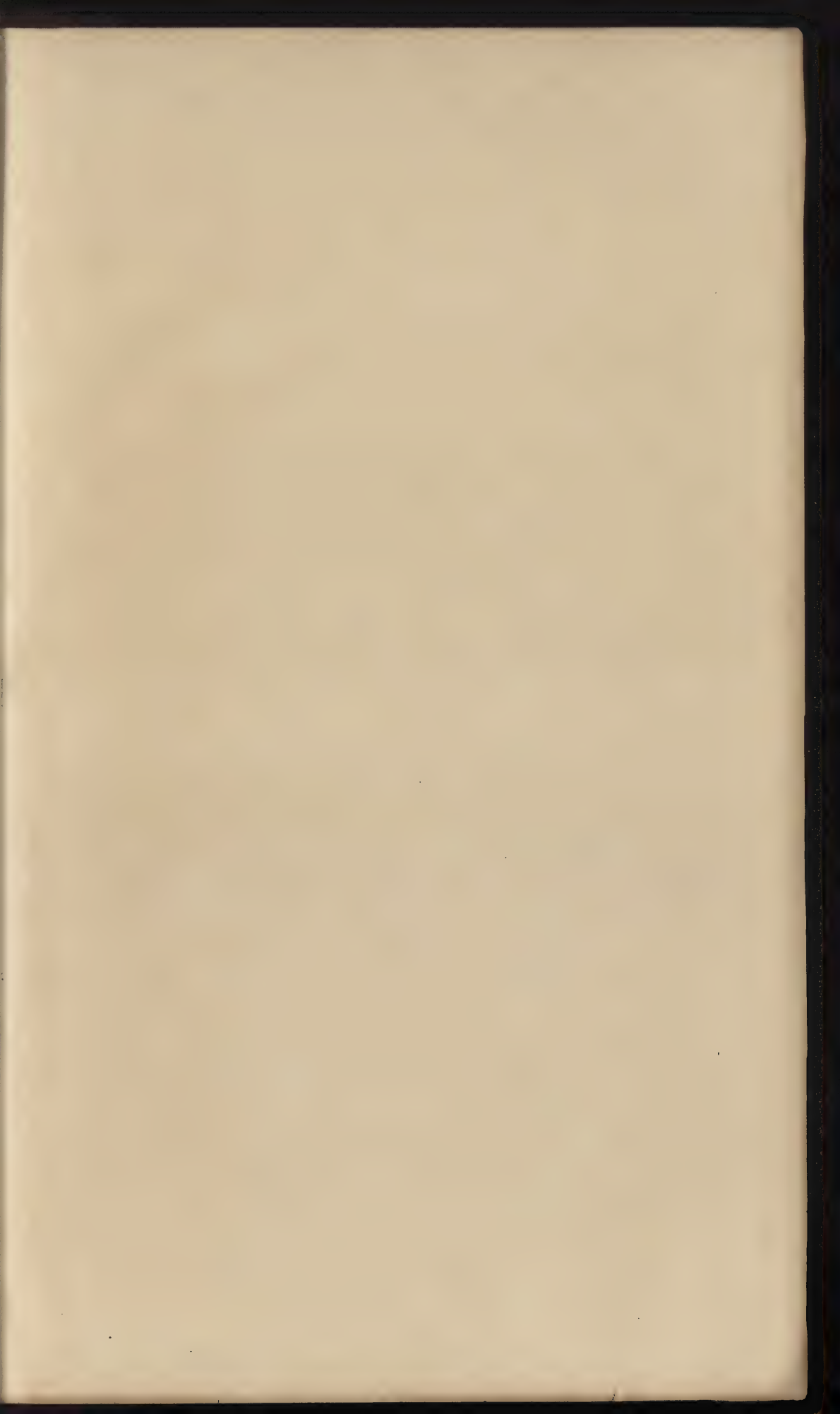
On the following morning Lysander resumed thus:



LONDON:

FROM THE *Shakspeare Press*, BY
WILLIAM BULMER AND CO. CLEVELAND-ROW,
ST. JAMES'S.

1817.



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